

INDEX

TO THE

Numismatic Supplements XXXIII to XLVII
(Articles 200 to 350)

IN THE

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

1919-1938

By C. R. SINGHAL

PART I

INDEX TO AUTHORS

[In the following Index reference is given to:—(a) the *Number* of the Numismatic Supplement, in *Roman Figures*; (b) the *Number* of the articles, in *Brackets*; and (c) the *Year* of the supplement as appeared in the Journal.]

A

- ACHARYA, G. V. Two notes, on western Kshatrapa Coins, and on Valabhi Coins, XLVII (345) (Silver Jubilee Number), 1937-38.
 " and GIANI, R. G. A Résumé of Numismatic Research in India, XLVII (341) (Silver Jubilee Number), 1937-38
- ALTEKAR, A. S. Two new Andhra Coins, XLVI (330) 1935-36
 " Note on an alleged Coin of Rudrasena, XLVI (331) 1935-36
 " The attribution of the Chandragupta-Kumāradevi type, XLVII (346) (Silver Jubilee Number), 1937-38
- ANTANI, R. M. Coins exhibited at the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India held at Agra on January 2, 1927, XL (265) 1926-27.
- AYYANGAR, S. R. Padamtankas of some of the Yadava Kings of Devagiri, XXXIX (250) 1925.
 " Rupees of Shah 'Alam II, struck at Akarwan, XXXIX (253) 1925.
 " Some South Indian Gold Coins, XXXIX (258) 1925
 " Some Moghul Gold Coins, XXXIX (259) 1925.
 " Coins of Raja Raja Chola, XXXIX (260), 1925.

B

- BANERJI, R. D. Coins of the Jajapella Dynasty, XXXIII (201) 1920.
 " Pratihāra Gold Coins, XXXIII (202) 1920.
 " Gold Coins of Udayadeva, XXXIII (203), 1920.
 " Unrecorded Kings of Arakan, XXXIII (204) 1920.
 " Ālamgīrnagar, a new Mughal Mint, XXXIII (205) 1920
 " Guru Govinda of Sylhet, XXXIII (206) 1920.
- BHATTACHARYA, PARESH NATH The Monetary System of India at the time of the Muhammadan Conquest, XLIII (302) 1930.
- BHATTASALI, N. K. Notes on the Coinage of Tippera, XXXVII (238) 1923.
 " Notes on the Gupta and Later Gupta Coinage, XXXVII (239), 1923.
 " Attribution of the Imitation-Gupta Coins, XXXIX (249) 1925
- BUCKNILL, JOHN A. Observations upon the Coinage struck for the British East India Company's Settlement of Penang or Prince of Wales' Island (1786 to 1828), XXXVIII (247) 1924.
 Supplementary observations upon the Coinage struck for the British East India Company's Settlement of Penang or Prince of Wales' Island (1786 to 1828), XXXIX (257) 1925

- BURN, R. The Machhidar Subah Awadh Coins, XXXVI (225) 1922
 " Muhammad Tughluq's Forced Coinage, XLIV (307) 1931-33

C

- CHAKRABORTI S K The Tribal Coins of Northern India XLVI (335) 1935 36

D

- DIKSHIT, K N Nisāns of Shahjahān, XXXIII (207) 1920
 " A new Jaunpur Mohar of Akbar XXXIII (208) 1920.
 " A Coin of the Abbāsids found at Paharpur Bengal. XLV (321) 1934
 " A Gold Coin of Virasimha, XLVI (334) 1935 36
 " A note on the bilingual Coins of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni XLVI (334) 1935 36
 " A New Andhra Coin, XLVII (344) (Silver Jubilee Number) 1937 38
 DOUGLAS, R O On Some Mālva Coins, XXXVII (237) 1923
 DURGĀ PRASĀD A Silver Coin struck in Nepal in the name of 'Alā ud din Muhammad Shāh Khilji XLII (286) 1929
 " Classification and significance of the Symbols on the Silver Punch marked Coins of Ancient India, XLV (317) 1934
 " Observations on different types of Silver Punch marked Coins, their Period and Local XLVII (343) (Silver Jubilee Number), 1937 38

G

- GHOSE, AJIT Three rare Kushan Gold Coins, XLV (327), 1934
 " Notes on two Gupta Coins, XLVI (332), 1935 36.
 " The rare Copper Coinage of Kumāra gupta I, XLVII (347) (Silver Jubilee Number), 1937 38.
 GRĀNTI, R. G Some Unpublished Coins of the Gāikwars, XLIV (314) 1931-33
 " Aurangzeb's Silver Coins of Sangamner, XLIV (315) 1931-33
 " Some Copper Coins of Janjira, XLV (320), 1934
 " Coinage of the Nizams of Hyderabad, XLVI (336) 1935 36
 " and ACHARYA, G. V (see Acharya).

H

- HERAS, H Coins of Emperor Malīkarjuna of Vijayanagara, XLIV (312) 1931-33
 " The Danish Coins of Tranquebar, XLV (323) 1934
 HODIVĀLLĀ, S H Abul Fazl's Inventory of Akbar's Mint; XXXIV (210) 1920
 " Notes and Queries regarding Mughal Mint Towns XXXIV (211) 1920
 " Historical Notes on the Honorable Epithets of Mughal Mint Towns, XXXV (216) 1921
 " The Laqab 'Sāhibqirān i Sami', XXXV (217) 1921.
 " The Coins of Muhammad Akbar as Claimant to the Mughal Throne, XXXVI (227) 1922
 " Persian Couplets on the Mughal and Subsequent Coinages XXXVII (240) 1923
 " The Mint Name Sitpūr (Surat) XXXVII (241) 1923
 " The Mint Gobindpur, XXXVII (242) 1923

- HODIVĀLĀ, S. R. The Mint Name Kanan (Bajānan), XXXVII (243) 1923
 " The Mint Panjagar (Bhujnagar), XXXVII (244) 1923
 " A note on Mr S R Ayyangar's article on 'Some Mughal Gold Coins', XL (275) 1926 27
 " The 'Shah i Hind' Coins, XL (276) 1926 27
 " The Chronology of the Zodiacal Coins, XLI (281) 1928
 " The Unassigned Coins of Jalāl Shah Sultān, XLII (289), 1929
 " Shashkanī or Shashgānī? XLII (290) 1929
 " Akbarpur Tanda and Akbarpur, XLII (291) 1929.
 " The Chronology of the Zodiacal Coins A Postscript, XLII (292), 1929
 " The Coin bearing the name of Nur Jahān, XLII (293) 1929
 " The Kashmīr Coins of Ahmad Shāh and 'Ālamgīr II, XLII (294) 1929
 " The Multan Coins of 'Ālamgīr II, XLII (295) 1929
 " A Portrait medal of Shāh Ālam II, XLIV (316) 1931-33
 " A Review of the Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Vol III, Coins of Nādir Shāh and the Durranī Dynasty, by R B Whitehead, I C S (Retd), XLV (326) 1934
 HORWOOD, T. R. An Unidentified Coin of Gujarāt, XXXVII (235) 1923
 " An Unpublished Copper Coin of Jahangīr of Ūjain, XXXVII (236) 1923
 HURMUZ An Unpublished Āndhra Coin, XLIV (311) 1931-33

K

- KERWĀJA MUHAMMAD AHMAD Rare Mughal Coins in the State Museum (Haiderābād Deccan), XLIII (300) 1930
 " Some rare Mughal Coins in the State Museum, Haiderābād (Deccan), XLV (324) 1934
 KOTWALL, C E A Bombay Half Rupee of Charles II, XXXV (212) 1921
 " Copper Dams of Jalāl ud dīn Akbar, XL (272) 1926 27
 KUNDANGAR, K G Āndhra Coins in the Lord Irwin Agricultural Museum, Kolhapur, XLII (285) 1929.

M

- MARTIN, M F C A find of Indo Greek Hemudrachms in Bajaur, XL (274) 1926 27
 " Coins Exhibited at the Annual Meeting of the N S I. at Benares in January, 1929, XLII (296) 1929
 " Some Rare Ghaznavid Coins, XLII (297), 1929
 " Some New Kushan Gold Coins, XLIV (308) 1931-33
 " Observations on some Āndhra Coins, XLV (318) 1934
 " Some Coins of the Naphī Malka Class restruck by Shahrī Tigin, XLVI (328) 1935 36
 " Coins of Kidara and the Little Kushāns, XLVII (342) (Silver Jubilee Number), 1937-38
 MASTER, A Old Notes, XL (269) 1926 27
 " Sultāns of Gujarāt, XL (270) 1926 27
 " The Archaeology of Coins and Mining, XL (271) 1926 27

- MUHD ISMAIL The Epithet used on Copper Coins by Ibrāhīm 'Adīl Shāh II of Bijāpūr, XXXVI (231) 1922
- " The Epithet used on Copper Coins by Uṣabkhan 'Adīl Shāh II of Bijāpūr XXXIX (234) 1925
- " On the Gold Coins of Muhammad 'Adīl Shāh of Bijāpūr, XXXIX (263) 1925
- " Note on a Gold Coin of Maud Dīn Humayun Shāh Zahir Baluchān, XXXIX (264) 1925

N

- NAHAR, P S Some Rare Gupta Coins XLIV (310) 1931-37
- NEVILL, H R Firoz Shāh Zafar Ibn Firoz Shāh XXXV (214) 1921
- " The Currency of the Pathan Sultāns XXXV (215) 1921
- " Most Towns of the Delhi Sultāns XXXV (219) 1921
- " Coins of the Pathan Kings of Delhi Ghiyāṣ d dīn Tughlaq I XXXV (221) 1921
- " Coins of the Pathan Kings of Delhi Firoz Shāh and the later Tughlaqs, XXXV (222) 1921
- " Coins of the Pathan Kings of Delhi The Saiyid Dynasty, XXXV (223) 1921
- " Coins of the Pathan Kings of Delhi The Lodi Sultāns, XXXV (224) 1921
- " Some Observations on the Metrology of the early Sultāns of Delhi, XXXVIII (248) 1924
- " A new Coin of Garha Mandla, XXXIX (262) 1925

O

- OJHA, G H A Gold Coin of Bappā Rāwal, XL (273) 1926-27.

P

- PANNALAL A Gold Coin of Kumara Gupta I, XXXIX (255) 1925
- " A Gold Coin of Farrukhsiyar of Farrukhabad Mint, XXXIX (256) 1925
- PARUCK, F D J Bibliography of Sāsānian Numismatics, XXXV (218) 1921
- " Some Rare and Unpublished Sāsānian Coins, XXXVII (232) 1923
- " Unpublished Mughal Coins, XXXVII (233) 1923
- PRAYAG DAYAL A new Gold Coin of Chandragupta II, XXXIII (209) 1920
- " A Auratābad Rupee of Aurangzeb, XXXVI (229) 1922
- " Note on a Silver Coin of Qutb d dīn Mubārak I, XXXVI (230) 1922
- " Two Gold Gupta Coins, XXXVII (245) 1923
- " Three Mughal Coins, XXXIX (252) 1925
- " Rare Mughal Coins acquired for the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, XL (266) 1926-27
- " Coins of Husain Baiqara of Khurasān (873-913 H) XL (267) 1926-27
- " Narwar Coins XL (268), 1926-27
- " Sitarami Gold Coins or Medals XLI (277) 1928
- " Treasure Trove find of 16-448 Electron Coins in Banda District of the United Provinces XLI (278) 1928
- " Rupees of Shāh 'Alam II Ujhani Asafabad and 'Abdullanagar Pihān, XLI (280) 1928

- PRAYAG DAYAL Note on a Gold Token of Kumāragupta I, XLIV (309) 1931-33
 „ A new Kidāra Chief, XLV (322) 1934
 „ Unpublished mint marks on Awadh Coins, XLVI (339) 1935-36
 „ Two Gold Coins of Siddharaja (Jayasimha), XLVII (348) (Silver Jubilee Number) 1937-38

R

- ROY, S SINGH The Coins of Rajgur, XLVI (329) 1935-36

S

- SRAMSU D DIN AHMED Some New Dates and Varieties of the Coinage of the Sultāns of Madura, XLV (319) 1934
 „ Note on a unique Copper Coin of Barbak Shah XLVI (338) 1935-36
 SINGHAL C R Some more Coins of the Post Mughal period from Ahmadābād, XLI (279) 1929
 „ Bibliography of Indian Coins, XLI (282) 1929
 „ Coins of Nasir Shah of Gujarāt, XLII (288) 1929
 „ Bibliography of Indian Coins (Supplement), XLIII (303) 1930
 „ Some new Mint Towns of the Sultāns of Gujarāt, XLV (325), 1934
 „ On certain unpublished Coins of the Sultāns of Malwa, XLVII (349) (Silver Jubilee Number), 1937-38
 STAGG, H A Brief History and Description of His Majesty's Mint, Calcutta, XLIII (290) 1930
 STAPLETON, H E A find of 182 Silver Coins of Kings of the Husaini and Suri Dynasties from Raipūrā Thāna Dohar, District Dacca Eastern Bengal XLII (283) 1929
 „ Coins of Danujmarddana Deva and Mahendra Deva, two Hindu Kings of Bengal, XLIII (298) 1930
 „ The Countess Amherst Collection of Assamese Coins, XLVI (340) 1935-36
 SUBOOK, M A Some rare Coins found in the Central Provinces, XXXIX (251) 1925
 „ Historical Facts gleaned from the Coins of the Bahmani dynasty, XXXIX (261) 1925

T

- TARAPORVĀLA, D V Two Mughal Muhars, XXXV II (246) 1923
 TĀRĀFORE, P S A Rare Kushan Coin, XLIII (304) 1930
 „ A Rare Bahmani Rupee, XLIII (305) 1930
 „ Some Rare Mughal Coins XLIII (306) 1930
 „ Some Rare Coins in my Cabinet, XLIV (313) 1931-33
 TĀRĀPORVĀLĀ, V. D B Aurangzeb's Rupee of Darūr & Surūr i Burhānpūr, XLII (287) 1929
 „ Rare Mughal Coins in my Cabinet, XLIII (301) 1930
 TAYLOR, GFO P The Shah i Hind Coins, XXXIII (200) 1920
 THORNTON, P Notes on a few rare Indian Coins, XLII (284) 1929

W

- WHITEHEAD, R B The Official Seal of Prince A'zam Shāh, XXXV (217) 1921

- WHITEHEAD, R. B. The Coins of Muhammad Akbar as claimant to the
Mughal Throne, XXXVI (227) 1922
- „ The coins of Nadir Shah and the Durrani Dynasty
XLVI (337) 1935 36
- „ Three Coin Collections, XLVII (350) (Silver Jubilee
Number) 1937 38
- WHITTELL, H. M. The Coins of Muhammad bin Tughlaq XXXV (220)
1921
- „ The Coinage of the Sharqi Kings of Jaunpūr XXXVI
(228) 1922
- „ The Coins of the Bahmani Kings of Gulbarga XXXVII
(234) 1923
- WRIGHT, H. NELSON Ujjain as a mint town, XXXVI (226) 1922
- „ Some Observations on the Metrology of the early
Sultans of Dehli, XXXVIII (248) 1924

PART II

GENERAL INDEX

A

- '*Abbāsids*. A Coin found at Pahārpur, Bengal, Dikshit, XLV (321) 1934.
- '*Abdullānagar Pihān* Rupees of Shāh 'Alām II. Prayag Dayal, XLI (280) 1928
- Ahmadabād* Some more Coins of the Post Mughal period from, Singhal, XLI (279) 1928
- Ahmad Shah*. The Kashmir Coins of, Hodivālā, XLII (294) 1929
- Alarwan* Rupees of Shah 'Alam II, struck at, Ajyangar, XXXIX (253) 1925
- Albar* A new Jaampur Mohar of, Dikshit, XXXIII (208) 1920
- Albar* The Coins of Muhammad Akbar as claimant to the Mughal Throne, Hodivālā, XXXVI (227) 1922
- Albar*. The Coins of Muhammad Akbar as claimant to the Mughal Throne, Whitehead, XXXVI (227) 1922
- Albar Jalālu-d-dīn* Copper Dāms of, Kotwall, XL (272) 1926 27
- Albarpur Tānda* and Akbarpur Hodivālā, XLII (291) 1929
- Albar's Mints* Abūl Fazl's Inventory of, Hodivālā, XXXIV (210) 1920
- '*Alamgīr II*. The Kashmir Coins of Ahmad Shāh and, Hodivālā, XLII (294) 1929
- '*Alamgīr II*. The Multan Coins of, Hodivālā, XLII (295) 1929
- '*Alaud Din Humayun Shah Zalim* Note on a Gold Coin of, Ismāil, XXXIX (264) 1925
- '*Alā ud-dīn Muhammad Shāh Khilji*. A Silver Coin struck in the name of, Durgā Prasād, XLII (286) 1929
- Alamgīrnagar* A new Mughal Mint, Banerji, XXXIII (205) 1920
- Andhra* Two new Coins, Altekar, XLVI (330) 1935 36
- Andhra* A new coin, Dikshit, XLVII (344) (Silver Jubilee Number), 1937 38
- Andhra* An Unpublished Coin, Hurmuz, XLIV (311) 1931-33
- Andhra*, Coins in the Lord Irwin Agricultural Museum, Kolhāpur, Kundangar, XLII (285) 1929.
- Andhra* Observations on some Coins, Martin, XLV (318) 1934.
- Arakan* Unrecorded Kings of, Banerji, XXXIII (204) 1920
- Assamese Coins* The Countess Amherst Collection of, Stapleton, XLVI (340) 1935 36
- Aurangzeb* A Nusratūbād Rupee of, Prayag Dayal, XXXVI (229) 1922
- Aurangzeb*. Rupee of Darūr s Surūr i Burhānpūr, Tarāporevalā, XLII (287) 1929
- Aurangzeb's* Silver Coins of Sangamner, Gani, XLIV (315) 1931-33
- Awadh* The Machhlidār Coins Burn, XXXVI (225) 1922
- Awadh Coins* Unpublished Mint marks on, Prayag Dayal, XLVI (339) 1935 36
- A'zam Shāh* The Official Seal of Prince, Whitehead, XXXI (213) 1921

B

- Bahmani* A Rare Rupee, Tarāpore, XLIII (305) 1930
- Bahmani* Note on a gold Coin of 'Alaud Din Humayun Shah Zalim, Ismāil, XXXIX (264) 1925
- Bahmani* The Coins of the Bahmani Kings of Kulbarga, Whittell, XXXVII (234) 1923

- Bahman dynasty* Historical Facts gleaned from the Coins of the Suboor XXXIX (261) 1925
- Bippu Ratal* A Coll Com of Ojha XL (273) 1926 27
- Barbak Shah* Note on a unique Copper Com of Shamsu'd-din Ahnaka LVI (338) 1930 36
- Bengal* Coins of Danujmardana Deva and Mahendra Deva two Hindu Kings of Stapleton XLIII (298) 1930
- Bijapur* The Epitaph used on Copper Coins by Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Ismail XXXVI (231) 1922
- Bijapur* The Epitaph used on Copper Coins by Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Ismail XXXIX (254) 1925
- Bijapur* On the Gold Coins of Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur XXXIX (263) 1925
- Bilawal* A note on Coins of Sultan Mahmud of Chazni Dikshit XLVI (334) 1930 36
- Bombay* A Half Rupee of Charles II K. twall XXXV (212) 1921
- Burlanpur Darul-Surur* Aurangzeb's Rupee of Tarapurwala XLII (287) 1929

C

- Chandragupta II* A new Gold Coin of Prayag Dayal XXXIII (200) 1920
- Chandragupta Kumardatta* The attribution of the type Akh-r XLVII (346) (Silver Jubilee Number) 1930 38
- Charles II* A Bombay Half Rupee of K. twall XXXV (212) 1921
- Chola* Coins of Raja Raja Ayangar XXXIX (250) 1925
- Coin Collectors* Three Coin Collections Whitehead XLVII (350) (Silver Jubilee Number) 1937 38
- Coins exhibited at the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India held at Agra on January 2 1927* Antani XL (265) 1926 27
- Coins exhibited at the Annual Meeting of the N.S.I. at Benares in January 1929* Martin XLII (256) 1929
- Coins and Minting* The Arthashastra on Master M (271) 1926 27
- Coins* Some rare Coins found in the Central Provinces Suboor, XXXIX (251) 1925
- Coins* Some Rare Coins in my Cabinet Tarapur XLII (313) 1931 33

D

- Danish* Coins of Tranquebar Heras XLV (333) 1934
- Danujmardana Deva* Coins of a Hindu King of Bengal Stapleton XLIII (298) 1930
- Delli Sultans* Mint Towns of the Nevill XXXV (219) 1921
- Delli Sultans of* Some observations on the Metrology of the Nevill XXXVIII (248) 1924
- Delli Sultans of* Some observations on the Metrology of the, Wright XXXVIII (248) 1924
- Durrani* A Review of the Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum Vol III Coins of Nādir Shah and the Durrani Dynasty, by R. B. Whitehead ICS (Retd.) Hodivala XLV (326) 1934
- Durrani* The Coins of Nadir Shah and the Durrani Dynasty Whitehead XLVI (337) 1930 36

E

E

- Electron* Treasure Trove find of 16 448 Coins in Banda District of the United Provinces Prayag Dayal XLI (278) 1928

F

- Farrukhabad Mint* A Gold Coin of Farrukhsiyar of Pannalal, XXXIX (256) 1925
Farrukhsiyar A Gold Coin of Farrukhabad Mint, Pannalal XXXIX (256) 1925
Firoz Shah and later Tughlaqs Nevill, XXXV (222) 1921
Firoz Shah Zafar, Ibn Firoz Shah, Nevill XXXV (214) 1921

G

- Gaiku tras* Some Unpublished Coins of the Gyani XLIV (314) 1931 33
Garha Mandla A new Coin of, Nevill XXXIX (262) 1925
Ghaznaid Some Rare Coins, Martin, XLII (297) 1929
Ghazni A note on the bilingual Coins of Sultan Mahmud of Dikshit XLVI (334) 1935 36
Ghasni d-din Tughlaq I, Nevill, XXXV (221) 1921
Gobindpur The Mint Hodivala XXXVII (242) 1923
Gujarat An Unidentified Coin of, Horwood XXXVII (235) 1923
Gujarat Sultans of, Master XL (270) 1926 27
Gujarat Coins of Nasir Shah of, Singhal XLII (288) 1929
Gujarat Some new Mint Towns of the Sultans of Singhal, XLI (325) 1934
Gupta Attribution of the Imitation Coins Bhattasali XXXIX (240) 1925
Gupta Notes on the Coinage, Bhattasali XXXVII (239) 1923
Gupta Notes on two Coins, Ghose, XLVI (332) 1935 36
Gupta Some Rare Coins, Nahar, XLIV (310) 1931 33
Gupta Two Gold Coins, Pravig Dayal, XXXVII (245) 1923
Guru Govinda of Sylhet, Banerji, XXXIII (206) 1930

H

- Husain Baiqara* Coins of Khurasan (873-913 H), Pravig Dayal, XL (267) 1926 27.
Husaini Dynasty A find of 182 Silver Coins of Kings of the Husaini and Sūri Dynasties from Raipara Thana Dohar, District Dacca, Eastern Bengal, Stapleton XLII (263) 1929
Hyderabad Coinage of the Nizams of, Gyani, XLVI (336) 1935

I

- Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II* The Epithet used on Copper Coins of Bijāpur, Ismail, XXXVI (231) 1922
Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II The Epithet used on Copper Coins of Bijāpur, Ismail, XXXIX (254) 1925
Indian Coins Bibliography of, Singhal, XLI (282) 1928
Indian Coins Bibliography of (Supplement), Singhal, XLIII (303) 1930
Indian Coins Note on a few rare Thorburn XLII (284) 1929
Indo Greek A find of Hemidrachms in Bajaur, Martin, XL (274) 1926 27

J

- Jalangi* An Unpublished Copper Coin of Ujain, Horwood, XXXVII (236) 1923
Jajapella Coins of, Banerji, XXXIII (201) 1920
Jakul Shah Sultani The Unassigned Coins of, Hodivala XLII (289) 1929
Janjira Some Copper Coins of, Gyani XLV (320) 1934
Jaunpur A new Mohar of Akbar, Dikshit, XXXIII (208) 1920
Jaunpur The Coinage of the Sharqi Kings of, Whittell, XXXVI (228) 1922

K

- Kanan (Bajanan)* The Mint Name Hodval XXXVII (243) 1933
Kasl Coins of Ahmad Shah and Alamgir II Hodval XLII (294) 1930
Kharasan Coins of Hakan Baqara of Prayag Dayal XL (267) 1930
Kulara A new Chief Prayag Dayal XLV (311) 1934
Kudra Coins of and the Little Kushans Marton XLVII (340) (Silver Jubilee Number) 1933
Kushapa Desern Three hoards of the Coins of Alarva XLVII (340) (Silver Jubilee Number) 1933
Kulbaga The Coins of the Bahman Kings of Whittell XXXVII (34) 1933
Kharagpata I Note on a Gold Token of Prayag Dayal XLIV (309) 1931
Kharagpata I The rare Copper Coins of Ghose XLVII (34) (Silver Jubilee Number) 1933
Kumara Gupta I A Gold Coin of Pannalal XXXIX (27) 1935
Kashan A Rare Coin Tarapore XLIII (304) 1930
Kushan Three rare Gold Coins Ghose XLV (307) 1934
Kushan Some New Gold Coins Marton XLIV (308) 1931
Kashans Coins of Kudara and the Little Kushans Marton XLVII (34) (Silver Jubilee Number) 1933

L

- Laguna* Notes on the Coinage, Bhatta I XXXVII (39) 1933
Lodi The Lodi Sultans Nevill XXXV (24) 1931

M

- Machhlida* Subal Awadi Coins Burn XXXVI (25) 1930
Madura Some New Dates and Varieties of the Coinage of the Sultans of Shamsu-d-din Ahmad XLV (313) 1934
Mahendra Dea Coins of a Hindu King of Bengal Stapleton XLIII (298) 1930
Mallikajuna Coins of Vijayanagar Heras XLIV (310) 1931
Malla On some Coins Douglas XXXVII (237) 1933
Malla On certain unpublished Coins of the Sultans of Singhal XLVII (340) (Silver Jubilee Number) 1933
Maharaja Majesys Calcutta A Brief History and Description of Staggs XLIII (299) 1930
Mogul Gold Coins Ayyangar XXXIX (259) 1935
Monetary Systems of India at the time of the Muhammadan Conquest Bhattacharya XLIII (300) 1930
Mubarak Qubud-d Note on a Silver Coin of Prayag Dayal XXXVI (30) 1930
Mughal and Subsequent Coinages Persian Couplets on the Hodval XXXVII (240) 1933
Mughal Gold Coins A note on Mr S. R. Ayyangar's article on Hodval XL (2) 1928
Mughal Mint Tokens Notes and Queries regarding Hodval XXXIX (11) 1930
Mughal Mint Tokens Historical Notes on the Honorable Epitaphs of Hodaia XXXV (216) 1931
Mughal Rare Coins acquired for the Provincial Museum Lucknow Prayag Dayal XL (66) 1936
Mughal Rare Coins in my Cabinet Taraporeala XLIII (301) 1930
Mughal Rare Coins in the State Museum (Hyderabad Deccan) Kivaja XLIII (300) 1930
Mughal Some Rare Coins Tarapore XLIII (306) 1930

- Mughal* Some rare Coins in the State Museum, Haiderabad (Deccan),
Khawaja, XLV (324) 1934
Mughal, Three Coins, Prayag Dayal, XXXIX (252) 1925
Mughal, Two Muhars Tārāporevālā, XXXVII (246) 1923
Mughal, Unpublished Coins, Paruck, XXXVII (233) 1923
Muhammad 'Adil Shah On the gold Coins of Bijapur, Ismail, XXXIX
(263) 1925
Muhammad bin Tughlaq The Coins of, Whittell, XXXV (220) 1921
Muhammad Tughluq's Forced Coinage Burni, XLIV (307) 1931-33
Multan Coins of 'Alamgir II, Hodivālā, XLII (295) 1929

N

- Nādir Shāh* A Review of the Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum,
Vol. III. Coins of Nadir Shāh and the 'Durrāmī Dynasty, by R. B.
Whitehead, I C S (Retd.), Hodivālā, XLV (326) 1934
Nadir Shah The Coins of Nadir Shah and the Durrāmī Dynasty, White
head, XLVI (337) 1935 36
Napki Malka Some Coins of this class restruck by Shāh Tigin, Martin,
XLVI (328) 1935 36
Narwar Coins Prayag Dayal, XL (268) 1926 27
Nāsir Shah Coins of Gujarāt, Singhal, XLII (288) 1929
Nepal, A Silver Coin struck in the name of 'Alā ud dīn Muhammad Shah
Khilji, Durgā Prasād, XLII (286) 1929
Nisars, of Shāhjahān, Dikshit, XXXIII (207) 1920
Numismatic Research in India, A resumé, Acharya and Gyani, XLVII
(341) (Silver Jubilee Number), 1937 38
Nūr Jahan The Coins bearing the name of, Hodivālā, XLII (293) 1929
Nusratābād A Rupee of Aurangzeb Prayag Dayal, XXXVI (229) 1922

O

- Odd notes* Master, XL (269) 1926 27

P

- Padamtankas* of some of the Yadava Kings of Devagiri, Ayyangar,
XXXIX (250) 1925
Paunagar (Bhujnagar) The Mint, Hodivālā, XXXVII (244) 1923.
Pathan Sultans The Currency of the, Nevill, XXXV (215) 1921
Penang Observations upon the Coinage struck for the British East India
Company's Settlement of Penang or Prince of Wales' Island (1786 to
1828), Bucknill, XXXVIII (247) 1924
Penang Supplementary observations, Bucknill, XXXIX (257) 1925
Post Mughal Some more Coins of that period from Ahmadābād, Singhal,
XLI (279) 1928
Parthāra Gold Coins, Banerji, XXXIII (202) 1920
Punch marked Classification and significance of the symbols on the
Silver Coins of Ancient India, Durgā Prasad, XLV (317) 1934
Punch-marked Observations on different types of Silver Coins, their
Periods and Locale, Durgā Prasād, XLVII (343) (Silver Jubilee Number),
1937 38

R

- Rudrasena* Note on an alleged Coin of, Altekar, XLVI (331) 1935 36
Rajgir The Coins of, Roy, XLVI (329) 1935 36

S

- Sahibqiran i Sami* The Laqab, Hodivālā, XXXV (217) 1921
Saiyid The Saiyid Dynasty, Nevill, XXXV (223) 1921

9. NUMISMATIC SUPPLEMENT No. XXXIII.

Note.—The numeration of the articles below is continued from p. 476 of the "Journal and Proceedings" for 1918.

200. THE SHAH-I-HIND COINS.

For now some fifteen years I have had in my possession eleven insignificant-looking coins, which are yet of interest because of the puzzling questions which they raise. Where were they struck, and by whom?

Seven of the eleven are of a larger denomination, and four of a smaller. All are round, but of a rough workmanship, and some have been badly battered. The diameter of the larger is .65 inch (but in two cases only .6 inch), while that of the smaller is .5 inch.

One of the larger and one of the smaller are seemingly of bronze, but all the others are of copper.

The average weight of the larger is 127 grains, and of the smaller 64 grains.

The dates are as follows:—

Large—937 H. (two), 938 (bronze), 939 (two), 940 (two).

Small—934 H. 938. 938 (bronze), 939.

The legend, which is clearly continuous on the obverse and reverse long defied decipherment for no one specimen contained the whole, so that a part legible on one coin had to be "pieced" with a part that could be read on another.

Happily, however, two of the coins showed an arrangement of the lettering different from that on the rest, which fact naturally helped to reduce the difficulty of deciphering the legend. I should also mention that the late Mr. Framji Jamaspji Thanawala once possessed a beautiful specimen of a type larger than any of mine—it must, I fancy, have weighed at least 260 grains—and with its aid the legend ultimately stood revealed as follows:—

دروکرا روی و رواجی دست مر مطم زمین

سکه اقبال شاه دود دارد در جبین

Harkarū rūc wa rawājī hast bar saḡh zamīn.

Sikka iqbāl Shāh-i-Hind dārad bar jabīn.

The translation of this distich is somewhat doubtful, but perhaps it admits of being rendered thus:—

"Whoever on the surface of the earth has fame and face
Upon his forehead bears the King of India's stamp of
grace

The ordinary arrangement of the lettering is as follows —

Obverse
 هرکرا
 روی و روا ح
 نورسطم
 محمد

Reverse
 سکه اقبال
 ۹۳۷
 ش
 اردا نور محمد

But the variant arrangement (found on 938 small and 939 large both copper) is

Obverse
 هرکرا و
 محمد
 وادی
 نورسطم

Reverse
 سکه اقبال
 ۹۳۸
 ش
 محمد دارا
 نور محمد

specimens were all obtained in Gujarat, so possibly they were altered at some mint in Mughal territory not far remote from the borders of that province.

Mr Khareghat has ventured to suggest that possibly this coinage was commenced after Bābur had defeated Rāna Sangā (or Sangrām Singh I) of Mewar in 933 H. and when according to Elisha-Potter "Babur spent the next six months in internal arrangements and restoring order throughout the provinces that had been disturbed during the doubtful period of his contest with Rājā Sangā" (History of India¹ II, 110), I should not myself be at all surprised should this suggestion prove to be correct.

The same friend has brought to my notice the interesting fact that if these are indeed coins struck by order of the Mughal Emperors, they furnish us the first instance yet known of the use of verso by the Mughals on their Indian money. Still it is quite possible that these coins were not issued by Bābur and Humāyūn from any mint in Western India, and perhaps some readers of the Numismatic Supplement may be able to advance a more probable explanation of their origin.

Ahmadābād,

GRO P TAYLOR

Aug 16th, 1919

Our readers will regret that the above is the last contribution of the Rev George Pritchard Taylor M A, D D, who died at Ahmadābād on the 21st February, 1920.

The late Dr Taylor was an unequalled authority on the mint- and coins of the Mughal period. Much of the results of his erudition and industry is embodied in this Journal to the Numismatic Supplements of which he has contributed no less than thirty eight papers.

EDITOR

201 COINS OF THE JAJAPALLA DYNASTY

In July 1915 Mr W F Jardine, I.C.S. C.I.F. Resident at Gwālior sent 791 copper coins found in the Gwālior State for examination to the Indian Museum. When these coins were cleaned they proved to be the issues of the princes called by Cunningham "The Rajputs of Narwar"¹. The hoard discovered at Gwālior consists entirely of that little known type of Narwar coinage very briefly noticed by Cunningham a type of which few specimens have since been discovered and discussed². The obverse coins bear a representation of what has been described as the early Chāhmanāva Horseman³ on the obverse and a three line legend on the reverse containing the name of the sovereign by whom it was issued and the

¹ Coins of Medieval India pp 80-93 ² *Ibid* pp 92-97 ³ *ILN* 511

date The coins of Malayavarman figured by Cunningham belong to this variety In subsequent years the only recorded discovery of coins of this class is the discovery of 79 coins of Malayavarman in the Jhansi District U P in 1908

The Gwalior find contained 250 coins worthless for numismatic purposes Among the remainder there were 183 specimens of the issue of Chahadadeva 211 coins of Asalladeva or Asiladeva and 147 coins of Gopaladeva The figure on the obverse of these coins has been described by Cunningham as that of an early Chauhan Horseman but careful comparison of a number of these coins shows that the design is that of the head of a horse caparisoned with a small fish in front The whole design is enclosed in a pair of concentric circles the space between which is filled with a number of zigzag lines The design on the reverse consists of two parallel squares the intervening space being occupied by similar zigzag lines The inner square contains the three line legend consisting of the name of the sovereign and the date in the Vikram era The arrangement of the legend on this side is as follows —

- 1 *Śrī mach* = *Chā*
- 2 *hada deva*
- 3 *Sam* (Pl XII 1)

Cunningham has recorded the discovery of similar coins of Chahadadeva of the Vikrama years 129 × 1303 1305 1306 and 1311¹ The Gwalior find contains coins of this prince issued in the following years —

- (1) 1302 = 1245 A D (Pl XII 2)
- (2) 1303 = 1246 A D
- (3) 1304 = 1247 A D (Pl XII 3)
- (4) 1307 = 1250 A D (Pl XII 4)
- (5) 1308 = 1251 A D (Pl XII 5)
- (6) 1311 = 1254 A D (Pl XII 6)
- (7) 1312 = 1255 A D (Pl XII 7)
- (8) 1316 = 1259 A D (Pl XII 8)

The discovery of the fragment of the Rataul grant of the Mahakumara Chahadadeva rendered possible the assertion that Chahadadeva of Narwar was a Chahamanas and a lineal descendant of the Chahamanas of Delhi and Ajmer The portion of the Rataul grant that has been discovered by Rai Dattaram Sahni Bahadur contains the beginning of the usual Chahamanas genealogy and so it was quite natural to surmise that Chahadadeva was a lineal descendant of Arnoraja I had accepted this explanation and in the report sent to the President at Gwalior had described these coins as those of the later Chahamanas of Narwar In August 1917 I visited Sipri

Sri Chahadas ttribhuvana prathamana l irtti
Dordamda chamdima bharena purah parebhyo
yen ahrtā Nalagiri pramukha garisthah

This passage tells us that Chahada of Narwar was born in a noble family which was called after a legendary hero named Jayapala that the current popular form of the family name was Jajapella and that Chahada captured from enemies Nalapura or Narwar and other big towns

On combining the information supplied by these two records we learn that the family name of the kings of Narwar hitherto known by the rather generic title Rajputs of Narwar was Jajapella. The alternative form Yajvapala specified in the Bhimpur inscription appears to be a learned Sanskritised version of the popular form Jajapella. We further learn that Chahada's immediate ancestor was Sri Yaramadi raja (?Paramadi) and not Malavavarmma as supposed by Cunningham. Yaramadi raja however does not appear to have ruled over Narwar for we learn from the Narwar Kacheri inscription that it was Chahada who conquered Narwar from enemies.

Mr Garde agrees with the late Major R. E. R. in thinking that Chahada Achari of Ranthambhor was a different personage from Chahadadeva of Narwar. The basis of his argument is the origin of the princes of Narwar. According to the inscriptions discovered by Mr Garde the Narwar Chieftains belonged to the Jajapella clan and were not Chahamanas by descent. Had the Jajapellas been a branch of the great Chahamanas clan then the *prasasti* writers would certainly have mentioned that fact. On the other hand the fragment of the Rataul grant of the Mahakumari Chahadadeva begins with the names of the ancestors of the Chahamanas of Delhi and Ajmer and therefore it is quite possible that the Chahada deva of the Pataul grant belonged to that clan. The legend on the coins of Chahada of both varieties (the bull and horseman type and the present variety) are written in characters that agree with the script of the Rataul grant¹. Moreover the testimony of the Gwalior coins combined with that of the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri prove that there was a prince of that name in the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. According to the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri three expeditions were sent against Chahar Deo (sometimes spelt Nahar Deo) —

(1) In the year 631 A.H. (1233 A.D.) Malik Nasir-ud-din Tahir was attacked by Chahar Deo Rana of Ajar in a hilly country but the Hindus were defeated.²

(2) In the year 646 A.H. (1248 A.D.) Ulugh Khan-i-Azam was sent towards Ranthambhor beyond the hilly country of

¹ Coins of Mediaeval India p. 90

² Tabaqat-i-Nasiri (B. B. Ind.) Raverty's trans. p. 733

Mewat to attack the territory of Chahar Deo who is by mistake called Nahar Deo. In this expedition the kingdom of Chahadadeva was plundered.¹

(3) In the year 649 A H (1251 A D) Nasir ud din Mahmūd the youngest son of Altamsh advanced towards Gwalior Chanderi and Narwar. Chahadadeva or Chahardeo is said to have had 5000 trained horsemen and two lakhs of footmen. In spite of this force his forts constructed in the midst of defiles and passes were taken and his territories plundered.²

Now the Chahadadeva of Narwar struck coins from the V S 129x to 1316. Now if we take the year 129x to be latest possible one i.e. 1299 then Chahadadeva reigned from 1242 A D to 1259 A D. According to the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* the Muhammadans waged war against one or more princes of this name from 1233 to 1251 A D. So it is quite possible that Chahadadeva of Narwar is the prince who fought with the forces of the Sultans of Delhi on three different occasions. Ranthambhor is not far from Narwar and it is quite possible that both places were under one and the same ruler. It is possible that one of the Jajapellas had married the daughter of a Chahamanya and therefore the Rataul grant begins with a Chahamanya genealogy.

The Gwalior find contains coins struck in V S 1316 = 1299 A D. Therefore it is necessary to consider Cunningham's date of the death of Chahada and the accession of his successor Nrivarmman. No coins of Nrivarmman have been discovered as yet but the date Samvat 1316 on the coins of Chahadadeva proves that Nrivarmman could not have ascended the throne before 1299 A D. For some unknown reason Sir Alexander Cunningham assigned a very short reign to Nrivarmman. He placed the ascension of Nrivarmman and that of his son Asalladeva in the same year V S 1312 = 1255 A D. This date is untenable now but the evidence of the Gwalior coins tends to prove that Nrivarmman did not reign at all because the reigns of Chahada and his grandson Asalla or Asala overlap.

The Gwalior find contains more than two hundred coins of Asalladeva but on these coins the name is spelt with a single *la*. Asaladeva is also known from two stone inscriptions —

(1) The Rai inscription of V S 1327 = 1270 A D

(2) The Delhi inscription of V S 1337 = 1280 A D

Cunningham has recorded coins of Asalladeva of the years 1327 and 1330 but the Gwalior find contains coins issued in the years 1315 (Pl XII 9) 1318 (Pl XII 10) 1319 (Pl XII 11) 1322 (Pl XII, 12) 133x (Pl XII 13) and 134x (Pl XII 14). There are several coins in the find bearing the name of Asalla.

¹ *Tabaqat-i-Nāsiri* p 818

² *Ibid* p 691

Śrī-Chāhadas ttribhuvana prathamāna kirttiḥ
Dordamda chandimā bhāratna purāḥ paribhvo
yen akṛta Nalagiri pramukhā garisthāḥ

This passage tells us that Chāhada of Narwar was born in a noble family which was called after a legendary hero named Jajapala that the current popular form of the family name was Jajapella and that Chāhada captured from enemies Nalpur or Narwar and other big towns.

On combining the information supplied by these two records we learn that the family name of the kings of Narwar hitherto known by the rather generic title Rajputs of Narwar was Jajapella. The alternative form Jajvapala specified in the Bhumpur inscription appears to be a learned Sanskritised version of the popular form Jajapella. We further learn that Chāhada's immediate ancestor was Śrī Yaramādi rāja (?Parimadi) and not Malaviarmma as supposed by Cunningham. Yaramādi rāja however does not appear to have ruled over Narwar for we learn from the Narwar Kachari inscription that it was Chāhada who conquered Narwar from enemies.

Mr Garde agrees with the late Major Raverty in thinking that Chāhada Āchāri of Ranthambhor was a different personage from Chāhādadeva of Narwar. The basis of his argument is the origin of the princes of Narwar. According to the inscriptions discovered by Mr Garde the Narwar Chieftains belonged to the Jajapella clan and were not Chāhāmānas by descent. Had the Jajapellas been a branch of the great Chāhāmāna clan then the *prasasti* writers would certainly have mentioned that fact. On the other hand the fragment of the Rataul grant of the Mahākumara Chāhādadeva begins with the names of the ancestors of the Chāhāmānas of Delhi and Ajmer and therefore it is quite possible that the Chāhādadeva of the Pataul grant belonged to that clan. The legend on the coins of Chāhada of both varieties (the bull and horseman type and the present variety) are written in characters that agree with the script of the Rataul grant.¹ Moreover the testimony of the Gwāhor coins combined with that of the Tabaqāt-i-Nasiri prove that there was a prince of that name in the middle of the thirteenth century A D. According to the Tabaqāt-i-Nasiri three expeditions were sent against Chāhar Deo (sometimes spelt Nāhar Deo) —

(1) In the year 631 A H (1233 A D) Malik Nasrat ud din Ta yasai was attacked by Chāhar Deo Rana of Ājar in a hilly country but the Hindus were defeated.²

(2) In the year 646 A H (1248 A D) Ulugh Khān-i-Āzam was sent towards Ranthambhor beyond the hilly country of

¹ Coins of Medasval In I a p 90

² Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri (Bib Ind) Raverty's trans p 73J

Mewāt to attack the territory of Chāhar Deo who is by mistake called Nāhar Deo. In this expedition the kingdom of Chāhadadeva was plundered¹

(3) In the year 649 A H (1251 A D) Nāsir ud dīn Mahmūd, the youngest son of Altamsh, advanced towards Gwalior, Chanderi and Narwar. Chāhadadeva or Chāhardeo is said to have had 5,000 trained horsemen and two lakhs of footmen. In spite of this force, his forts constructed in the midst of defiles and passes were taken and his territories plundered²

Now the Chāhadadeva of Narwar struck coins from the V S 129x to 1316. Now if we take the year 129x to be latest possible one, i.e. 1299, then Chāhadadeva reigned from 1242 A D to 1259 A D. According to the *Tabaqat-i-Nāsiri* the Muhammadins waged war against one or more princes of this name from 1233 to 1251 A D. So it is quite possible that Chāhadadeva of Narwar is the prince who fought with the forces of the Sultāns of Delhi on three different occasions. Ranthambhor is not far from Narwar and it is quite possible that both places were under one and the same ruler. It is possible that one of the Jajapellas had married the daughter of a Chāhamāna and therefore the Rataul grant begins with a Chāhamāna genealogy.

The Gwalior find contains coins struck in V S 1316 = 1259 A D. Therefore it is necessary to consider Cunningham's date of the death of Chāhīda and the accession of his successor Nivarmman. No coins of Nivarmman have been discovered as yet, but the date, Samvat 1316, on the coins of Chāhadadeva proves that Nivarmman could not have ascended the throne before 1259 A D. For some unknown reason Sir Alexander Cunningham assigned a very short reign to Nivarmman. He placed the ascension of Nivarmman and that of his son Asalladeva in the same year V S 1312 = 1255 A D. This date is untenable now, but the evidence of the Gwalior coins tends to prove that Nivarmman did not reign at all, because the reigns of Chāhīda and his grandson Asalla or Asala overlap.

The Gwalior find contains more than two hundred coins of Asalladeva, but on these coins the name is spelt with a single *la*. Asaladeva is also known from two stone inscriptions —

(1) The Rai inscription of V S 1327 = 1270 A D

(2) The Dahī inscription of V S 1337 = 1280 A D

Cunningham has recorded coins of Asalladeva of the years 1327 and 1330 but the Gwalior find contains coins issued in the years 1315 (Pl XII, 9), 1318 (Pl XII, 10), 1319 (Pl XII, 11), 1322 (Pl XII, 12), 133x (Pl XII, 13) and 134x (Pl XII, 14). There are several coins in the find bearing the name of Asalla

¹ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, p. 815

² *Ibid* p. 691

deva which were issued in the 12th century of the Vikrama era. Unless one is to admit the existence of another Asalladeva who struck coins of the same type two centuries ago it is difficult to explain the date on these coins in any other way.

Asalladeva was succeeded by his son Gopāladeva who is known from the inscriptions of his son Ganapati. No coins of this king has been discovered as yet. Gopāladeva's son Ganapatiadeva is known from two stone inscriptions —

(1) The Surwara inscription on the Vikrama era of the Vikrama year 1348 = 1292 A.D. and (2) the Narwar inscriptions of the Vikrama year 1355 = 1298 A.D. The Gwalior find contains 147 issues of Ganapatiadeva. Cunningham has recorded two dates found on the coins of Ganapatiadeva viz V.S. 1348 and 1355 but the date of the coin of Ganapati published by him is illegible (Pl. XII 15).

Since the writing of this note Mr M. B. Garde has published his note on the Jajapella dynasty in the Indian Antiquary Vol. XLVII 1918 pp. 241-244.

R. D. BANERJI

202 PRATHARA GOLD COINS

Gold coins of Mahipala are found all over India and are usually assigned to the somewhat ethereal Mahipala of the Tomara dynasty of Delhi. The coins of the Tomara dynasty are usually of billon and of the bull and horseman type. The coins of Mahipala minted in gold are on the other hand copies of the gold coinage of the Cedi king Gangeyadeva. It has the king's name in three lines on the obverse and the seated goddess of the Gupta type on the reverse. The form of the *Ha* shows that the coins are earlier than the 12th century A.D. It would be more accurate to assign them to Mahipala I of the Gurjara Pratihara dynasty of Mahodara (Pl. XIII No. 1).

R. D. BANERJI

203 GOLD COIN OF UDAYADEVA

The gold coins described in the following lines were found in the Central Provinces. They were described by the reporter as coins of Gangeyadeva. But the three line legends on the obverse is clearly —

1 *Sri mad = U*

2 *daya le*

3 *ia* (Pl. XIII No. 2)

The only prince of this name who ruled in Central and Northern India is the Paramara Chief Udayaditya who was a relative of the Cedi king Karnadeva and for whom we have the certain dates A.D. 1059 and 1080. It is therefore clear that the coin is the only known issue of the Paramara kings.

R. D. BANERJI

204 UNRECORDED KINGS OF ARAKAN

The following coins belonging to the Cabinet of Mr Prafulla Nath Tagore of Calcutta are very important as data for the reconstruction of the history of the ancient Indian Kings of Arakan. They prove the existence of four new Indian Kings of Arakan. There is no doubt about the fact that these silver coins were issued by the kings of Arakan as the recumbent humped bull and the trident like ornaments are very clear on the obverse and reverse of these coins (cf V A Smith Indian Museum Catalogue Vol I pl LXXI 10). The names of these kings are to be found over the recumbent humped bull on the obverse. The following names are to be added to the list of medieval kings of Arakan on the basis of these coins —

- 1 Lalitakara (Pl XIII No 3)
- 2 Ramvakara (Pl XIII No 4)
- 3 Pradyumnakara (Pl XIII No 5)
- 4 Antakara or Annakara (Pl XIII No 6)

On palaeographical grounds these coins may be assigned to the 10th century A D.

Another coin purchased with this lot is anonymous and bears no inscription. It has a conch shell on the obverse inside a beaded circle and a symbol on the reverse which resembles to some extent the symbol on the coins described above (Pl XIII No 7).

R D BANERJEE

205 ALAMGIRNAGAR A NEW MUGHAL MINT

This small silver coin belongs to the collection of Mr Prafulla Nath Tagore of Calcutta. It was purchased from a money changer in Calcutta and has the unique distinction of being the only issue known of Aurangzeb Alamgir from the mint of Alamgirnagar. Nawab Mir Jumla invaded Assam in 1661. On his way he attacked and overran the kingdom of Koch Bihar because Pranamrayana the king of that country had helped Shah Shuja.

Koch Bihar was thus annexed. The name of the town was changed to Alamgirnagar. Isfandiyar Beg received from His Majesty the title of Khan and was to officiate as Faujdar of the country till the arrival of Askar Khan who had been appointed to that office.¹

Mir Jumla made his way into Koch Bihar by an obscure and neglected highway. The advance was very slow as the dense bamboo groves had to be cleared to make a way. In six days the Mughal army reached the capital (19th December) which had been deserted by the Rajah and his people in terror. The name of the town was changed to Alamgirnagar.

¹ *Journal of the Asiatic Soc of Bengal* 18 2 pl 1 p 63

In Mr. V. A. Smith's Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum there is a silver coin (pl. XXX) assigned to Viṣṇu-chittadeva of the Kadamba Dynasty of Goa.¹ In a foot-note Mr. Smith records that this and another examined by Dr. Hultsch, but the king's name had not been deciphered fully on either. Pandit B. B. Bidyabinod, Assistant Curator, Archaeological Section, first of all noticed the mistake in the catalogue. The legend on the coin being in ancient Bengali characters, Messrs. Smith and Hultsch found it difficult to read. I read it at first as *Gunagovindadeva* but Pandit Bidyabinod read it correctly as *Gurugovinda-deva*. In Persian characters it would be written گورو گویند دیو. The second *waw* of Guru seems to have been omitted by a scribe, hence the Suhail-i-yaman has گورو. گویند. This was transliterated Gaur Govinda.

The coin weighs 37·8 grains and measures '68" in diameter (Pl. XIII, No. 9). The coin of Rāmagaṅgāmāṇikya of Tippera weighs 162·3 grains. This coin may be taken as a quarter-rupee. It corresponds with the Tippera coinage in many respects, the arrangement of the legend being almost identical. The rampant lion of Tippera appears on the obverse of this coin and below it the date 140 (3) 2, evidently of the Śaka era. Long before the discovery of this date I had assigned the conquest of Sylhet to the reign of Sultān Shamsu-d-dīn Yūsuf Shāh, son of Sultān Rukn-ud-dīn Bārbak Shāh, in the second volume of my History of Bengal.² The date on the coin, Ś. 1402 = 1480 A.D., corresponds with 884-85 A.H., and the latest epigraphical date for Sultān Shamsu-d-dīn Yūsuf Shāh is the month of Muharram of the year 885 A.H.³ So that evidently Sylhet was conquered some time after 1480 A.D. = 884-85 A.H. There is a stone inscription of the time of Shamsu-d-dīn Yūsuf Shāh in the Dargah of Shāh Jalāl in Sylhet. but as this record is partly buried in masonry the date has not been read. Its presence, however, proves that Sylhet was a province of the kingdom of Bengal at some time during the reign of that sovereign.⁴ This Yūsuf Shāh died in 887 A.H. according to the Tārikh-i Ferīḡhā, the Riyāz-us-salātīn and the Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī. The inference is therefore that Sylhet was conquered some time between 885-887 A.H. (1480-82 A.D.).

R. D. BANERJĪ.

207. NIṢĀRS OF SHĀHJAHĀN.

The niṣār of Shāhjahān issued from the Akbarnagar mint, published by Lt.-Colonel Nevill in article No. 198 of Numis-

¹ Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. I, p. 308. Pl. XXIX, 16.

² History of Bengal, Vol. II, p. 216.

³ Ravenshaw's Gaur, its ruins and inscriptions, p. 55 note.

⁴ J.A.S.B. O.S., Vol. XLII, 1873, pt I, p. 277.

matic Supplement No XXVII closely resembles one acquired by the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, in 1917. The latter is dated 1065-29 and prior to the Nadia find was the earliest known of this mintage.

The coin is figured below. It will be observed that these issues are devoid of the symbol آ on the reverse, which for some reason still unexplained is often found on similar issues from the mints of Agra, Lahor and Shāhjahānābād.



K. N. DIKSHIT

208 A NEW JAUNPUR MOHAR OF AKBAR

Metal—A
Size—1.00
Weight—168 grains
Date—971 H
Mint—Jaunpur
Provenance—Lucknow

Obverse

Within incused diamond

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
محمد رسول الله

Margin

[الاعظم] الإعظم دعوى حلال الله
ملكه وسلطانه

Reverse

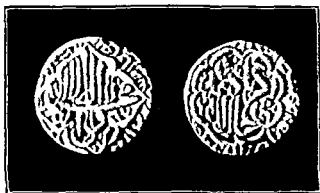
Within eight foil

شاه
اکبر باد عاری
محمد حلال الدس

Margin

ناصر الدس والدس [ابو المعطر]
صرب حویپور ۹۷۱

The design and execution of this piece are superior in many respects to those of the usual Jaunpur issues. It is noteworthy that the coin bears the same style and title of the Badshah as the later coins of this mint the epithet 'Nasir u d duniya wa u d din' being characteristic. Mr. Whitehead in his mint notes (P.M.C. p. lxvii) says that 'the gold coins of Akbar [struck at Jaunpur] commence in 972 with broad pieces of good execution. This coin which has lately been added to the cabinet of the Provincial Museum Lucknow, is not only one year earlier but reveals to us a distinct type differing markedly from the well known broad pieces of Jaunpur.



K. N. DIKSHIT


209 A NEW GOLD COIN OF CHANDRAGUPTA II

Metal—A

Weight—121 grains

Provenance—Mirzapur, U P

Obv—King nimbate, standing left, wearing a turban adorned with some ornament above the forehead, coat and trousers and the usual jewellery consisting of ear rings, neck lace (?) and armlets. He holds a bow, with the string outwards by the middle, in the left hand and an arrow (?) in the right. "Chandra" is written vertically to the right outside the string. The marginal legend beginning from the proper left reads *Deva-srī-mahā* and forms part of the complete legend *Deva Srī Mahārājādhirāja Srī Chandraguptah* found usually on the archer type.

Rev—Goddess (*Lakṣmī*) nimbate, seated facing on lotus holding a fillet in her outstretched right hand and a lotus with a long stalk in the left. There are traces of a border of dots on the top. To the left is the monogram  and to the right the legend *Srī Vikramah*.

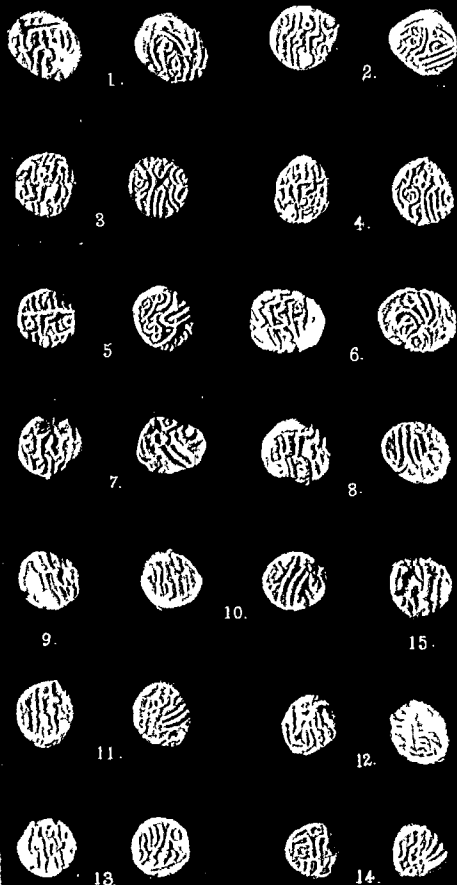
The obverse corresponds with the specimen in the British Museum published as Var γ¹, but the reverse has a lotus instead of a throne seat and as such presents an interesting new variety of the archer type formed by the combination of an obverse and reverse which are known separately.²

This coin belongs to the Mirzapur find of 1910 and has not apparently been noticed.



PRADYAS DASS

¹ See Allan, *Coins of the Gupta Dynasty*, p. 25.² Do do Pl. VI, 5 and 10.



COINS OF THE JAJAPELLA DYNASTY



1.



2.



3.



4.



5.



6.



7.



8.



9.



- 1 Pratihāra Gold coins 2 Gold Coin of Udayadeva
 3 Unrecorded Kings of Arakan 4 Ālamgīrnagar. 5. Guru Govinda

Note.—The numeration of the articles below is continued from p. 90 of the "Journal and Proceedings" for 1920.

210. ABŪL FAZL'S INVENTORY OF AKBAR'S MINTS.

There is not probably, in the entire range of the historical literature relating to the Indian Mughals, a passage which has been more frequently quoted or referred to by the students of their coins than the list of Akbari mints in the *Āin*.¹ The statement itself is neither lengthy nor complicated, nor is there anything extraordinarily difficult in its style or construction. And yet it can be hardly said that the author's meaning has been correctly apprehended. Some authorities have found fault with it in general terms, as 'imperfect' or 'inaccurate,' or 'incomplete.' Others have expressed their disappointment at the omission of this or that mint, of which coins of any year have been found, or their dissatisfaction on account of the inclusion of towns of which no issues are known.²

As a writer, Abūl Fazl has his faults. His pompous platitudes, perpetual and, to us, fulsome adulation of his master and his habit of enveloping simple matters in a cloud of difficult or obscure words often excite our dislike and sometimes our disgust. But it has not been denied even by the most unfriendly critics, that he had exceptionally authentic and exact sources of information. There was not an important document or official record which was not open to his inspection, or which he could not have requisitioned at his pleasure. His appetite for knowledge of all kinds was prodigious. His avidity for 'dry facts and figures' literally knew no bounds. Nor was he a mere glutton or indiscriminate devourer of facts. Every page of the *Āin* bears witness to his capacity of digesting and assimilating enormous masses of them, and his powers of analysis and the lucid presentation of his materials have ex-

¹ Prinsep (*Useful Tables*, ed. 1834, p. 18), Thomas (*Chronicles*, ed 1871, pp 427-8) and Lane Poole (*British Museum Catalogue*, *Intro*, p. liii) have all transcribed the list with or without comment.

² Mr. Oliver complains that "Akbarābād, Mirāth, Nārnol, Fathpūr, Sherpūr, Gobindpūr, Bairātah, Deogir, Doganw and (?) Sirsa Benares" are not mentioned by Abūl Fazl in his list of Mints given in the *Āin* (*J.A.S.B.*, 1886, p. 4). See also I.M.C. III. *Intro* xxxv (Bhakkar), xlvii. (Gobindpūr); P.M.C. *Intro* lxxv. (Bhakkar). Num Sup XI. 322 (Hār Rupees of 966 A.H.); *Ibid*. 324 (Gadraula Rupee of 967 A.H.) for similar remarks. *

torted admiration even from those to whom his style is intolerable.¹

It may therefore be permissible to enter into a critical examination of this *locus classicus* in order to remove existing errors of interpretation elucidate the author's real meaning and reassess its value as a numismatic document.

Let me begin by allowing Abul Fazl to speak in his own words —

سر آغار سلطنت بهمان درواں حاکم نام ولا بلاد نامی مناصب
امروز از چهار خاں بکدر معصک اودال بدگاله احمد آباد کابل بقوه و مس
در آن چهار خای و د ده شهر دیگر عالی رتبی نامی اند اله اس اگر آخن
سورب دعلی بلده کشمیر لاهو ملتان باده و مس بها در بسب و هشت
عموره نقش پذیر آد احمد و ده انک الور داوس بدارس بکر بده و دس
خودور خالدهر مردار حصار بدوره کالپی گوالدر گورکبه نور کلاور لکهنو
مدو ناگور سرهند صدالکوٹ سروج سهار پور سارنگپور سدل و دوح رندپور *

Āin-i Akbari Bibl. Ind. Text I 27 ll 91

This has been thus rendered by Blochmann

In the beginning of this reign gold was coined to the glory of his Majesty in many parts of the empire now gold coins are struck at four places only viz. at the seat of the government in Bengal Ahmadabad (Gujrat) and Kābil. Silver and copper are likewise coined in these four places and besides in the following ten places—Ilahabas Agra Ujan Sūrat Dihli Patana Kashmir Lahor Multan Tandah. In twenty eight towns copper coins only are struck viz. Ajmir Andh Atak Alwar Badaon Banaras Bhulkar Bahrah Patan Jaunpūr

¹ Abulfazl's high official position gave him access to any document he wished to consult and his long career and training in various departments of the state and his marvellous powers of expression fitted him eminently for the composition of a work like the Akbarnamah and the Āin. His love of truth and his correctness of information are apparent on every page of the book. Blochmann *Āin Trans* Pref. v.

It [the Āin] will deservedly go down to posterity as a unique compilation of the systems of administration and control throughout the various departments of government in a great Empire faithfully and minutely recorded in the smallest detail with such an array of facts *** as the abundant material supplied from official sources could furnish. (Jarrett *Āin Trans* II Preface vii.)

His one merit—and it is one which I especially claim for myself—is his laboriousness. *** His work has also the imperishable merit of being a record by a contemporary and by one who had access to information at first hand. H. Beveridge *Akbarnama Trans* I Preface.

Jālandhar, Hardwār, Hisār Firūzah, Kālpi, Gwāliār, Gorak'hpur, Kalānwar, Lak'hnaū, Mandū, Nāgor, Sarhind, Siyālkōt, Sarōnj, Sahāranpur, Sārangpur, Sambal, Qanaūj, Rantanbhūr."

It will be seen that Blochmann has punctuated this passage. It is common knowledge that there are no stops in Oriental writing. The real sense of the author is consequently liable to be altered, and an erroneous impression conveyed of its significance by careless or incorrect pointing in the translation. For my part, I cannot understand why a semicolon has been placed at 'empire,' and a full-stop at 'Kābul' and 'Tāndah.' It is at 'empire' that there is the first real pause in the sense, and a new sentence begins at 'Now,' which is continued, in fact, to the end.

Then, again, the phrase used for the first of the four gold-mints is rendered 'Seat of the government,' and has been naturally understood to denote either Āgra or Fathpur (Thomas, *Chronicles*, 427; Lane Poole, *B.M.C. Introd.*, p. liii; Oliver, *J.A.S.B.*, 1886, p. 4). This is misleading. The original words are *مَعسَکَرِ اقبال* *lit.* 'Camping-ground of Good Fortune.' It seems to me that Abūl Faḡl is using an expression having exactly the same significance as اردوي ظفر قرين. *Urdū* is a word of Turkish origin, *Mu'askar* of Arabic. *عسکر* 'army,' is generally believed to be an arabicised form of the Persian لشکر, (Hobson-Jobson, ed. Crooke, pp. 507-8), and *مَعسَکَر* means 'Place of encampment, camp' (Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, s.v.). Persian writers are notoriously fond of employing periphrastic expressions and of ringing the changes on identical ideas in different verbal forms. Several other locutions having the same import, e.g.

اردوي همايون , اردوي ظفر طراز , اردوي گيهان پوی , اردوي

گيهان نورد , اردوي معلی , اردوي اعلى , اردوي ظفر مکان *

معجم اقبال , معسکر ظفر پناه , معسکر فیروزي , معسکر دولت
معسکر والا , معسکر ظفر قرين , معسکر ظفر آشیان , معسکر همايون ,
موکب اقبال , موکب ظفر قرين *

are found in Sharfuddīn 'Alī Yazdī, Mirkhwānd, Khwāndamīr, Badāonī, Nizāmu-ddīn Ahmad, Abūl Faḡl, Mu'atamad Khān, 'Abdul Ḥamīd Lāhori and other historical writers.

With these other phrases we are not at present concerned, but it is incumbent upon any one who challenges the meaning assigned to an expression by an orientalist like Blochmann to give sufficient reasons for his contention. In such cases, an author is generally his own best commentator, and

I will therefore take at random some passages from the *Akbar nāma* in which the phrase under discussion occurs. The Persian scholar will be able to judge for himself. Those unacquainted with that language will have the satisfaction of having the real sense if not the literal meaning in the words of Mr Beveridge a disinterested scholar who is indisputably the highest living authority on the Akbari period.

I will first cite the following

و حکم مقدس شد که هیچ احدی در رکاب صرت نماند تا آنکه
خاوندان و ابدال این مردم را که وحدت بجای خلوت از کثرت اقسام این مردم
عبارت آلود نمگردند باز دایم نگارند و دنیا بباطن نا حدای خود نه نبار و بظاهر
از مردم چشم آلود از معسکر ابدال مروی آمدند *

Op cit II 60 ll 21 24

And [*scil* the Emperor] issued an order that no one of his retinue should be in attendance on him. He [*scil* Akbar] sent away his grooms and such like persons that the solitude of his retirement might not be contaminated by the crowd of this class of men and went out unattended and alone from the *Camp of fortune*. Beveridge *Akbarnama* Trans II 92

The context shows that the order was issued during the return journey from Mankot to Lahor and the *معسکر ابدال* must have been somewhere between those two places (*ibid* 91 94 *passim*). The synonymous expression *ردوی طغرورس* is used for it very soon afterwards (*ib* 94 Text 62 l 1).

Again we read

الغرض بعد فوج ا الفساق سگار از وی معلی را که در دواخی الور
بول سعادت فرموده بود روانه ساختند و خود دولت و ابدال از راه ناربول
حوالی ابدال فرموده بمعسکر ابدال بدوشتند *

Bibl Int Text II 329 ll 15 16

In fine after enjoying the hunting H M sent off his Camp [*ار وی معلی*] which had been pitched near Alwar while he himself went by way of Narnol and there joined the *Camp* [*معسکر ابدال*]. Beveridge II 484

Once more we have the phrase in the following sentence

اگرچه از سکوة را اب حبابگشای در آن واقع و دیو بحر بدوشت

قرار داد اما از نادانگی پنداری که در سر بیمعز خود دارد از هشت گروهی معسکر
اقبال میگردد که سادیتی رفته سرنشورس بر آرد *

Text, III 11, ll 21 23

' Though he could not maintain himself in that fort (scil. Broach) against the world conquering standards, yet the wine of presumption in his brain was making him pass by at a distance of eight Kos from the *Camp of fortune* in order that he might cause a disturbance in the country "

Beveridge, III 16

The 'Camp of fortune' was at the time [A H 980] some where near Barodī, and the subject of the next chapter is "the rapid march of the Shāhinshah against Ibrahim Husain Mirzā, the battle and the defeat of the enemy" [at Sarnāl near Thāsra], p 17

In the chronicle of the year 987 A H, the account of the death of a man called Bhūpat Chohan is thus introduced

آن شورده معرار تها سرشتی نتوانست همراهی گزید از اس آگهی
برسان شد که اطاع داران آن نواحی او را بدست آوردند از بیمای
در معسکر اقبال آمد و راحه خود مل و راحه بیرون را پناه اندشید *

Text, III 279, ll 4 6

"That turbulent-brained one would not choose to accompany them and an order was given that the landholders there [i.e. of Etawa] should arrest him, but out of terror he came to the *Camp of fortune*, and sought protection from Rāja Todar Mal and Rāja Birbrar " Beveridge, III 407

The *émeute* is said to have taken place when 'H M was in Thirah' (or Bhera or Mathra), on the return journey from Ajmer to Fathpūr by way of Mewat

One more passage only need be quoted *in extenso*

نست و چهارم ظاهر میگرد معسکر اقبال شد گیتی خداوند دناغ دلکشی
آن مصر دولت عشرت ادوجب *

Text, III 346, ll 19 20

"On the 24th [Isfandārmaz, XV R-Y] the army encamped at Sarhind, and H M rested in the delightful gardens of that city " Beveridge III 509

The Emperor was at the time [989 A H] marching against his brother, Muhammad Hākīm, who had invaded the Panjāb

It will suffice to give references only to the other places in which the phrase occurs They are Akbarnāma Text I 45 (Trans I. 135), I 46 (Trans I. 136), II 56 (Trans

II 86) II 199 (Trans II 310) II 284 (Trans II 420) II 318 (Trans II 469) III 97 (Trans III 136) III 243 (Trans III 348) III 370 (Trans III 543)

The autobiography of the Emperor Jahangir is a much smaller work than the *Akbarnāma* and still I have noted at least nine instances of the use of the expression in Sayyid Ahmad Khan's edition of the *Tuzuk*. They arrest attention on pp 207 250 317 323 355 356 359 360 and 376. English readers will find the corresponding passages at I 418 II 48 180 191 250 252 258 269 and 287 of Mr Rogers' version and have little or no difficulty in discovering that it is always rendered by some such word or phrase as Camp encamping place Camp of the army of prosperity abode of good fortune or by some verbal clause having a similar signification. One of these passages I beg permission to quote as the author himself leaves no room for doubt as to its meaning by employing اردوی طغرورس and معسكر فعال as absolutely synonymous or interchangeable expressions.

بالکمان در هوای دهلی سد ہوا بخاری و صدر حان و راجہ کسنداس
ار شہر آمدہ بسعاب رکاب وں سر قرار شدند بافرحان و وحدار سرکار اودہ
ندردن نارنج خود را ناروی طغرورس رسانند بسب و بدختم ماہ مذکور
ار معمرؤہ دهلی گندسہ در کنار آب حہہ معسكر فعال آراہہ م *

Text 356 II 12 15

Mr Rogers' translation runs as follows

In fine when I was near Delhi Sayyid Bahā Bahā Buhārī Sādi K[hān] and Raja Kishan Dās came out of the city and had the good fortune to kiss my stirrup Bāqir K[hān] faujdar of Oudh also on this day came to the victorious camp. On the 25th of the month passing by Delhi I pitched my camp on the bank of the Jumna II 262

The locution is not unknown to later writers and occurs thrice in the *Iqbāl-nāma* : *Jahangir* of Mu'atamad Khan (Bibl Ind edition 71 170 and 203). The author of the *Bādishāh-nāma* would appear to have been as fond of it as Abul Fazl himself as will be seen from the following references to the pages on which it is found Bibl Ind Text I : 327 411 521 527 I : 9 17 20 71 73 117 121 II 22 111 143 190 257 320 and 413

These instances suffice to show that the mint name at the head of the list does not stand for Agra or Fathpur but is to be understood in the same sense as اردوی طغرورس. No issues of

¹ Agra is ruled out as it is separately mentioned below among the towns licensed to coin silver only and not gold. The glory of Fathpur

the latter mint were known when Blochmann wrote and this probably accounts for his failure to grasp the real meaning

The Mughal Emperors were accompanied on their progresses and expeditions by all the Imperial *Kārkhānas* or Establishments, the Treasury for precious stones, the *Tarrāsh Khāna*, the *Āblār Khāna*, the Kitchen, Wardrobe, Library, Arsenal Stables for elephants horses, camels, cows etc (*Vide Bernier's Travels*, Ed V A Smith (1914), pp 258-9) The *دار الصرب* or Mint also was one of them Its workmen and officials followed the *Pādīshāh* wherever he went and had to be always in attendance¹ 'This was the *اردوی ظفر قرین* or *معسكر اقل* Mint,' and it appears to have been also called *سرا صرب حضور*

Abūl Faẓl writes 'As regards gold coins the custom followed in the Imperial mint is to coin *La'l* i *Jalālī* *Dhans* and *Mans*, each coin for the space of a month The other gold coins are never stamped without special orders' Blochmann, *Āin*, Trans I 30 Here the words in the original are *سرا صرب حضور* *lit* 'the Huzūr's [i.e. Emperor's] house for striking coins' Text, I 26, l 8

This material error corrected let me give a literal rendering of the passage, making only such alterations or additions in Blochmann's wording as are absolutely necessary, and indicating them by italic type The punctuation also has been set right and the names of the towns about which there is no dispute omitted

had departed long since Akbar quitted it finally in the thirtieth year of his reign (993 A.H. 1585 A.C.) and returned to Āgra after thirteen years' absence only in 1599 A.C. He never lived at Faṭhpūr again except for a few days in May 1601 A.C. (V A Smith Akbar 100-7 and 231) W. Finch describes it in 1610 as 'all ruinate lying like a waste desert and very dangerous to passe through in the night the buildings lying wast without inhabitants Purchas, His Pilgrimes MacLehose's Reprint (1905) IV 42

The dread of an Uzbek invasion compelled the Emperor to take post near the frontier and his headquarters were really at Lāhor during this period But the *Mu askar-i Iqbal* mint cannot apparently be identified with Lāhor as the name of the latter town occurs in the catalogue of *silver* mints

Nizāmuddin Ahmad in his account of the campaign against Hājjpūr and Patna says 'The boats carried all his [*scil.* Akbar's] equipments and establishments [*کارخانهای سلطنت*] armour, drums, treasure carpets kitchen utensils stud etc ' *Ṭabaqat-i Akbari* in Elliot and Dowson V 374 There are elaborate accounts of all these *Kārkhānas* *قورخانه و بنارخانه و خزانخانه و کورکراتخانه و فراشخانه و چننه خانه و طواک* as Nizāmuddin calls them (Lakhnau Lithograph 315 ll

8-9) in the First Book of the *Āin* and the Mint comes in for treatment only because it was one of the *Kārkhānas* attached to the Imperial Household—the subject of that Book *Vide* Blochmann *Āin* Trans 107.

'In the beginning of this *incomparable* reign, gold was coined to the glory of his Majesty's name in many places of the empire At this time [*اليوم*] gold coins are not struck at more than four places, the Camp of Good Fortune, Bangal, Ahmadabad and Kabul, silver and copper are likewise *exalted by being* coined in these four places and besides [the following] ten places, [Names], in twenty eight towns copper coins only are struck [Names]'

It will perhaps appear strange but it is nevertheless true that the most important word in this passage is *اليوم* *at this day, to day at this time*, or as Blochmann renders it 'now'. There can be no doubt that this particle governs every one of the three members of the sentence of which it is the leading word and not the clause relating to gold only as Blochmann's pointing would lead one and has actually led many to suppose *It applies to silver and to copper just as much as to gold*, and it was clearly the intention of the author to say that the statement (the whole and not any particular part of it) was true *only of the time at which he was writing*

The question which then arises is when was the passage written? To such an inquiry concerning a few lines in so voluminous a work it is obviously not easy to give an exact answer. There appear to be good reasons for contending that the list was *first drawn up* in the 40th year, but there are at least equally good grounds for holding that it was *revised* at some time *before the end* of the 42nd. The list is found at the 27th page of the text and in the very First Book of the *Āin*. The first chapter of that Book is on the subject of the 'Imperial Household,' and we find there the following explicit statement 'Although many servants of the Household receive their salaries on the list of the army there was paid for the household in the *thirty ninth year of the Divine Era*, the sum of 309,186 795 dams" (Blochmann, Trans *Āin*, I 12). Now if Abū'l Fazl had before him, *when* he composed the very first chapter, the figures for the 39th year, and if he completed his prodigious task, as he himself afterwards tells us, in the 42nd year it is fairly clear that he could not have indited the statement before us either many months before or many months after the commencement of the 40th year.

That year is expressly indicated in the account of the 'Divine Era' in the first chapter of the Third Book. In this time worn world of affliction, Divine Providence has vouchsafed its aid to many who have attained considerable renown in these constructions, such as Archimedes Aristarchus and Hipparchus in Egypt, from whose time to the present, the 40th year of the Divine Era, 1,769 years have elapsed' (Jarrett, *Āin*,

Trans II 3) Similarly, we are informed in other places that 1,652 years of the Vikrama Era (*ib* 15), 1,517 of the Shaka Era (p 16), 1,002 of the Hiji Era (p 28) and 963 years by the Yazdajardi reckoning had *elapsed* at the time of writing (p 28) Now the 40th year Ilahi began on 9 Rajab, 1003 A H (*Akbar nāma* Text III 667) = 10th March 1595 A C' (Old Style) The first day of Vikrama 1653 was 23rd October 1595 A C, of 1518 Shaka, 18th March 1596 A C and of 964 Yazdajardi 19th October 1595 A C Old Style (S Pillai Indian Chronology, Cowasji Patell Chronology) The basis of three other synchronisms occurring elsewhere in the same volume is again the 40th year 'Towards the close of the Dwapar Yūg, 135 years before the beginning of the Kali Yūg and 4 831 years anterior to *this the 40th of the Divine Era*, this event [the War of the Mahabharat] arose into fame, and was left to posterity as a record of portentous warning" (Jarrett II 283) We are also informed that an ascetic named Mahabah flourished in Malwa 2,355 years 5 months and 27 days *prior to this the 40th year of the Divine Era*" (p 214), and that the Rāja Ugnand (*sic*) of Kashmir lived 4 044 years before "*this the 40th year of the Divine Era* (p 381)

Once more we are expressly told, at the commencement of the invaluable statistical 'Account of the Twelve Sūbahs' which occupies more than three fourths of the second volume of Colonel Jarrett's translation, that "*in the 40th year of the Divine Era*, His Majesty's dominions consisted of one hundred and five sarkars (divisions of a Sūbah) subdivided into two thousand seven hundred and thirty seven townships" Jarrett, II 115

Lastly, we find the author thus lamenting the death of his brother in what may be truly called the Epilogue to his great prose poem 'Scarce half of the first book [دومر حصہ] had been written, when destiny worked its spell, and that free spirit in the fulness of its knowledge, took its last journey and afflicted my heart with an exceeding grief" (Jarrett, III 412) That 'free spirit' was Abūl Faiz Ibrahīm, 'the first writer of his age the laureate among accomplished poets' whose death is elsewhere recorded to have taken place on 21st Mihr, 40 R Y 10th Safar, 1004 A H (15th October 1595 A C) *Akbarnama* Text, III 673, l 4, Lowe, Badaoni II 420

It will be seen that in every one of these ten passages the year of writing is invariably identified with the 40th year Ilahi, and it would be open to any one to argue that the inventory must be supposed to have reference to *that year* and no other But there is a statement in the *first Book* which must have been inserted in the 42nd "Hitherto, the cost of these articles," Abūl Faiz writes 'had been uniformly computed and fixed by contract with the camel drivers But

when in the 42nd year of the Divine Era [1598 A D],¹ it was brought to the notice of His Majesty, that these people were, to a certain extent losers, this regulation was abolished' (Blochmann, *Āin*, Trans I 146) And in the Epilogue or Conclusion which I have just mentioned, the author informs us that after the death of his brother he 'methodised his materials anew' (Jarrett's Trans III 414) He afterwards speaks of renewing his task 'for the fourth time,' and of finally undertaking 'a fifth revision' and 'going over the work from the beginning' (*ibid* 415) Lastly, he tells us that the entire work, i.e. the *Akbarnāma* of which the *Āin* is the last or concluding section (*daftar*) was completed in the 42nd year "Within the space of seven years, *** a compendious survey covering a period from Adam down to the sacred person of the prince regnant has been concluded and from the birth of His Imperial Majesty to this day [امروز Text, II 256, l 24] which is the 42nd of the Divine Era and according to the lunar computation, 1006, the occurrences of fifty five years of that nursling of Grace have been felicitously recorded and my mind has been lightened in some degree of its stupendous burden" (*ibid* 416)²

It may be perhaps worth while pointing out that there are some indications in the list itself of revision or subsequent

¹ The 42nd year began on 2nd Sha abān 1005 A H (11th March 1597) and ended on 12th Sha abān 1006 A H (10th March 1598 A C Old Style)

² It should be borne in mind that the *Āin* is not a separate work but part and parcel of the *Akbarnāma* The *Āin* i *Akbarī* says Blochmann "is the third volume of the *Akbarnamah* by Shaikh 'Abulfazl *** The first volume of this gigantic work contains the history of Timur's family *** and the reigns of Babar, the Sūr Kings and Humayūn, whilst the second volume is devoted to the detailed history of nearly forty six years of the reign of the Great Emperor The concluding volume the *Āin* i *Akbarī* contains that information regarding Akbar's reign, which though not strictly historical is yet essential to a correct understanding of the times" Trans Preface, iii

Abūl Fazl repeatedly refers to its contents as belonging to the last or final volume (آخرى دفتر) of the *Akbarnāma* (Beveridge Trans II 403, III 107, 414, 514, 635, 739, 807, 828, *Āin* Jarrett, III 416) Badāonī also speaks in the same strain Lowe Trans II 338, 406

The observations in the Epilogue about the corrections and revisions have reference, therefore, to the entire work and not to the concluding portion or supplement which European writers specifically call the *Āin* Indeed the statements about the trouble taken to secure reliable accounts of events the attention bestowed on fixing the chronology of Akbar's reign in terms of the Ilshī Era (Jarrett III 414) the explicit reference to the "occurrences of fifty five years of that nursling of grace" and the "introduction of a few stanzas which should be in harmonious accord with the composition" (*ibid* 415) are more applicable to the historical portion of the work than the statistical—to what is now generally called the *Akbarnāma* than to the *Āin*

Akbar was born on Sunday, 6th Rajab, 949 A H [15th October, 1512 A C] He therefore completed fifty five *Ilshī* years in October 1597—Safar, 1006 A H

addition. It will be observed that the first twenty names in the catalogue of copper-mints are arranged in alphabetical order. Eight new names are then added, seven of which are again marshalled on the same principle and then, lastly *another* name is inserted *out of the proper order* as if to make up for some inadvertent omission. It may be also noticed that six of these eight names begin with a *Ṣin*. It would seem as if they had been all missed or accidentally left out in the first draft.

Well then, if we are to understand by *موجود* (*at the present time*), the 42nd year *Ilāhī*, it follows that the list is not and was never intended to be anything like the exhaustive enumeration of the Akbarī mints, which it has been supposed by many of our authorities to be. The mints of an Antecedent or Earlier Period are expressly excluded, and we have no right whatever to expect any recognition of them. It is also self-evident that all those mints which could not, for historical reasons, have been in existence before the 42nd year must be ruled out.

But what do we mean by the Mints of the Antecedent or Earlier Period? Now, the outstanding feature in the Numismatic history of the reign is the introduction of the *Ilāhī* Era, and the consequent remodelling of the coinage after the 29th year. It seems to me that we have here a clear dividing line, a parting of the ways between the old period and the new, which is fairly well marked, a bifurcation easy to make as well as to discern. The writer was evidently thinking of the Numismatic revolution which had taken place in his day, which he himself had borne no small part in engineering, and to which he frequently refers with pride and exultation in his pages. He was taking into account only those mints—which were at work when he wrote, and deliberately excluding all those which had been closed since the Reorganization of the Coinage and the Imperial Mints about the 30th year.

Briefly, my point is that all the criticisms based on the supposition or expectation of finding in his pages a complete list of Akbar's mints are radically erroneous and unfair to the writer. The first thing we have to do before he is put upon his trial is to eliminate all the mints which, though open during the Antecedent or Early Period, can not be shown to have been at work during the (Middle) Period of which he was writing. Next, we must also draw a line at the 42nd year and shut out all those which were demonstrably established for the first time after that date.

I now submit a chronological synopsis of Akbarī Mints which has been prepared mainly with a view to making these two lines of demarcation clear. The places at which coins in any metal were struck during the Earlier Period (IR—XXIXR) only have been marked with a star, those which were opened at some time after the 42nd year with an obelus or dagger.

The names of those *ateliers* which were presumably open during what I have called the Middle Period have been italicised

Abb Mints	Gold	Silver	Copper
<i>Atak Banāras</i>	—	—	37-43 R 48 R
<i>Ajmer</i>	—	—	970 A H
			979 1005 A H
<i>Ujain or Ujain</i>	—	968 987 1001 A H	986-1000 A H
		37 43R(?)	
		42-46 R	
<i>Ujainpūr</i>	—	—	45 R
<i>Ahmadabad</i>	980 988 A H	980-1000 A H	980-995 A H
		— 37 50 R	38-50 R
†Ahmadnagar	—	46 R	—
*Udaypur	984 A H	—	—
*Urdu	987 A H	Square 987 A H	—
<i>Urdu Zafar qarīn</i>	984 A H	Alf (1000) Undated	Alf 35 50 R
	Alf (1000)		Undated
†Asir	45 P	—	—
*Al barpur	—	—	981 982 (K)
			984 A H
*Akbarpur Tānda	—	971 973 4 A H	97 x A H
<i>Akbarnagar</i>	Undated Ilahī	Ilahī 50 R	994 A H (?) K
<i>Āgra</i>	971 984 A H	963-988 A H	965 988 40 R et seq
	42 or 44 R-50 R	42 50 R	
*Alwar	—	Early	965 (?) 967-8
			971 3 A H
<i>Ilahābad or Ilahabās</i>	—	40 R et seq	31, 32 42 R
		dated	
*Amīrkot (?)	—	—	979 989 A H
*Awadh	—	—	966-97 x A H
†Elchpur	—	Undated (N S xi)	—
†Bālpūr	—	48 R (N S xi)	—
†Bāndhu	—	Undated (after 42R)	—
<i>Badaon</i>	—	—	42 R ? (Valentine)
			38 R (HNW)
Birar (?)	—	42 or 43 R-49 R	—
†Burl ānpūr	45 R et seq	45-50 R	4 x 47 R
<i>Bangala</i>	—	39 R 1006 1011 A H	—
*Bahrāich	—	—	967 970-2 975
			978 A H (V ost)
*Bhakar	—	984 986 A H	98 x A H
			994 A H (?) (Rod)
<i>Birat</i>	—	42 or 43 R-49 R (?)	971 977 970 982
			42 R et seq
*Pattan	984 A H	984 A H	984-5 A H
<i>Patna</i>	983-987 A H	983-988 A H	987 A H 37 R
		42 R et seq	(K 3614)
		38 R et seq	—
<i>Tatta</i>	—	—	974 A H (V ost)
*Jalalpur	—	—	985 A H (HNW)
*Jalālnagar	—	—	980-989 A H
*Jaunpur	970 988 (N S V)	966-980 A H	967 A H
*Chunār (?)	—	97 x A H	999-1008 A H
<i>Chitor</i>	—	—	—
*Chitor Jalānpur(?)	—	976 A H	—
<i>Hissar</i>	—	963 A H Early	37 R 38 R
<i>Hissar-Firūzā</i>	—	963 967 A H	963 7 974 A H
		991 A H (K)	995 A H (Rod)
*Khairatāl	—	—	969 R B W
<i>Khairpur (?)</i>	—	—	997 A H 45 47 R

Akk Mints	Gold	Silver	Copper
<i>Doḡāon</i>	—	—	974 976 979-1005 1011-13 A H 44 R
<i>Dehli</i>	971 or 972-979 A H 982 A H	954-956 A H , 30 or 35 R et seq Undated, 42 (?) R (Dai)	953-958 A H , 37 R et seq
<i>Deval Bandar</i>	—	—	—
<i>Sironj</i>	—	—	38 R (N S V)
<i>Sarhind</i>	50 R (D C) ?	—	987 A.H. 37 41 R
<i>Srinagar</i>	—	40-1 R, 45-50 R 4 x R	37, 38 40, 42 43 47 R
† <i>Salimābād</i>	—	—	1007 A H
* <i>Salimābād Ajmir</i>	—	—	982 A.H
<i>Sambal</i>	—	—	31 R (K 3610) Un dated ½ Tanka 44 R (Oliver)
<i>Sūrat</i>	—	38 R	—
<i>Sahāranpūr</i>	—	—	37-41 R
† <i>Sitpūr (?)</i>	—	47-49 R	—
* <i>Shahgarh Qanaui</i>	—	—	968 9 A H
* <i>Sherpūr</i>	—	—	98 x and 983 A H
* <i>Shergarh</i>	—	964 966-7 A.H	—
* <i>Fathpūr</i>	986-988 or 989 A H	985-989 A.H.	979 982 989 A H
<i>Kābul</i>	Tangas 971 2 A H (?)	Half Dirhams (?), 44-50 R	32-50 R
* <i>Katak</i>	Square	Square 987	—
<i>Kashmir</i>	999 (?) A H	Local type 994-5 A H	99 x A H (Rod)
<i>Kalānūr</i>	—	—	37 R (Rod), 3 x R (K)
* <i>Kalpi</i>	—	964 9 A H	963 9 971-3 A H
* <i>Kora Karra (?)</i>	—	—	37 R † HNW
* <i>Kuratpūr (?)</i>	—	—	K. (No 3606)
* <i>Gadrawla</i>	—	967 A H	—
* <i>Gobindpūr</i>	—	—	44-48 R
<i>Gorakpūr</i>	—	—	980-986 A.H. -50 R
<i>Gwāliar</i>	—	—	967-8, 987 A H , 38 R
<i>Lāhor</i>	971-988 A H 40-50 R	963-989 A H 36-50 R	976-98-9 A H 36-50 R
<i>Lakhnau</i>	—	968 A H	963-989 A.H 1000 A H. (K)
<i>Lahri Bandar</i>	—	42 R (?), 47 R (K)	—
* <i>Malpūr (?)</i>	984 A H	98 x A H	983-5 A.H
* <i>Mānākpūr</i>	—	—	98 x 987 A H
* <i>Mānghar</i>	—	—	968 A H
* <i>Madankot</i>	—	—	985 A.H (K No 3588)
<i>Multān</i>	—	37 R-42 R	37-41 R 4 x R
* <i>Mirra or Mirat</i>	—	—	987-989 A H
<i>Narnol¹</i>	—	Early 971 A H	963-1006 A H 49-50 R

¹ I have taken the 4th year as the extreme or outside limit, because the *Āin* is expressly said in the Epilogue to have been completed on the last day of that year (Jarrett *Āin* Trans III 445). But Abūl Fazl so often states that the "time of writing" was the 40th year that it would be open to any one else to adopt that year and not the 42nd. A classification of mints on that basis must, of course differ in some particulars from the above synopsis, but the net result will not be materially altered.

Let me now note the principal points

In Gold, Abūl Fazl has four mints

Mu askar i Iqbāl (Camp of Fortune), Bangāla Ahmādābād and Kabul

We possess the issues of Urdū Zafarqarīn Akbarnagar, Agra Kashmir and Lāhor

I have shown that *Mu askar i Iqbāl* and *Urdū Zafarqarīn* are really one and the same I have also discussed in another note the question of the Bangāla mint and given some reasons for thinking that it was really situated at Akbarnagar It is true that the two Ilahī Muhrs we possess do not exhibit any date 'beyond the Persian month,' but that is no reason for supposing that they were *not* struck when the mint was first opened about the 39th year, to which the earliest rupee of Bangala belongs

The Kashmir coin in the Panjab Museum is a solitary specimen of which the date (999 A H) is admittedly doubtful, if not conjectural altogether The coin is besides of the earlier or Kalma type It seems to me that like the similar Muhrs of Asir and Udaypūr, it is, to all intents and purposes, not a true coin at all, but a 'commemorative medal,' as Mr Lane Poole has justly described the former (B M C Introductory) Indeed it is a question whether we are justified in assuming on the strength of a *casual* issue of this sort, that there was a *regular* gold mint anywhere in Kashmir That there was no such mint at Asir we may be fairly certain, as there are no other issues of Asir at all, and Burhānpūr where there was such a mint is only a few miles off from Asir No government would think of maintaining two *first class* mints within a dozen miles of each other, and it is prying no undue compliment, perhaps, to that of Akbar to suppose that it was not guilty of such an extravagance

As for Agra, the earliest gold coins are of the 42nd year The Muhr in the Indian Museum (No 75) is of Shahrivar the sixth month of the Ilahī Calendar The quarter piece in the British Museum (No 164) is of Bahman—the eleventh Can it be that the mint was licensed to coin gold after Abūl Fazl had revised his list ?¹

I may also say that there are in three places incidental references to events which occurred in the 43rd and 45th years (Jarrett, *Ann*, Trans II 196 224 and 227) but there can be little doubt that they represent marginal additions or comments made *after* the formal completion of the work

¹ Here again we should not lose sight of the fact that the *Ann* by itself is a voluminous production of which the Bibliotheca Indica edition is a large quarto of nearly a thousand pages The lengthy epilogue which occupies more than fifty pages in Jarrett's translation is stated to have been finished on the last day of the 42nd year, but it does not therefore follow that the list of mints which occurs almost at the outset of the work was not revised for the last time *several months before that date*

In reference to Lāhor, Mr Nelson Wright says that the Ilāhī gold coins, "which are scarce, seem to have been issued first in the fortieth year, both the full muhr and its quarter being known" (I M C III lx) ¹ The muhrs have not been published, and it is perhaps permissible to invite attention to the possibility of error on account of the confusion between the symbol for zero and '5'. Mr Nelson Wright has read the date on certain Ilāhī Rupees of Dehli as 30 R. Mr Whitehead is sure that it is 35 R (P M C lxxv). Dr Taylor also confesses to have erroneously read '40' for '45' on some Ahmadābād Tankas (N S IV p 103) ²

Abūl Fazl tells us that gold coins were struck also at Ahmadābād and Kābul ³. We have not yet found any. But does it therefore follow that he was saying what was not? By no means. They may turn up any day. Kābul and Ahmadābād were both towns of the first importance in Akbar's dominions. Kābul was the capital of the northern quarter, ⁴ as Ahmadābād was of the western, Bangāla of the eastern, and *Muaskar-i Iqbāl*, the place where the Emperor happened to be constituted the centre of the empire. Ahmadābād was at this time perhaps the wealthiest city in the country. The Mughal system was, as I have shown elsewhere, a system of Free Coinage in all the metals. "Any private individual had the right of bringing bullion to the mint and having it coined on defraying the actual cost of coinage at certain specified rates and paying a seigniorage of about five per cent" (Num

¹ The quarter muhr was in the White King collection, Catalogue, Part III, No 3497.

² Mr Nelson Wright himself calls attention to another example of this error in his note on Gobindpūr. "In the Lāhor Museum Catalogue," he writes, "are given four coins of the fortieth year, but it seems probable that forty five has been mistaken for forty" I M C III, Introductory xlvii.

³ B M C Nos 26 29 are gold 'tangas' of Akbar of the Central Asian type. Three of these weigh eighteen grains each, and the fourth (a half piece) draws nine grains. No 26 is of the year 971 H, No 29 was struck in 972, and Nos 27 & 28 have no date. The name of the mint is not given, but it may be fairly conjectured that they are all Kābul issues of the Great Emperor. Similar gold pieces of Humāyūn also are known (B M C Nos 8 10a, I M C Nos 13 14). Dr White King had an exactly similar 'tanga' bearing the name of Sulaimān of Badakhshān (Num Chron 1896, Part II, pl xi, No 1, White King Catalogue, Part III, No 3422). He had two gold 'tangas' of Humāyūn also (*Ibid* Nos 3451 5).

⁴ Kābul was, moreover, a great entrepot of commerce. The Emperor Bābur writes: "Kābul is an excellent trading centre, if merchants went to Khita or to Rūm, they might make no higher profit. Down to Kābul every year come 7, 8 or 10000 horses and up to it, from Hindustān, come every year caravans of 10, 15 or 20000 heads of horses, bringing slaves, (barda), white cloth, sugar-candy, refined and common sugars, and aromatic roots. Many a trader is not content with a profit of 30 or 40 on 10. In Kābul, can be had the products of Khurāsān, Rūm, Irāq, and Chin (China), while it is Hindustān's own market." A S Beveridge, *Memoirs of Bābur*, Trans p 202. Leyden and Erskine's Translation, 117.

Sup XXVIII pp 61 5) This was of course subject to the condition that the mint was licensed to coin gold. But it is scarcely likely, considering the commercial demand for gold that the privilege should have been withheld from the most opulent city in the empire. The case of Kābul is similar and there would be nothing surprising in the future discovery of the gold coins of both those mints. It may be also worth recalling that we have Ahmadābād muhrs of every one of the three immediate successors of Akbar and Kabul gold pieces of Shah Jahān as well as Aurangzeb.¹

Let us now see how the account stands with regard to silver. According to our author that metal had the honour of being stamped with the Imperial name in 14 places.

Mu asṣar : Iqbāl Bangala Ahmadabad Kabul Ilahabas Āgra Ujjain Sūrat Dehli Patna Kashmir Lahor Multan and Tanda.

Our list of the Middle Period contains the following names

Ujjain Ahmadabad Urdū Zafarqarīn Āgra Ilahabad Bangala, Birat, Patna, Tatta Dehli Srinagar, Sūrat, Lahor, Multan.

It will be seen that we can show silver coins of only twelve mints out of the fourteen and possess no issues still, of Tanda and Kābul. At the same time we have Rupees of two mints, Tatta and Birat (or Birar) of which the writer does not appear to have known the existence.

I have shown elsewhere that the confusion between Patna and Tatta is unhappily only too common in Persian writing, and it is just possible that Abūl Fazl really wrote Tatta here, and not Patna.²

As for Kabul the discrepancy may, for aught we know, be more apparent than real. We possess copper coins struck at Kabul in the 32nd and subsequent years but the earliest Rupees known are of the 44th. At the same time there are in existence some half Shahrukhīs or 'Dirhams of the Central Asian type bearing Akbar's name. Unfortunately, they exhibit neither the name of the mint town, nor the date. Mr White

¹ Mr Whitehead informs me (February 1919) that there is an Ilāhi gold coin of Ahmadabad mint dated Mihr 42 R in the collection of Sir John Stanley.

² Mr Beveridge has pointed out an instance in the text of the *Akbarnāma* itself. At III 91 l 17 the Bibliotheca Indica text has 'Patna,' but "Blochmann [*Asiatic Trans* I 421] and the Lucknow edition have Tatta instead of Patna. *Akbarnāma*, Trans III 129 note.

The earliest Patna rupees are of the 42nd year. One of them only exhibits the month—*Shahrivar* (B M C No 209). The reading is probably correct but Mr Burn was "not quite satisfied with it 'as the name is written differently from the ordinary way'. He added that he had a coin of Aurangzeb in which the same difference was noticeable, but could not suggest a satisfactory reading. Mints of the Mughal Emperors J A S B 1901 p 79.

head has no doubt that they are "Kābul issues of the first years of this emperor" (P.M.C. Introd. xciii), but they may, for aught we know, belong to a later period. Kābul had been left by Humāyūn to his second son, Mirzā Muhammad Ḥakīm, who died in 993 A.H. (XXXR). It was then only that that part of his ancestral dominions came *directly and completely* under Akbar's rule. The earliest half-dāms are of the thirty-second year. They are of the Ilāhī pattern, but the issues in silver may have been, for obvious reasons, permitted to wear 'the old familiar faces' for some time *after* the regular or complete annexation of the Province.

Kābul and Tānda were two of the most important cities in the Empire. Both of them had been for long the capital towns of great kingdoms, and the unaccountable thing is not that Abūl-Faḥl has included them among the silver-mints of his time, but that they should be still unrepresented in our public and private collections. It may also be permissible to state, for what it is worth, that Tānda is one of those Mughal mints which are recognised by Dr. Codrington in his 'Manual.' It is true that no coins of Tānda have been published, and it is not vouched for either by Mr. Burn or by Mr. Whitehead, but it would be scarcely fair to Dr. Codrington to assume that he had no grounds whatever for registering this mint.

The reading of the name as well as of the date (42) on the rupees of Birāt (or Bīrār) is not quite certain. Supposing the date is really '*Bahman* 42' (the units figure is far from clear on I.M.C. No. 169, Pl. III), it still remains to say that the mint may have been first opened some time *after* the final revision of the list in that year.

There are in existence a very few coins of two other mints in reference to which there is the same uncertainty, viz., Dewāl Bandar and Lahri Bandar. There was a rupee of the former in the White King cabinet, but it exhibited only the month (Khūrdād), and there was no sign of the year. (Num. Chron. 1896, Pt. ii, p. 160.) There are two specimens in the Panjāb Museum, but all that Mr. Whitehead can say of them is that the dates are Ardibehisht and Dai 4X, *probably*, 42 (P.M.C. Nos. 346-7).

Of Lahri Bandar only three rupees are known. I can see no trace of a date on P.M.C. 483 (Pl. III), though the month (Āzar) is clear. Mr. Whitehead reads "42 (?) " and leaves it admittedly doubtful¹. May we not give Abūl-Faḥl in these three cases the benefit of the doubt?

¹ Mr. Whitehead informs me (February 1919) that he has a Lahri Bandar Rupee which is undoubtedly of the 42nd year, but the month is Dai—the tenth in the Ilāhī series.

In all those cases in which the earliest issues are of the 42nd year, it may not be unnecessary to recall attention to the fact that we do not

It may be perhaps necessary to add that I myself see no difficulty in identifying Abūl Fazl's Kashmir with our Srinagar and beg permission to refer for the reasons to N S XXVIII art 177

I also venture to think that the existence of a Mughal mint at Sūrāt during the Middle period is no longer open to doubt. Even supposing P M C No 355 to be a forgery (which I submit it is not) Mr Panna Lal's undoubtedly genuine Rupee of the 38th year (Num Sup XXVI art 101) settles the matter and there are besides the so called Coins of Gujarat fabric. Mr Master's admirable paper on the subject is convincing so far as it goes but it must not be supposed to go any further. He has proved conclusively that the Koris of Jannagar were called Mahmūdīs in the 17th century but it does not therefore follow that the same name was not borne simultaneously by other coins of very different types as to legends and lettering but resembling them in weight and size. How many diverse kinds of silver money were all called for similar reasons Rupees even within the last hundred years? Besides it is not easy to conceive how those Mahmūdīs which are said by so many European travellers to have been the most familiar medium of exchange in Sūrāt and its neighbourhood and which are not infrequently mentioned also by the Persian historians of the period could have been no other than the issues of the remote and by no means wealthy or powerful chief referred to. The 'Coins of Gujarat fabric' are obviously half rupees modelled on the local currency of the Gujarat Sultans and I am not aware of any grounds for positively asserting that they have no connection with the Mughal mint of Sūrāt.

We now come to copper and this part of Abul Fazl's list contains no less than 42 names in the aggregate viz

Mu askar 1 Iqbal Bangala Ahmadabad Kabul Ilahabas Agra Ujjain Sūrāt Dehli Patna Kashmir Lahor Multan Tanda Ajmer Audh Atak Alwar Badaon Banāras Bhakkar Bhīrah Pattan Jaunpūr Jalāndhar Hardwar Hisar Firūz Kalpi Gwalīar Gorakhpur Kalanūr Lakhnau Mandū Nagor Sirhind Siyālkot Siron Saharanpur Sarangpur Sambal Qanaul Rantanbhur

We can put together specimens of not more than twenty three or twenty four of them

Urdu Zafarqārīn Akbarnagar(?) Ahmadabad Kabul

know in what month of that year the 1st was for the last time revised. We might also do well to bear in mind that if the line of demarcation is drawn at the 40th year all these mints—Patna Brat Dewal Bandar Lahri Bandar—would not have to be brought into the reckoning.

¹ The Akbarnagar *fulus* was in the White King Collection (Catalogue Part III No 3670). The date 994 A H lays it open to suspicion. Akbarnagar was founded several years afterwards (1003 3 A H). There must be an error somewhere. If the date has been correctly read the

Ilahabās, Agra, Ujjain, Dehli, Patna, Srīnagar, Labor, Multan, Ajmer, Atak Bīdāon Hisar Gwallar Gorakhpūr Kālīnūr, Lakhnau Sirhind, Sironj Saharanpūr, Sambal

We have besides the issues of five mints of which Abūl Fazl takes no cognisance, viz

Birat, Chitor, Khairpūr Dogaon, and Narnol

There is no denying that the discrepancies, in this instance are numerous and disconcerting. Out of a total of 42 we have nothing at all to show for nineteen. But does that prove that the list is 'incomplete or imperfect' ? The boot is, if I may be excused for saying so, just on the other leg. It only means that it is a great deal too full, too complete. If it errs it does so not so much by defect as by surplusage. Far from proving that Abūl Fazl is 'inaccurate' it implies that we have attained but indifferent success in unearthing the Akbari issues in copper. It is common knowledge that the serious search for Mughal dams and fulūs began only about forty years ago. A few coins found in a small district (Kangra) enabled Mr Oliver in 1886 to add several new mints at a bound. Even in 1892 Mr Lane Poole complained that the rarest of all Mughal coins were those of copper. Ten years afterwards Mr Dames stated that no less than twenty nine new mints of Akbar alone had been since (1892) brought to light (*Num Chron*, 1902 p 277) about half of which were exclusively copper ateliers. Several others have become known within the last fifteen years, and a glance at the two most recent Catalogues must suffice to convince any one that there are in each several pieces which are altogether mintless or on which it is now impossible to decipher the name of the place of issue.

A few words about the five other places apparently ignored by Abul Fazl may not be out of place.

And first about Birat (بیرت) Abūl Fazl has the name بیرت Bīhrah. We have no coins of Bīhrah, but we have several of Birat—a place of which he himself says elsewhere that it 'had a copper mine so profitable that from a *man* weight of ore they obtain 35 *ser.* of metal' (Jarrett II, 181 Text, I 442). May it not be that بیرت is a miswriting or misreading of بیرت ?

mint-name must be wrong. If the latter has been rightly deciphered, the date will be found to require revision.

[There is nothing surprising in the scarcity of Bengal copper coins. Not more than two billion coins of the Bengal Sultans are known and no copper has been found bearing the name of any of the Sūri mints in that Province. Ed.]

¹ This name would appear to have puzzled not only the copyists of the *Āin* but its translators. It is written بیرت at p 27 of the *Bibliotheca Indica* Text. At p 31 of Blochmann's translation it is Bahrah but we are asked to read 'Bahirah' in the Table of Errata. The name of

There is very high authority for deciphering the name on several dams dated 999 1008 A H as Chitor but the reading is not so clear as might be wished. Mr Oliver was in favour of Qanauf (J A S B vol I 1886 pl II fig 23). Podgers thought the coins ought to be of the Jaipur mint (حدور) as the word is without dots but Jaipur was not in existence in the time of Akbar (In Iran Antiquary 1890 p 222) Col Richard Carnac Temple gave it as his opinion that it was neither حدور nor حدور but حدور or حدور (*Ibid* note). It may be perhaps necessary to recall the fact that Chitor is not and that Qanauf is one of Abul Fazl's copper mints of the Middle period.

The Indian Museum has 1141 pieces of a mint called Khairpūr but they are of the 45th and 47th years. Mr Whitehead has read the name on a coin of very different type dated 997 A H as Khairpūr. I have discussed the point elsewhere at some length and here must content myself with the suggestion that the reading stands in need of revision and that all these coins are probably of *Ujainpur*.

The peculiar thing about Dugaon is that though the name is conspicuous by its absence in the list before us Abul Fazl himself notes elsewhere in the *Āin* that 'in the vicinity of the town [*scil* Bahraich] there is a village called *Dolon* which for a long time possessed a mint for copper coinage' نردنگ اس شهر موصی است درگون نام ردنگار اور الفوس (*Jarret* II 172 *Bibl Ind Text* I 433)¹ It is clear that the author was not

Brāt is written برات at p 357 of the *Āin* and برات and برات are noted as variants at p 358. At p 44^o it is written پیرانه. In Jarrett's translation we have *Parat* at II 96 and *Perath* at II 181. Gladwin has *Beerat*. Tefienthaler *Berat*. *Description De l'Inde* Ed J Bernoulli 1786 I 123.

¹ The town of Dugaon (دوگون) is mentioned once in the *Akbar* *na* also in connection with the death of Arab Bahadur who had chosen a residence in the hill country of Bahraich to the north of Dugaon and near a black mountain. Beveridge *Akbarnama* Trans III 745 *Text* III 49^o. *Dulam* دوکم is also one of the hundred and odd towns and cities of Hindustān which are set out in Abul Fazl's *Tables of Latitudes and Longitudes*. Jarrett *Āin* Trans III 59—*Bibl Ind Text* II 33 Col 1 1 11.

The case of Narnol is very similar to that of Dugaon. In his account of the Sarkar of Narnol Abul Fazl expressly states that Singhana Udaipur is a copper mine and mint for copper coinage and two other Mahals Baba and Kotputli are also said to possess copper mines. Jarrett *Āin* II 194. And yet the name of Narnol is conspicuous by its absence from the list. Can it be that ناگور is a miswriting or misreading of نارول?

ignorant of the existence of the mint, but then why has he omitted it ? It may have been due to some oversight or inadvertence, but another explanation is just possible. The earliest Dogāon coin is of 974 A.H. We have issues also of 980, 986, 988 after which last there are "Dāms of most years up to 1003 A.H." (I.M.C. xliv). Mr. Whitehead has one of 1005 A.H. None of these issues are of the Ilāhī type. Then there is a break and we have half-tankas of the 44th year, and then again Dāms of 1011 and 1013 A.H. Can it be that the mint was *temporarily* suspended when Abūl Faḡl wrote, for some reason unknown ? It had been perhaps too prolific.

Here again, I may be allowed to invite attention to the fact, *quant. val.*, that Jālandhar, and Siyālkot are included in Dr. Codrington's list of Mughal mints.¹

It is clear then that this simple theory cannot be accepted and some other way of accounting for the presence of these seven names of the Early Period has to be sought. I venture to offer for what it is worth a suggestion which has occurred to me.

When the Imperial mint system was reorganized and the currency of the realm remodelled the number of places licensed to coin the two precious metals was considerably reduced probably with a view to secure more efficient supervision and a greater uniformity of standard. The privilege of issuing muhrs and their fractions was withdrawn from all but four places, and that of striking silver pieces was conferred on only fourteen towns in the Empire. It was not thought advisable or necessary to be so strict in regard to copper.¹ All the ordinary exchanges of the common people were conducted in that medium and the demand for Dāms was enormous everywhere. The number of copper mints (which in the earlier period had been about 39) was therefore not only not reduced but slightly augmented. It is probable that this was done with a view to ease the situation not unlikely to be created by the closing of so many mints to the coinage of gold and silver. At the same time the 42 mints were rearranged and their geographical distribution made much more equal.

In this readjustment all the places of any importance historical, political or commercial which had formerly enjoyed the privilege of striking copper viz. Awadh Alwar Bhakhar Patna Jaunpur Kalpi and Oanauj were for the nonce not deprived of it. Others however were much more severely dealt with. Akbarpūr Amritsar Bahraich Jalalpūr Jalalnagar Khairābād Sherpūr Gathpur Katak Kora Kiratpūr Malpūr Manikpūr Manghar Madankot and Merta (?) were all disfranchised. The reasons for this differential treatment are not difficult to understand. Most of them were third or fourth rate towns which were not rising in the world but declining or decaying and several of them have since sunk into such obscurity that it is now no easy task to determine their exact situation. The name of Bahraich was removed probably because Dogaon which had taken its place was much more

¹ In this connection the following observations of Thomas will bear quotation. "The practice of striking coin in subordinate cities also appears to have been an innovation introduced by the Mughals who drew a wise distinction between the importance of the local currency of copper and money fabricated from the more costly gold or silver. The absence of the Sultan's name indicated a departure from Indian practice under which we have uniformly seen the designation of the supreme authority impressed upon the copper money equally with the coins of higher value." Chron. Ind. 384. With all his fondness for innovation Akbar appears to have followed the traditional policy and allowed the copper currency to remain on a lower footing.

side of the account eight or nine *ateliers* which are apparently ignored in the *Āin*. But, then the readings of names and dates on which the question of the inclusion of most of them in the Middle Period of Akbar's reign depends are themselves not free from doubt and uncertainty. My submission therefore is that in view of our own inadequate equipment and information we are scarcely justified in assuming an attitude of superiority and delivering judgment against him. Far from having outstripped him, we are still lagging very much behind and our own knowledge of the Albari mints is neither so exact nor so complete as to entitle us to brand him with ignorance of the facts of his own day.

This does not mean that the *Āin* list is absolutely perfect. I am no believer in the infallibility of Abūl Fazl or of any other author living or dead. I have no doubt myself that when we are much better qualified (as I trust we shall be in the not distant future) to pronounce a really weighty opinion some errors here and there will be found. It is to be remembered that the text of the *Āin* has filtered through perhaps a score of muddy and corrupt transcripts before descending to us. It is not at all unlikely that two or three of these forty names have been miswritten by the copyists. It is also not impossible that one or two were read or transcribed incorrectly by Abūl Fazl himself. I know from my own study of his Summary Accounts of Todar Mal's Rent roll that he was occasionally unable to decipher the place names properly and made mistakes in transferring them to his pages.

When all these allowances—allowances for the defects inherent in the Persian script for the illegibility of the written records on which he had to rely and also for human error, are made and when that *terra incognita* which still disfigures the numismatic chart of the Akbari region has been thoroughly explored it will probably be found that this much abused inventory is not so hopelessly imperfect or inaccurate as it has been thought.

S. H. HODINATA

Junāgadh 10th Jan 1918

POSTSCRIPT

The preparation of an absolutely complete list of all the coins of any ruler who has issued money of all denominations so profusely as Akbar for nearly half a century must be an almost impossible achievement. It would be therefore presumptuous to imagine that no errors or omissions will be detected in the Chronological Synopsis contained in this article. I can only trust that it will not be found very inaccurate or incomplete in the present state of knowledge. I should not have ventured to say so if the list had not been carefully

scrutinised by Mr H Nelson Wright, Mr R B Whitehead and Mr W E M Campbell To all of them I have to make acknowledgments for bringing to my notice some points which stood in need of reconsideration, and furnishing the dates of several unpublished coins in their own collections and the Lakhnau Museum

In regard to the Lāhor gold pieces of the 40th Year Hāhi it is due to Mr Nelson Wright to state his own view of the case, and transcribe the following observations from a letter of his dated 25th April 1920 "Regarding the remarks about the Lāhor gold coins on p 15," he writes, "the Muḥar and 4 are my own and you may take it there is no possibility of error Both are clearly 40 (۴۰) and could not be read 45 The 0 is just a dot I send you a bad rubbing of the date on the Muḥar It has struck me whether 'Mu'askar i qbāl' in Abul Fazl's gold list might mean that wherever Akbar happened to be that place had the privilege of striking gold (and other) coin—in its own name, if it had facilities—quite apart from the 'Urdu Zafar qarīn' issues This might explain the gold coins of Lāhor of 40 I for Akbar, was, I think at Lāhor in 40 I

The suggestion is not unworthy of consideration though of course, there are difficulties in the way of its acceptance I have myself described the *Mu'askar i qbāl* as 'the place where the Emperor happened to be,' and represented it as constituting "for the time being the centre of the Empire (p 16 *supra*) It is clear that when Akbar's headquarters were in Lāhor Fort, two different mints would be simultaneously at work within the limits of the city, the town's own mint and the Camp mint attached to the personal establishment of the Emperor It is not unlikely that some confusion occasionally arose in consequence It should be remembered that Lāhor was to all intents and purposes, the real capital of the Empire during the fourth decade of the reign and about three years of the fifth, and Abūl Fazl repeatedly speaks of it as the *Alb Nām* Text III 733 l 24) and *۱۵* (ibid., III 747, l 15 and *Am* Text, I 76, l 10 Trans I (8) It is not at all unlikely that the actual name of the 'place of striking' may have been sometimes inscribed by the mint masters and engravers on the issues of the Emperor's private mint instead of the indefinite and nondescript designation 'Camp associated with Victory' It may be noticed that the name *Urdu Zafarqarīn* does not appear at all on the gold and silver coins of Akbar after the 11th—or thousandth year of the Hijra and that during the last sixteen years of the Great Emperor's reign its exhibition is permitted only on the humbler issues in copper Akbar was perpetually innovating in small things and it is a question if we may not see in this departure the beginning of the end—the first step towards the abolition of this migratory *al-his* The all but complete dis-

appearance of this curiously named mint in the reigns of Akbar's successors (the three known exceptions only prove the rule) lends some support to this conjecture. We know from Roe Beemer and Manucci that the emperors continued to be accompanied in their progresses by all the Imperial *kārkhānas*. We may be sure that the Mint was one of them and that coins were freely struck and the *سرا اصرر حصور* or His Majesty's Own Mint set to work whenever there was any necessity of doing so. But the old practice of stamping the words *اردو ظفر دوس* was for reasons not at all difficult to understand discontinued and the name of the nearest town or city inscribed in its stead. Jhāngīr's issues of Ajmer Ujain Kambavat and Mandu which are practically restricted to the years in which that Emperor is known have had his camp in those towns may perhaps be cited as early examples or illustrations of the new type of Camp issues. The same remarks may probably be made of Shah Jhān's very rare rupees of Ajmer and Fāthpūr and some of the coins issued from two or three obscure places in the Dekhān during the years in which Aurangzeb personally directed the campaigns against his irrepressible foes, the Marathas.

S H HODIVALA

THE COLLEGE

Junāgadh 1st May 1920

211 NOTES AND QUERIES REGARDING MUGHAL MINT TOWNS

ITAWAH AND ITAWA

In the Notes on Kanjī' and Manghar (N S XXXI) I have laid some stress on the fact that the Mughal spelling of Indian place names is neither so capricious nor so arbitrary as is sometimes supposed that all those toponyms which are or deserve to be well known are written in a fairly uniform manner by the better authors and that when there are alternative or double forms it is often possible to account for them. I beg to invite attention to day to the *raison d'être* of the form *ٲٲٲ* which is familiar to numismatists.

The earliest known coin of this mint is a Nisār of 1097 A H the earliest coin published a rupee of 1098 A H. The latter is in the Indian Museum which possesses a fine series of the rupees of Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr. In 1109—forty second year the mint which hitherto had been written *ٲٲٲ* is spelt *ٲٲٲ* and this spelling is retained to the end. (H N Wright I M C III Introd. xlv.)

The question is why was the orthography altered? To this the contemporary historian Khāfi Khān furnishes an answer which is quoted and translated below.

سابق از همان قدیم اسم بعضی بلاد و معمورها و قلاع که بزبان هندی
 شهرت دارند و آخر آن در تلفظ حرف ها میل بالف ظاهر می شود مثل مالوه
 و نگاه و کلاه و پرنانه می نوشتند میر هادی مخاطب بمضائل خان که بمخدمت
 دارالاشا مامور بود عرض رسانید که در زبان و رسم خط هندی آخر بعضی
 کلمه و اسم صریح حرف های آمده اگرچه الف هم املا در کلمه هندی
 نمی آید و از جمله می حرف سیزده حرف الف و حا و حائ و ذال و ز
 و صاد و ضاد و ط و ظا و عین و عس و قاف باشد در کلمه و کلام هندی
 بالکل منور کنند و در نوشتن و تلفظ نمی آید داخل حروف هندی نمی شمارند
 مگر آنکه عوی عین و الف و همزه حرفی دارند که اول کلمه در تحریر
 و تقریر می آید و در وسط و آخر کلمه املا نمی آید اما از آنکه از جمله
 ده دوازده اعراب که برای حرف هندی موصوع است و مدار مرکب ساختن
 حروف توان است یکی را باسم گانا نامند که از برای آخر کلمه وضع کرده اند
 و آن را بصورت الف می نویسند و مخرج الف نیز می خوانند این همان
 الف است که مشایخ فارسی از ابتدای اسلام هندوستان میخوانند در فارسی
 میخوانند باید الف نوشته شود بعد عینی پسند پادشاه گفته شد آمد و درس
 سال حکم فرمودند که آمده بجای ها الف می نوشته باشد مثل نگلا
 و ملوا و نلا و نرا و نط هندی آشنای دارد لطافت را خوب مورد

Ḥa Thā' Zā' Za Sad /ad Ta Za Am
 Cham and Qāf' are altogether absent in Indian words and Indian speech are never used in writing or pronunciation and are not reckoned as letters at all. In place of the alif the ain' and the hamza they have a letter [ا] which is written [in that form] and sounded [as such] only at the beginning of a word but never in its middle or end. But of the ten or twelve vowel signs which are employed (*lit* fixed) for (*ie* in writing) Hindu words and which are indispensable for combining (*ie* vocalising) their letters one is called the Kānā [the sign of the long vowel in ا] and this alone is used (*lit* fixed) at the end of a word. It is written like an alif [*ie* it is an upright stroke just like the alif] and sounded (*lit* ejected expressed) also just as if it was an alif. For this sign which is really an alif the Persian munshis have since the beginning of Islam in Hindustan erroneously substituted a ḥā. It should [correctly] be [represented] in transliteration (*lit* writing) by an alif. His suggestion (*lit* request) met with the approval of the critical Emperor and orders were issued in this year [XVI R Y 1103 4 A H] that in future an alif should be written instead of the ḥā e.g. Bangālā (بنگال) Mālwa (مالو), Baglanā (بگلان). Whosoever is acquainted with the Hindi alphabet must profoundly appreciate (*lit* meditate upon) the propriety (*lit* beauty elegance) [of this distinction].

In a word the contention of Fẓāl Ḥan¹ was that the letter ا was the true equivalent of the Arabic alif that the Kānā or upright stroke which took its place in the middle or at the end of a word in the Indian vernaculars possessed the same phonetic value and that the Persian munshis who had been employing a ḥā (ح) to represent it were in error. He was therefore of opinion that we should write مالو بگلان (مالو بگلان) etc. The argument appears to have found favour not only with Aurangzeb but with his successors and the numismatic evidence indicates that a lasting change was effected in the official system of transliteration.

We possess no coins of Mālwa or Baglana and none of

¹ Mir Had Fāzāl Ḥan was a favourite of the Prince Muḥammad Aẓam Shāh and one of the most learned men of his times. Having incurred Aurangzeb's displeasure he was disgraced and imprisoned in the fortress of Daulatābad in the 20th year of the reign. He was afterwards released and spent several years in retirement at Āgra. Aurangzeb then took him once more into favour and he was appointed Mir Munsh and Imperial Librarian. In the 44th year he was made *Dewan*: *Bayulāt* an I became *Nāib-i-Khan Saman* some time afterwards. He died in 1114 A H *Mahsūr-i-Umara* III 38-40. There are several references to him in the *Maasir-i-Ilām* re also Bbl Ind Text 352 361 432 457 and 471.

Bangāl after some Rupees of Akbar, but we have the issues of Itāwā, Owsā (Aūsā), Satāra, Karpā, and Korā

The name of the first of these five towns is invariably spelt with a final 'hā' by all the earlier writers (Abūl Fazl, *Āin*, Bibl Ind Text, I, * 443, *Albarnāma*, *ibid*, II, 100, 115, 187, 270, 298, III, 19, 88, 278, 309, 415, 426, *Bādīshāh nāma*, *ibid* I, 191, '*Ālamgīrnāma*, *ib*, 127, 237, 440, 475, 604, 765, 874, 885)

On the coins also, it is ہو before 1109 A H, afterwards, it is always ہو. Mr Whitehead says (P M C Introd xxviii) that the only exception known to him is a rupee of Ahmad Shāh in the Panjab Museum (No 2642) ¹

Again, Aūsā (Owsā of I G XIX, 294) is spelt اوسا in Abūl Fazl's *Albarnāma*, III, 800, *Bādīshāhnāma* I, i, 356, I, ii, 136, 140, 151, 154, 158, II, 221, 709, '*Ālamgīrnāma*, 1007, 1014 and other works written before the year in which the order was issued (1103 A H). But on the coins of Bahādur Shāh Shāh 'Ālam I, Farrukhsiyar, Muhammad Shah, and 'Ālamgīr II, it is always اوسا ²

So also, Abūl Fazl writes سارہ (*Albarnāma* III, 795), but on the coins of Muhammad Shah the name is سارہ.³

On the coins 'Cuddāpāh' is written کروپا exactly in accordance with the rule laid down by Aurangzeb, though the earliest are of the XXXVIIth year—the year next succeeding the one in which the order was (according to Khafī Khān) for the first time issued

Lastly, Muhammad Kāzīm of the '*Ālamgīrnāma* and others who wrote before 1103 A H affect the spelling کورو ⁴ but on the

¹ Attention may, however, be invited to B M C, 829 and 831 which are dated 1114 and 1115 A H, and yet have ہو. Mr Whitehead informs me (February 1919) that the name is written in the old way on a rupee of Muhammad Shāh also which is in his own cabinet

² In the *Maḡfiru l Umarū* which was commenced about 1155 A H and completed in 1193 A H, the name is thrice written اوسا. *Bibl Ind Text*, II, 837. I 196, 206

³ Both forms occur in the *Maḡfiru l Ālamgīrī*. We have سارہ on pp 336, 413, 421 and 421, سارہ on pp 401, 412, 425, 444. The *Maḡfiru l Umarū* has سارہ at I, 323 and II, 351, 503, 876 and سارہ at II, 512 and III, 42

⁴ We have کورو in *Albarnāma*, Text, III, 426, کورو in *Āin* Text, I, 319, 430 and کورو in *Maḡfiru l Ālamgīrī*, 12 as well as '*Ālamgīrnāma*, 241, 271, 285

coins of all the regular emperors from Rāfi u d darajāt to Shah Ālam II, the terminal letter is an *alif*

S H KODIYALA

Junāgadh 20th December 1917

ISLAMABAD

The difficulty of fixing the site of the Islamabad mint has been felt by all serious students of Mughal Numismatics. Chakna, Chittagong, Rairi and Mathura are all said (by Mr Whitehead) to have borne that name in the days of Aurangzeb. But this does not exhaust the list of towns called Islamabad whose pretensions it is not easy to determine.

There is an Islamabad in Kashmir also. We are told that it was once a large and prosperous place and that the well known spring called the Anant nag flows from its foot (Imp Gaz VIII 371). We learn from the *Bādīshah nama* that it was Shah Jahan who ordered the pargana or township of Incha (انچہ or انچه) the *Anvech* of Stein (Geography of Kashmir J A S B 1899 p 178) to be called Islamabad (*Bibl Ind* text I ii 49 50). The town is referred to under one or other of these names in several other places also (*Ibid* II 209 428 433 *Tuzuk i Jahāngīr*, Rogers and Beveridge Trans II 174 *Ālamgīrnāma Bibl Ind* text 835 Thornton Gazetteer New Edition p 430).

The same emperor appears to have given the very same name to another town called Chhatra (چھترہ) in Bundelkhand (*Bādīshāhnāma* I ii 122 see also *Maāsīr ul Umarā* I 427). This is probably identical with Jatara, now the largest *Tahsil* in the feudatory state of Orchha (Imp Gaz XIX 246)¹.

Supposing that any claims which the last two competitors may appear to have are rejected on the ground of obscurity or remoteness from the highways of politics and commerce, those of the other four still remain to be discussed.

In regard to them I beg to invite attention to some points of interest which have escaped notice. The first is that the real Mughal name of Rairi was not *Islamābād* but *Islamgadh*.

¹ Thornton (Gazetteer New Edition p 430) mentions an Islamabad or Islamnagar or Islamglar five miles north of Bhopal (Lat 23° 20' Long 77° 25'). It is however quite modern. It was originally called Jundapur and received its present name from Dost Muhammad Khan, the founder of the State of Bhopal who took it by surprise from a Hindu zemindar, its previous holder. Tieffenthaler calls it Esslamnagar (Description del Indes I 355) and that appears to be the real name. According to the Imperial Gazetteer Dost Muhammad founded the towns of Islamnagar and Bhopal about 1700 A C (Ed 1908 VIII 128). An Islāmābād in Malwa is mentioned by Frishta in his account of the independent rulers of that province. Briggs Translation Calcutta Reprint 1908 IV 197 8.

The statement made by Mr Whitehead (P M C. Introd , p xl) on the authority of Mr. Sarkār's 'India of Aurangzeb' is based on the admittedly corrupt single transcript of the *Chihār Gulshan* on which the translator had, for want of a duplicate, to rely. It is clear from a much better authority, the *Maāsiri-Ālamgīrī* that the true reading is 'Islāmgadh'. The author of that excellent contemporary chronicle informs us that in the 41st year of the reign of Aurangzeb (1108 9 A H) "Ism'ail Khān Mukha was appointed Faujdār of *Islāmgadh urf-i Rāhūrī*" (*Bibl. Ind* text, 387, l 13)¹ There is a very similar statement in the article on Rāigarh (= Rāhūrī, vide Grant Duff, Bombay Reprint, p 85) in the *Imperial Gazetteer*. The writer says that Rāigarh was, on the final conquest of the Ahmadnagar Kingdom by Shāhjahān, made over by the Mughals to the Sultāns of Bijāpūr, and given by the latter to the Sidi of Janjira "under the name of *Islāmgarh*" (XXI, 47). This should put Rūrī or Rāhūrī definitely out of court.²

Let us now consider the claims of Mathura. Mr Whitehead says (P M C , p xl) that there is an Islāmābīd coin of 1079 A H in the British Museum. He now (February 1919) informs me that he "knows of coins in both gold and silver of the year 1074 A H". My point is that the existence of Islāmābīd issues of 1074 and 1079 A H is a most significant fact. According to the historians, Mathura was not called Islāmābīd before Ramazān 1080 A H. There seems to be in the *Maāsiri-Ālamgīrī* an explicit statement to that effect.

و شمردن شهر کرامت بهر از پیشگاه الصلای پروری و اعلاسی براندازی
و پادشاه حق آگاه * * * برلج قصا تدایع بتخریب کدشت واقعۀ منبره
مشهور بدهره کیشورای صادر شد و در کم مدتی مسمی بسیار کارپردازان قلع

¹ In the corresponding passage in the *Maāsiri-Ālamgīrī* also the name is given as رَاهُورِي *Bibl. Ind* text, I, 292, l 7. Tieffenthaler has "Islāmgarh communément Rāpari" (*Description de l'Inde*, Ed., Bernoulli, 1786, Tom I, p 459). Rāpari (را پری) is evidently a misreading of رَاهُورِي.

² Mr Longworth Dames says (*Journal*, Royal Asiatic Society, 1914) that Jalna also was called Islāmābād, and quotes as his authority the *Chihār Gulshan* (Sarkār, *Loc cit* lxxxii and 103). The statement is absolutely unsupported, and may be confidently put down as one of the many errors of a defective text, a careless or ignorant scribe's misreading of چاکله. Tieffenthaler has 'Eslamabad Tschākla' for [چاکله] (*Description de l'Inde*, I, 479). This supposition is rendered practically certain by the fact that the author of the *Chihār Gulshan* elsewhere speaks of Jalna and Islāmābād as quite distinct. The third of the eleven Sarkars of Šūba Aurangābād was 'Jālma,' the fourth 'Islāmābād Konkan' [= Chākna] Sarkār, *op cit* 151.

و دفع اسوار بنای حدلال از قوه دفع آمد و بحاش عالی اسامی مسجدهی
 معروف منابع گران صدرت احداث است * * * * * اولی و اصنام حورود
 و بزرگ مدال جواهر و قیمتی که در معدن مشرکان مجتمع شد مان منصوب بود
 اکابران آورده در درونهای مسجد دوآب قدسند بنگم صاحب مدوون گردید
 که لا نوال با مال نباشد و نام منوره اسلام آباد مسطور دفاتر و مذکور
 السند و افوا شد *

Bib Ind Text 95 6

And in this same blessed month [Ramazan XIII R Y 1080 A H] peremptory commands (*lit* commands sent like those of Fate or Destiny) were issued for the destruction of the idol temple known as the *Dehra* of Keshavrai in Mathura from the portico of the God knowing Emperor a love of justice and hatred (*lit* desire to overthrow) of oppression. The subversion and extirpation of that strong edifice of Error was carried out in a short time by the efforts of a large number of worl men and a mosque of noble proportions (*lit* foundations) was erected in its place and cost a large (*lit* heavy) sum. All the idols and images small and large and adorned with precious gems which had been placed in that shrine of polytheists and gathering spot of infidels were brought to Akbarabad and buried under the steps of the mosque of the Nawab i Qudsiya Begam Saheb so that they might be trodden under people's feet till eternity. And the name of Mathura was written in official records and uttered by the tongues and lips (*lit* mouths) of men as Islāmad.

It is clear that if the order for the destruction of the temple was issued only in Ramazan 1080 it must have taken some time to execute it and to build the great mosque which still stands in its place (Keene Guide to Āgra Ed 1888 p 95)

If the new name was given in commemoration of that event it is difficult to see how the coins of 1074 and 1079 can be attributed to Mathura at all. And if they cannot it is a question whether the other issues of Aurangzeb and his successors may not be supposed to belong to some other place as no distinct break in style is noticeable (P M C Introd xl)

Mathura eliminated it remains to discuss the pretensions of Chākna and Chittagong. Mr Nelson Wright's suggestion that there must have been 'more need for a mint at Chittagong than either at Mathura or Chākna' is not without weight. It seems to me however that the argument against Chākna is much more substantially reinforced by the fact that we have Islāmad gold muhrs of all the regular Emperors from Aurang

zeb to Shah Alam II with only four not unaccountable exceptions (Bahadur Shah Shah Alam I Jahandar and the two raneants Rifi u d Darajat and Rafi u d Daulah)

An examination of the Mughal mint list shows that gold was rarely or never struck *for long* in any town which did not possess considerable historical political or commercial importance. Now we possess Islamabad coins of no less than six reigns out of ten. The total duration of those six reigns is about 141 years while the aggregate of the other four of which no gold pieces have been found is less than seven. Judging by this standard Islamabad must have been a place of, at the least second rate importance—a fact which may be predicted of Chittagong and Mathura but not of Chakna.

Any claims which Chittagong might appear to possess are however negatived by the fact that it was renamed Islamabad only in 1076 A H. The recently discovered coins are of 1074 A H and cannot for that reason belong to that place. Thus Chakna only is left in possession of the field. It was taken by Shayasta Khan on the 18th of Zil hajja 1070 A H and named Islamabad by the Emperor's orders soon afterwards (*Ālam girnāma* 587 9). But then Chakna is not as I have already pointed out a place of any great pretensions and it may also be remembered that the successors of Aurangzeb had scarcely any authority in the district in which Chakna is situated.

The result of this discussion is that of the four claimants mentioned by Mr Whitehead Rairi has no case at all. The Islamabad coins of 1074 A H are destructive of the pretensions of Mathura as well as Chittagong though not of Chakna. At the same time it is not easy to conceive how gold coins should have been struck during so many reigns in an obscure place like Chakna and in a part of the country which had long since ceased to belong to the Mughals. This does not of course preclude the possibility of attributing some of the earlier coins to Chakna and the later ones to Mathura or Chittagong. But the difficulty is that we do not know where to draw the line between Chakna and its rivals and are at the same time not in possession of the evidence which would enable us to pronounce an opinion for or against either of the latter.

S H HODIVALA

AMIRKOT

The mint name on two dāms in the Indian Museum dated 979 and 989 A H (Nos 371 2) has been deciphered as Amir Kot and the place supposed to be Amarkot in Sind, Akbar's birth place.¹ (I M C III Introd xxv.) In the notes on

¹ Dr Codrington's suggestion was probably based on the forms Amerkot, Amirkot and Amirkoto which occur in Dow's History of

Mānghar and *Kanjī*, I have ventured to draw attention to the necessity and importance of studying the orthographic tradition in regard to Mughal mint names. I beg permission to point out to day that the name of the place where Akbar was born is never spelt Amirkhot with an *ی*. It is always written *مرکوت* or *امروکوت* Amarkot or Amarkot by every one of the Mughal chroniclers whose works are cited below. (Radcliffe *Muntal'ab ul Tauarikh* Bibl Ind Text I p 440 I 9 p 442 I 2 *Tabaqāt-i Akbari* Lucknow Lithograph p 206 I 11 p 207 II 8 13 Abul Fazl *Āin* Bibl Ind Text I p 505 I 2 p 557 I 10 p 558 Col 2 I 3 II p 32 Col 2 I 7 *Akbarnāma* Ibid I p 18 I 19 p 23, I 6 p 40 I 16 p 182 I 3 p 184 I 25 III p 602 I 9 p 603 I 22 p 608 I 15 *Iqbalnāma* 274 I 13 Abdul Hamid Lahori *Bādishah nāma* Ibid I p 66 I 10 Khafī Khan *Muntakhat ul Lubab* Ibid I p 127 I 5 *Maāsir ul Umarā* Ibid I p 467 I 6 p 711 I 14 p 829 I 4 II p 387, I 7 III p 312 I 5)

The local pronunciation appears to be Umarkot or Amarlot (J A S B 1886 Pt 1 83 84). The town of Umarkot writes the compiler of the Imperial Gazetteer is said to have been founded by one Umar a chief of the Sumra tribe but at what date is not known¹ (XIV 118). The name of the eponymous founder is always spelt by the Musalmān author of a provincial history called the *Tarikh-i Tāhiri* with an *ain* (عمر) and in allusion to his supposed namesake the Khalifa Umar he is repeatedly spoken of as this chief tain unworthy of his sacred name or as that tyrant misnamed Umar (E D I 260 263 and notes). For the same reason and under the influence of the popular etymology the name of the town is written *عمرکوت* by him and by the anonymous author of the *Beglār-nāma*² (Ibid 260 292 296 297 299).

Hindustan (Ed 1812) II 137 Hamilton East Ind & Gazetteer (1815) p 27 Stewart Memoirs of Humayūn (1839) 38 49 44 45 and Erskine History of Baber and Humayun (1851) II 254 255 B t Anglo-Indian translation was in those days most lawless and erratic Briggs (Translation of Firāhta Reprint II 95) has Amurkote Malet (History of Sind 1855 p 118) Omurkote Forbes (Ras Mals 1856) Oomurkot (Reprint 1875 p 227) and Thornton (Gazetteer New Edition pp 770 728) Omercote or Oomerkote.

The statement occurs in almost the same words in A W Hughes Gazetteer of the Province of Sindh (1874) p 843.

Captain Macmurdo writes that Amercote was built by a Soomra upon the ruins of a Sodha independency and repossessed by the same tribe. Account of the Province of Cutch etc in Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay (Reprint 1876) Vol II 201.

² The author of the *Tarikh-i Tāhiri* makes Umar Sumra a contemporary of Alaaddin Khilji who is said to have conquered his country and taken him prisoner Elliot and Dowson I 265-6 Akbar's aunt the

On the other hand, Hamilton (Description of Hindostan, ed 1820, I, 554) says that the name signifies ' Fort of the Immortals ' (Sanskrit *Amara* deathless, immortal) *Amara* (or *Amar*) is a by no means uncommon element in the Hindū names of persons and places, e.g. Amarsinh, Amarchand, Amarpura, Amaravati, Amarpattan, Amarkantak, Amargarh, Amarnāth, etc

Whatever may be thought of either of these derivations, it is certain that Amirkot has no authority in its favour. I venture to suggest that the identification and, perhaps the reading also, stand in need of reconsideration. One of the two specimens in the Indian Museum is figured on Pl IV (I M C No 371). I must confess my inability to discern the ' alif anywhere on the obverse and Mr C J Brown informs me that the letter is not visible on the specimen in his possession. Perhaps we may have to go back to the old reading Sherkot. In his Summary of the Imperial Rent-Roll, Abūl Fazl mentions Sherkot as the chief town of a *mahāl* or *pargana* in the Sarkār of Sambhal. Its Revenue was 4921,051 dams (Jarrett *Ann*, Trans II, 105, 290, *Bibl Ind Text*, I 370, 523). Sherkot is now in the Dhāmpūr tahsil of Bijnor district, United Provinces. Lat 29° 20' N, Long 78° 35' E (Imperial Gazetteer s n).

S H HODIVĀLA

BANGALA

The mint name Bangala was first read by Mr Rodgers on some couplet rupees dated 1009 and 1010 A H (L M C, p 245). The suggestion was not at first universally accepted, and Mr Nelson Wright relegated it to a footnote in the I M C (III p 35). The publication by Major Vost of several other specimens in Num Sup XI determined the reading, but the situation of the mint is still far from certain. Major Vost identified it with Gaur on the ground that ' in the Memoirs of Bāyazīd Bijāt we have an account of Mun'im Khān's removing the headquarters from Tānda to Gaur (which Bāyazīd also calls Bangala) and of the pestilence which broke out there (See Mr Beveridge's article, J A S B 1898, p 315) ' NS XI, p 320.

I am afraid the matter is not so easily disposed of. The

princess Gulbadan, also writes the name *عمر کوت* in her *Humāyūn Nāma*. Ed A S Beveridge, Text, p 58, l 9, p 59, ll 1, 18.

¹ Under date February 1905, Mr Bleasby writes me of his having acquired coins from two mints not yet registered: a muhr from Hajipur (حاحي پور) and a *dām* from Sherkot *شهر کوت*. Both the coins were issued in the reign of Akbar I. Dr Taylor in Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, Centenary Memorial Volume, 42f.

work of Bīyazīd has not been published and it is impossible to say how the statement about Gaur being 'also called Bangala' is worded in Persian. But supposing that the rendering quoted from Mr Beveridge's abstract or paraphrase is faithful to the original, the identity of the *mint town* Bangala with Gaur does not necessarily follow.

It is common knowledge that Lakhnauti or Gaur had been the capital of Bengal during the supremacy of the Delhi Sultāns, and it is not improbable that it was *on that account* called Bangala in those times though *historical evidence on the subject is wanting*. It may even be that it was spoken of as 'Bangāla' (or Gaur Bangālā) when Mun'im Khān removed the headquarters from Tanda to Gaur *i.e.* when it once more became for a time, the seat of government. But it is certain that Gaur had fallen from its high estate long before and that it did not occupy any such position *during the period* to which the known Rupees of Bangala belong (XXXIX R 1011 A H). This fact would in itself, be a fairly good reason for reserving judgment, even if there were no other grounds for doing so. The subject evidently calls for further inquiry. It may be therefore permissible to set out and discuss the historical and geographical evidence so far as it is known to me.

The conjoint name گورنگاله occurs four times in the Princess Gulbadan's account of her brother Humayūn's disastrous campaign in Bengal.

'His Majesty was considering this, when the King of Gaur Bangāla came wounded and a fugitive. For this reason he gave no attention (to Shīr Khān), but marched toward Gaur Bangāla. Shīr Khān knew that His Majesty had gone there [گورنگاله in the original] and went himself also with a large detachment of horse [گور و ب in the text] and joined his son (Jūlā Khān) who was in Gaur with his servant Khawās Khān. Shīr Khān sent them out and said "Go and fortify Garhi"' *Humāyun Nāma*, Tr A S Beveridge, p 133.

'He [Humayūn] marched forward and when he came near Garhi, Shīr Khān and Khawās Khān fled by night and he entered Garhi next day. Thence he went to Gaur-Bangāla and took it [گور را گرفت in the text]. He was nine months in the far away country of Gaur and named it Jannatabād. He was comfortably and safely in Gaur when news came that some of the Amīrs had deserted and joined Mīza Hindal.' *Ibid* 134.

"He [Humayūn] took notice of this insignificant one [*i.e.* herself] and was kindly pleased to say "I did not know you at first because when I led the army (whose footprints are victorious) to Gaur Bangāla you wore the high cap (*tāq*), and

now when I saw the muslin coif I did not recognise you." *Ibid.* p. 138.¹

It will be observed that *Gaur* is spoken of here as if it were a country (ولایت),² and also as a city, and it is besides not at all easy to say whether گور بنگاله or گور بنگال (with the *izāfat*) signifies 'Gaur (the country or city) which is also called Bangāla' or 'Gaur (the city) which is [situated] in Bangāla'

Double names of this type are of frequent occurrence in the Persian historians, but their true import is often far from clear, and they are likely to mislead the unwary. The first name is often only an eponymous equivalent or *alias* of the second; some times the second name stands merely for the larger tract or country in which the first is included; in other instances again, it is the designation of some place in its vicinity which is coupled with it in order to distinguish it from other homonymous localities.

Fathpūr-Sikrī, Fathābād-Dhārūr, Pattan-Nahrwāla, Mu'az-zamābād-Gorakpūr, 'Azīmābād-Patna belong to the first class,

¹ 'Gaur Bangāla' and 'Gaur' are so mixed up in the first two passages that it might be as well to cite the very words of the authoress

دربین فکر بودند که پادشاه گور بنگاله رخصتی شد گریختند پدش حضرت
آمد و بدان حضرت مقید نشدند و کوچ کرده متوجه گور بنگاله شدند شیرخان
دانست که پادشاه بگور بنگاله شدند خود هم حریده ایلغار کرده بگور رفت
و همراه پسر خود یکجا شد پسر او و خواص خان علام او در گور بودند خواص
خان و پسر خود را فرستاد که بروند و گوهی را مضبوط کنند

Text, pp. 39-40.

چون کوچ کرده پیشتر رفته نزدیک گوهی فرود آمدند شب شیرخان
و خواص خان گریختند فرود آمد حضرت ده گوهی در آمدند و از گوهی گذشته
به گور بنگاله رفتند و گور را گرفتند تا به ماه در ولایت گور بودند و گور را
حقت آباد نام کردند باز بدولت در گور بودند که خبر رسید که امرا گریختند
دمیرا همدال ملحق شدند *

Text, p. 40.

² Gaur was the name of the town as well as of the province. "The name is a form of the ancient *Gauda*, meaning, it is believed, 'the country of sugar,' a name applied to a large part of Bengal, and specifically to the portion where the remains [of Gaur] lie" Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, ed Crooke, p. 390. So, *Lakhnauti* was the name of the town, but

Mussalmān writers frequently speak of it also as ولایت لکهنوتی, the *Country of Lakhnauti*. *Ibid.*, 85 See also Thomas, *Chronicles*, 1078, note.

but Fathābād Dalan (*Ālamgirnāma* 560 l 9) Pattan Gujrat (Beveridge *Ākbarnāma* Tr III 231 267) Muazzamābād Awadh (*Maāsir* : *Ālamgiri* 470), Qandahar Dikan (*Ālamgiri* 566), Dewāl Sind (E D I 375 Hobson Jobson 320) Rajmahal Bangala (Khafī Khān I 468) Balapur Birār (Khafī Khān I 282) are examples of the second and lastly Fathpur Hanswa (A S Beveridge *Memoirs of Babur* 602n) Firozpur Jhurka (*Ibid* 580 n) Hafipur Patna (Khafī Khān I 183) Karrah Manikpūr (A S Beveridge *Mem of Babur* 544) Cujarat Lahor (Khafī Khān I 252) and Pattan Ahmadābād (*Ibid* I 176) belong to the third

In these circumstances a superficial inquirer or casual visitor from foreign parts is exceedingly liable on hearing the compound name to carry away erroneous notions as to the real significance of the duplication and we have ourselves to exercise some caution in accepting statements emanating from such a source. The conjoint name Gaur Bangala does appear at first sight to mean Gaur which is identical with Bangala but then Abul Fazl gives the latitude and longitude of گاور بنگالہ and Jarrett understands him to refer no doubt correctly to Pandua in Bengal¹ (*Ain* Tr III 59). Similarly Khafī Khān speaks in one place of Rajmahal Bangala (I 468). It is obvious that Gaur as well as Pandua and Rajmahal could not all have been denominated Bangala and it is clear that Gaur Bangala implied at times nothing more than that Gaur was situated in the country or province of Bengal².

The matter is the more perplexing owing to the fact that several European travellers of the 16th and 17th centuries speak of a *City of Bengal*.³ Duarte Barbosa (c 1516 A C) tells us that at the head of the Gulf of Bengal was situated

In the very next line the Bibliotheca Indica text لاکھنؤی بنگ (II 33 col a l 2) Jarrett (*Ain Trans* III 59) points out that بنگ is a misreading of لنگ and translates Lakhnaut in Bengal. I need scarcely add that لاکھنؤی is the same as گور and بنگ is synonymous with لنگالہ. Thus we have گاور بنگالہ Pandua Bangala in one line and لاکھنؤی بنگ Lakhnaut Bang.

Lakhnaut Bang : Lakhnaut Bangala (otherwise Gaur Bangala) in the next. The only consistent interpretation would seem to be not that Pandua and Lakhnaut (otherwise Gaur) were both called Bangala but that the author was speaking of the towns so called which were in Bengal.

² So Blochmann writes. In official documents Bengal is often mentioned under the title of *Jannat ul Bilad* or the Paradise of countries and Lakhnauti was called *Jannatābād*, *Bangūlah* or Paradise town in opposition to Jalnapur in the Dehli which was called *Jannatābād*, *Dakān*. Notes on Places of Historical Interest in the District of Hughli. Proceedings Asiatic Society of Bengal 1870 p 110 and note.

³ I was at one time not a little puzzled by Mr Lane Poole's state

"a very great city inhabited by Moors," which was called 'Bengala' and had a very good harbour (Hakluyt Society's Edition, 178) Ludovico Varthema (1503-1508 A.C.) informs us that this 'Bengala' was seven hundred miles distant from Farnassari [Tenasserim]. It was one of the best cities he had seen and its Sultan was a Moor who maintained 'two hundred thousand men for battle on foot and on horse,' who were all Muhammadans (Ed. Badger, Hakl. Soc., 210-1). A 'city of Bengala' is also mentioned by Purchas who writes 'The Kingdom of Bengala is very large, and hath of coast one hundred and twentie leagues and as much within land. Gauro the seat royall and Bengala are fair cities. Of this the Gulfe sometimes called Gangeticus now beareth name *Golfo di Bengala*. Chatigam is also reckoned amongst these cities' (Voyages, V. 508). There is a reference to the city in Mandelslo also though he himself was never in those parts himself. En tirant vers le septentrional on trouve le royaume de Bengala qui donne le nom au golfe que les anciens appellent Sinus Gangeticus. On trouve plusieurs belles villes dans ce royaume, comme sont celles de Gouro d'Ougelev, de Chatigan de Bengala, de Tanda, de Dacca de Patana de Banares, d'Elabas et de Rajmehala" (Voyages p. 290 *apud* Badger *loc cit.* 211 note). Fryer (1672-1681)

ment that Dhākha was 'originally' called 'Bengalah' (B.M.C. Intro. liv). On turning for light to the authority cited (Arch. Survey, XV. 17), I found that it was grounded on nothing more than Cunningham's endorsement of Taylor's conjectural identification of this 'City of Bengala'. As Mr. Lane Poole's authority is deservedly high and the Arch. Surv. Reports are not always accessible Cunningham's own words are given below. He [J. Taylor] thinks apparently with good reason that it [Dhākha] may be the city of Bengala mentioned by European travellers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. What tends to confirm this opinion of the identity of Dhākha and Bengala is he says the circumstance that only one of them is mentioned by the same traveller Methold in enumerating the principal cities of Bengal for instance, mentions Rajmahal and Bengalla which he designates fair cities while Herbert and Mandelslo who travelled about the same period specify Dhākha and Rajmahal but make no mention of Bengala. Topography and Statistics of Dacca p. 92.

¹ Badger's quotation is from A. de Wicquefort's much doctored version. The passage is differently worded in the English translation of John Davies (Second Edition 1669) and there is no mention in it of the city or town of Bengala. All that I can find there is cited below.

Next to Orissa winding towards the North lies the Kingdom of Bengala which gives name to the Gulph by the ancients called Sinus Gangeticus. The Province of Bengala may no doubt be numbered amongst the most powerful of all the country giving its name to the Gulf into which the Ganges dis-embouques itself by four several channels or mouths. Its principal cities are Rajmehel, Kaka or Dacca, Philpatan and Satigam. Voyages and Travels 2nd Edition (1669) pp. 94 and 106. Mr. Vincent Smith has recently shown that Mandelslo's work is a faked book which has for long enjoyed an estimation wholly undeserved. J.R.A.S. 1915 pp. 245-251.

again, informs us in his account of the Madras factory that the English East India Company's agent there was 'Superintendent over all the Factories on the Coast of Coromandel as far as the Bay of Bengal and up Hugly River (which is one of the Falls of Ganges), viz Fort St George alias Maderas Pettipolee, Mechlapatan Gundore Medapollon, Balisore *Bengala* Hugly Castle Buzzar Pattanaw' (A New Account of East India and Persia, Ed 1698 p 38) Ovington too mentions a city of Bengal though he does not vouch for its existence himself 'Arracan is bounded on the North West by the Kingdom of *Bengala* some Authors making *Chatigam* to be its Frontier City, but *Teixeira* and generally the *Portuguese* writers reckon that as a City of *Bengala* and not only so but place the City of *Bengala* itself more South than *Chatigam* Tho I confess a late French Geographer has put *Bengala* into his Catalogue of imaginary Cities' (A Voyage to Suratt in the year 1689 Ed 1696 p 554)

This is not all A City of *Bengala* is marked in most of the early Maps of Asia and of India and Dr Badger gives in the Introduction to his Translation of Varthema's Travels, a list of no less than sixteen maps in which *Bengala* and *Chatigam* (Chittagong) are both marked The earliest of these examples of European cartography—the Map of Gastaldi—is dated 1561 A C The latest bears the name of Ottens and was published at Amsterdam in 1740 A C In all except one of these old charts *Bengala* is located 'either on the north east due east, or south east of *Chatigam*' In Gastaldi's Map—the exception—the two places are transposed and *Chatigam* is on the south east of *Bengala* The discrepancy adds to the difficulty of precisely fixing the real situation of the city It is however, more relevant to note that in this map of Castaldi's *Gaur* and *Bengala* are both shown and are quite distinct (Badger, loc cit Introd cxiv cxvi) Similarly in the Map of India Orientalis attached to Patavino's Geography (1597 A C) *Bengala* is marked "as a town situated at the head of the Gulf on the right bank of the eastern bank of the Ganges' (*Ibid* cxix) and is 'described as distinct from either *Gour* or *Chittagong* or *Satgong*' (*Ibid* lxxx) Mr H Beveridge also has called attention to the fact that in one of the three maps of India made by Ignazio Danti to illustrate Ptolemy's Geography in 1575 *Gour* *Bengala* *Rhotasgarh* *Satgaon* are all marked (Journal Poyl Asiatic Society, 1903 p 577)¹ It will be observed that Purchas and

¹ It is not in old European maps or charts only that a city called *Bengala* is shown It is found also in a quarter where no one would have ever thought of looking for it An astrolabe made in Lāhor by Hamid ibn Muhammad Muqim ibn 'Isa ibn Allal dād in 1087 A H (1677 A C) was purchased at Ilahābād for the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and described by the late Dr Hoernle in its Proceedings for April 1890 On the inter or face of the main piece were engraved two sets of

Mandelslo also speak of *both* Gouro and *Bengāla*, and distinctly imply that they were not identical. All this is not very illuminating, and it is not easy to say where this 'alleged city of Bengala' was, but it is fairly clear, if any reliance is to be placed on these statements, that it *was not Gaur*.

I may say at once that I do not lay much stress on the point myself, but it is not impossible that others may be inclined to take a different view. The old European maps are not very accurate or reliable, and the European travellers of those days often betray gross ignorance of the facts of Indian geography. It may be, therefore, worthwhile to adduce another piece of evidence which bears in the same direction without being open to the same objections.

There is in a vaulted chamber, originally built by the orders of Babur on a rock near Qandahar, a long Persian inscription containing a description of the boundaries of Akbar's Empire, and a list of the cities and towns comprised in it. It was composed and written out by the poet and historian, Mir Muhammad Masūm and carved and executed under his own eye in 1007 A H.¹ The entire record was edited and translated

three concentric circles. "The middlemost circle of each set was inscribed with the names of the best known towns of India, Persia, and Arabia; the outer and inner circles of each set gave the longitudes and latitudes of each town. The series of names of the outer set commenced with Mecca, Medinah, Taif, Jeddah, etc., and concluded with Lahawar, Delhi, Agra, Benares. The series of the inner set contained only Indian names, commencing with Daulatabad, Ahmadnagar, and ending with Sonargaon. *Bangālāh Pānīpāth (sr)*." Proceedings A S B, 1890, pp 148-9.

It is not easy to say where this 'City of Bengala' really was, or if it existed at all. Badger, after abandoning the identification with Gaur, came to the conclusion that it "occupied a position between the Hattia and Sundeeep islands situated at the present mouth of the Brahmaputra" (*Loc cit* cxxi). Yule was sure it was Chittāgām or Chittāgong (Hobson Jobson ed Crooke, 85). Rennell believed that it had been "carried away by the river" (*Memoir*, ed 1788 p 57). Blochmann was inclined to think that "no such town ever existed." J A S B, 1873 p 233.

More recently the Rev H Hosten has pronounced that "the term [*sic* City of Bengālā] has been used for a variety of places: Sonargaon, Bātgāon, Chittāgong, and even such places as Hūgli and Clanchernagar; that, in fact, it applied to the *chief port at the time*." The Twelve Bhūjās of Bengal in J A S B 1913 p 444. He scouts the idea of the city having been carried away by the river or of its having never existed.

Masūm himself thus refers to it in the chapter on the 'Wonders of Kandahar'. "Another curiosity is that by the order of Babur Badshah at a hill called Seepoozah the rock was cut and a recess made which he called Peshtag. In the inscription in this recess are written the names of Mahomed Babur Badshah, Meerza Kamran, Meerza Uskuree, Meerza Hundal. But Hoomayoon Badshah not being of the kings there his name was not written. When I went there seeing that the names of Hoomayoon and Ukbar Shah and their countries were not mentioned it came into my heart to write the names of their countries and cities. For this purpose, I called from Bukhara good writers and stone-cutters who wrote the names of Hoomayoon Badshah and Huzrut Shahun Shah Ukbar, and also of their countries and cities from

with an interesting commentary by James Darmesteter in the *Journal Asiatique* for *Février Mars* 1890 (pp 195 230) and some of its obscurities and difficulties were further elucidated by Mr Beames in his article on the Geography of the Qandahar Inscription in *J R A S* 1898 (pp 790 802)¹ In this contemporary epigraph we have — if the eye copy made for Darmesteter by Mirza Muhammad Taqi can be relied on — گورو بنگاله as if they were separate places

We read —

چون افعال و دولت شاهنشاهی اکبر فلام ربع مسکون را که طول
آن از حدود سراندیب و ادسه و [در] وراکات و گورو بنگاله نایده و بدر
لاهوری و هرمز و مساب آن قریب دوساله راه می شود و عرض آن از کابل
و کشمیر تا سرحد دکن و بزار که قریب یکدم ساله راه باشد مسجور گردانند *

Journal Asiatique 1890 p 205

M. Darmesteter's translation of this is as follows —

Mais la fortune et la prospérité de l'Empereur réduisirent la plupart des pays formant le quart habité de la terre sur une longueur qui s'étend des limites de Serandip Adisa [*rect* Udisa i.e. Orissa] et Bandakuri Kat [*rect* Bandar i. Goragat] Gor et Bengala jusqu'à Tatta Bandar Lahari et Hormuz distance qui est à peu près de deux années de marche et sur une largeur qui va de Kabul et Kashmir jusqu'à l'extrémité du Dekan et de Berar ce qui fait à peu près une demi-année de marche (*Ibid* 219 220)

Lakhnauti or Gaur had been the capital of Bengal in Hindu times as well as during the period in which it was ruled by Viceroys of the Delhi Sultans. Shamsu ud din Ilyas Shah removed the headquarters to Firuzabad or Pandua 20 miles distant about 1353 A.C. Jalal ud-din Muhammad Shah reverted to Gaur about seventy years later. After the conquest of Bengal by Sher Shah in 1539 the seat of government was again removed to Tauri or Tanda a few miles south west of Gaur and shortly afterwards Gaur was depopulated by pestilence when Munim Khan after defeating Dauid Shah proceeded here with his army during the rainy season of 1575

Bengal to Lahore Bander (Tatta) and from Kabool and Gluznee to the south. In four years this was finished and it certainly was well executed and many went to see it. A History of Sind Trans G. G. Malet p 89. The passage is also translated in Elliot and Dowson I 233-9. The original text will be found in Darmesteter *loc cit* 226-7 note

¹ There is an older transcript and translation of the inscription in Molan Lal's *Journal of a Tour through the Panjab Afghanistan Turkistan Khorasan and part of Persia* printed at Calcutta in 1831. It is full of errors and fantasies de la lecture but is not unuseful. There is also a brief notice of the record in Blanford's *Journal of a Political Mission to Afghanistan in 1857* p 233

.... The few people that survived left the city; Gaur was never again populated to any extent, although various additions were made to its buildings from time to time, such as the Lakachūri or eastern gate of the fort, which was erected by Sulṭān Shujā in 1650." (Imp Gaz., XII, 186-7.) Elsewhere, we are told that "according to Stewart, (History of Bengal, ed 1847, p 95), Sulaimān Shāh Karārāni.....removed the seat of government to Tandā in 1564, eleven years before the final depopulation of Gaur." (Ibid., XXIII, 221)¹

We also read that "after his return from the conquest of Orissā in 1592, Mān Singh, Akbar's Rājput general, selected Rājmahāl, formerly Āgmahāl, as the capital of Bengal, on account of its central position with respect to that province and to Bihār; and because it commanded the Ganges and the pass of Teliagarh" (Ibid., XXI, 78)

Turning to the *Maāṣiru l-Umarā*, we find its author saying that Mān Singh invaded the kingdom of Orissā in the thirty-seventh year of the reign, and besieged Sāraungadh (a stronghold near Katak) to which the Rājā had retired. The Rājā submitted and the province was annexed to the empire in A.H. 1000. The author then goes on to say that in the 39th year, 1002 A H, Mān Singh was sent to govern Bengal and

¹ It should be noted that Tānda and not Gaur was the capital of Bengal even when Mun'im Khān first took charge of the province. Abūl Fazl says that "he made *habūtab'e* this city of Gaur which formerly was the capital," for this reason "that the army might be near Ghorāghāt which was a fountain of sedition, and might entirely put down commotion there, and also that he might restore this delightful place which had a noble fort and magnificent buildings. He did not notice that the atmosphere of the place had acquired poisonous qualities in consequence of the vicissitudes of time and of the decay of buildings, especially at the time of the end of the rains." Beveridge, *Akbarnāma*, Trans III, 226. Nizāmuddin Ahmad informs us that "the air of Gaur was extremely unhealthy, and in former times, the many diseases which distressed its inhabitants induced the rulers to abandon the place, and raise the town of Tānda." Elliot and Dowson, V, 395. See also Badāoni, Trans Lowe, II, 220. A local historian, Sayyad Hāshī Baksh Ingrezābādī, says that after the plague of 983 A.H., "the city became deserted, and became a jungle in the space of a year." H. Beveridge's Summary of the *Kh̄irahid-i-Jahān numā* in J A S B 1895, p 216.

It may be also noted that after this "final depopulation" of 1575 A.C., Gaur is not at all mentioned in the *Akbarnāma*, and is incidentally referred to but once in the histories of Nizāmuddin Ahmad (*Lakhnāu* Lithograph, 345, Elliot and Dowson, V, 415) and Badāoni, (*Bibl Ind Text*, II, 280; Lowe II, 280).

Similarly, the name of Tānda which is of frequent occurrence in the third and fourth decades of Akbar's reign, is not afterwards heard of. The latest reference (*Akbarnāma*, Bibl Ind Text, III, 667) relates to the 40th year. I have not come across it in any of the authorities for the reigns of Jahāngir and Shāh Jahān, and it crops up again, and then only for a time, in the account of Mir Jumla's campaign against Aurangzeb's brother, Shāh Shujā'a (*Akbarnāma*, 461, 471, 483, 553, 557, *Maāṣiru l-Umarā*, 26, 29; *Bibl Ind Text*, II, 281, 290).

made Atālīq (Guardian or Protector) of his nephew, Prince Khusrū

و نزد آق محل حاجی پسندید که آسیب کشتی بدو کمتر رسد -
شیر شاه پدر این مکان را خوش کرده بود - بلند حاکم نشین اساس گذاشته
با کبر و موسوم ساخت - راج محل نیز نامدد *

Bibl Ind Text, II, 166, ll 11-13

'And having selected a spot near Āgmahal which was free from the inroads (*lit* dangers) of ships (*i.e.*, pirates) and which Sher Shāh also had been pleased with [*خوش کرده*] pleasant, agreeable *Steingass*], he founded there a Capital (*lit* a city which was the seat of the governor) and named it Akbarnagar It is also called Rājmahal "

The sources of the *Maāsir* are always excellent and these lines are, as a matter of fact, copied textually with the omission of a few redundant words and phrases from Abūl Fazl's *Akbarnāma* (*Bib Ind Text*, III 697, ll 7 11) ¹

¹ Abul Fazl writes in his account of the 40th year —

دور دوری حاکم نشین حاجی بر اندیشید که آسیب کشتی بدو نرسد پس از
مراواں پژوهش نزد آق محل گزیده حاجی بدست نهاد و آنرا شیرخان
نیز آنرا خوش کرده بود بقرج ساعتی بنیاد نهاد و در کمتر زمانی گزیں
شهری آباد گردید و بدان نام فوجی برگرفت *

Text III, 697

"About this time (*lit* in these days) Akbarnagar was founded When Rājā Mān Singh went to Bangāla, he had the foresight to think of [establishing] a capital which would be free from the inroads (*lit* dangers) of ships (*i.e.* pirates) and with great wisdom secured an excellent site near Āgmahal which Shirkhān also had chosen (or been pleased with) The foundations were laid in an auspicious hour and in a short time, a fine city arose (*lit* was peopled, inhabited) and acquired glory from that name"

Mr Stanley Lane Poole says (B M C Introd, liv) that it was Jahāngir who named Akbarnagar (Rājmahal) after his father," and Mr Vincent Smith has recently lent the weight of his authority to the same statement (*Akbar*, p. 145, note), which is shown by the above quotation to be demonstrably erroneous

It may be perhaps worth noting that Akbarnagar was not founded, according to Abūl Fazl, in the 40th year All that he really says is that the new capital was established 'about the time, or in those days' (*دور دوری*) when Rājā Mān Singh went to Bangāla

Rājā Mān Singh's appointment as Governor of Bangāla was made on 7th Fravardin of the 39th year (*Akbarnāma*, *Bibl Ind Text*, III, 650) ll 6 7)

It is worthy of consideration whether we have not in the Mint-name *Bangāla* an example of the custom of calling the town which happened to be the capital at the time, by the name of the country, and whether the rupees under discussion were not struck, in the newly-founded capital of Akbarnagar, instead of the deserted and depopulated Gaur¹

It may be perhaps necessary to say that the chief city or capital of a province or country was, even in comparatively recent times, loosely designated by the same name as the latter, though the real or specific name of the city was different

Thus Abūl Fazl speaks of 'Gujarāt' when he means, as Mr. Beveridge points out, 'Ahmadābad, the capital.' (*Albarnāma*, Tr. III, 66; Text, III, 47, l. 3.) The Emperor Jahāngir also writes that "trustworthy men divided" a large sum of money which he had set apart for distribution to the poor and necessitous for the repose of the soul of his father, "among the twelve chief cities, such as Āgra, Delhi, Lāhor, Gujarāt, etc." There can be no doubt that 'Gujarāt' here means Ahmadābād (*Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, ed. Sayyad Ahmad Khān, 1864, p. 61, l. 9, Rogers and Beveridge, Tr. I, 128) Elsewhere, he informs us that a eunuch named Wafādār "entered Ahmadābād and took possession of the city of Gujarāt."

نحمد الله در آمد شهر گجرات را متصرف گشت *

(*Tūzūk* Text. 362, ll. 10-11; Trans., II, 262). The author of the '*Ālamgīrnāma* twice speaks of 'Gujarāt' as if it were a city. (Text, 411, ll. 8-9 and 775, ll. 2-5.) Tieffenthaler also describes the village of Sarkhej near Ahmadābād, and its tomb of Shaikh Ahmad Khattū in the following words "A 3 milles de Guzarate se trouve Sarkés, village où est le mausolée construit à grands frais par Gans (*sic*) Ahmad Roi du Guzarate" (Description de L' Inde, I, 377) Manucci, too, has 'city of Gujarāt' (Irvine, Tr. *Storia*, IV, 271.). It is scarcely necessary to do more than refer to the parallel case of Srinagar, which is, throughout the Mughal period, more frequently spoken as 'city of Kashmir' or 'Kashmir' only than by its true designation²

¹ I may also note, for what it is worth, the fact that the double name اکبرنگر نکو occurs once in the *Maūgīrū-i-Umarā* I, 664, l. 2.

² Abūl Fazl writes in one place of Sīstān as if it were a city, and Bāyazīd Bīyāt leaves no doubt as to his meaning by speaking, as Mr. Beveridge points out in a note, of the *Qasba-i-Sīstān*, 'the town of Sīstān.' *Albarnāma*, Trans. I, 415, and note. Raverty explains that "Zaranj was the capital city of the territory called Sīstān by the Arabs, . . . and the name of 'city of Sīstān' or 'Sijistan,' applied to that city, is after the same fashion as styling Urganj, Khwārizm." *Tabaqāt-i-Nūṣrī*, Trans., 1123, note.

The geographical expression Bangala occurs about a hundred and sixty times in the works of Abūl Fazl and as a rule, it is used only for the province. But in two passages at least, it is clearly meant, not for an extensive tract of country but some particular city. "In the beginning of this reign writes the historian in the *Āin*, 'gold was coined to the glory of his Majesty in many parts of the empire, now gold coins are struck at four places only, viz at the seat of the government in Bengal [بنگال] Ahmadabad (Gujarat), and Kabul' (Blochmann's Translation, I 31) The second passage occurs in the *Akbarnāma* record of the events of the 22nd year 'The mints of the imperial dominions' he says which had been under the charge of *Chaudharis* were divided. The directorship of this weighty business was assigned to Khwaja Abdu s Samad Shiringlam in Fathpūr the capital of the empire. The mint at Lahore was assigned to Mo'assar K[han] that in Bengal to Rajah Todar Mal that in Jaunpūr to Khwaja Shah Mansūr and that in Gujarāt to Khwaja 'Imādu d dīn Husain, that in Patna to Āsaf K[han]" (Beveridge's Trans III 321) Mr Beveridge notes that "here and at B[lochmann] 31 the word Bengal (Bengala) is used as if it was the name of a city. Perhaps Gaur is meant for Tanda is separately mentioned at B[lochmann] 31" (*Ibid*, note)

I beg to say that this is not beyond dispute. It is not impossible that Tanda may be meant and not Gaur. The former is repeatedly spoken of by Abūl Fazl himself *during this period* XIX R Y to XXIX R Y) as 'the capital of the country' دارالملک آن ديار (*Akbarnāma* Text, III, 182 Trans, III, 255), or as the centre of Bengala' (مركز بنگاله), *Ibid*, Text 109 Trans III, 153, or as Tanda the capital, دارالملک تانده Text III 109 291, 299, 420, 439 440 460, Trans, III, 153 428 442, 625 660 695) It is undeniable that in the 22nd year Tanda was the 'capital or centre of Bengal' and not Gaur

Ludovico Varthema (1503-1508 A C) writes In the said city of Decan there reigns a king who is a Mohammedan. Here the term applies as Dr Badger points out to the city of Bijapur. Travels Hakluyt Society's Edition 117 and note. See also Yule and Burnell Hobson Jobson ed Crooke p 301

Tavernier informs us that Siam the capital town of the kingdom and the ordinary residence of the king is surrounded by walls and is more than three of our leagues in circuit. It is obvious that he means Yūthia or Ayuthia the old capital of the country. Travels, ed Ball II 283 Elsewhere he speaks of the town of Nepal' *Ibid*, II 263

Some old documents in Valentijn speak of the old city of Coroman del. It is not absolutely clear what city was so called (probably by the Arabs in their fashion of calling a chief town by the name of the country) but the indications point almost certainly to Negapatam. Hobson Jobson *Ibid* 257 See also Varthema loc cit 186 and note

and the fact that Tanda is separately mentioned in the *Āin-i-Akbarī* in or about or the 42nd year may be not unreasonably said to have nothing to do with the matter. The separate mention is moreover easily accounted for. The *Āin* passage was written as I have shown elsewhere after the foundation of the new capital of Akbarnagar in 1002 3 A H. Tanda had then ceased to be the seat of royalty or government (دارالاک) and Akbarnagar had taken its place. The mint at Tanda appears to have been retained for the coinage of silver but it had lost its pre-eminence and with that its right to the designation 'Bangala'. That appellation seems in accordance with the old custom in such matters to have been transferred to the new town which had now become the 'first city' in the province and acquired the right of coining gold also.

Briefly there would appear to be fairly good grounds for thinking that *Bangāla* was not the real or fixed name of any town or city but an alternative or honorific designation by which the capital of the province at the time being was known. Thus the *Bangāla* of Munim Khan's time might have been Gaur and it is not impossible that during the subsequent twenty years the name was sometimes applied to Tanda. The *Bangāla* of the coins of the 39th and following years of Akbar's reign would by parity of reasoning, be Akbarnagar.



Abū'l Fazl tells us that Bangala was one of the four places in the Empire in which alone all the three metals were coined at the time when he drew up the famous list of Akbari mints in the *Āin* (Blochmann Trans. I 31) i.e. about the forty-second year. Now we actually possess coins of Akbarnagar in all the three metals. At least two Muhrs of the Ilāhī type are known. They are unluckily "peculiar in exhibiting no date beyond the Persian month. One or two very rare rupees of the Ilāhī type have also been found (P. M. C. vol. 1). One of these is in the Iakhnau Museum to the Curator of which (Mr K. N. Dikshit) my acknowledgments are due for the favour of an excellent plaster cast which shows that it is of the 50th year (Tir). The date of the copper coin in the White King collection (994 A H.) leaves it open to suspicion and it is not easy to say whether it is the year or the mint name that has been incorrectly deciphered. But it may be asked if Akbarnagar is no other than Bangala why have we coins of Akbarnagar and of Bangala also? I can only reply that the mint masters of Akbar's day appear to have seen nothing absurd or incongruous in the practice. Here we have rupees of Bangala the latest of which be it noted is of 1011 A H. and unlabeled gold coins silver pieces of the 50th year and a doubtful copper coin of Akbarnagar. So we have a gold muhr of Kashmir and silver as well as copper coins of Srīnagar. The parallel case of

the rupees of Elichpūr and Birār might be also just mentioned with the reservation that the reading 'Birār' has not been satisfactorily established.

Junāgadh, 15th January, 1918.

S. H. HODIVĀLĀ.

TATTA OR PATNA ?

The mint-name on the unique Shāhrukhi of Bābur in the White King cabinet was read as 'Tatta' by that exceedingly lucky and industrious collector, and the decipherment has met with acceptance from Mr Whitehead and others. It is now nearly fifty years since Blochmann first called attention to the fact that Tatta and Patna were very liable to confusion in Persian writing. (*Āin*, Tr. I, 378, note.) About twenty years later, Mr. Lane Poole expressly warned numismatists against the pitfall in the Introduction to the British Museum Catalogue "The mint Tattah has frequently been confused with Patnah. The distinction is explained in a footnote to p. 37" (p. liv). In the footnote we are informed that "this mint closely resembles Patnah, but has an upright stroke less; Tattah is  and Patna .

 More recently, Mr Beveridge has detected at least four instances of the error in Sayyad Ahmad Khān's edition of the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, and directed his readers' attention to them. (Rogers and Beveridge, Trs I, 229 (150), 242, 267 and II, 81). Lastly, there is the authority of Mr. Nelson Wright for saying that even the extraordinary knowledge and experience of Rodgers could not save him from being deceived by the resemblance. Old I.M.C., No. 7464, (new I.M.C., 1070), he tells us, is really of Tatta, but "the mint has been mistaken for Patna" (I.M.C., III, 124, note).¹

In these circumstances, I crave permission to suggest that the attribution of the Shāhrukhi to a mint of which there is not another issue for more than sixty years stands in need of reconsideration. Fortunately, the coin is illustrated by the excellent autotype plate accompanying Dr. White King's article (*Num. Chron.*, 1896, Pt II, 158, Pl. XI, fig. 3), and the opportunity of forming an opinion of our own is not denied to us. Judging from the plate, it seems to me that the ascription to Tatta is not so certain that it cannot be challenged. An

¹ Rodgers himself was by no means oblivious of the pitfall. "There is a possibility," he writes, "that this mint [Tatta] may be Patna. The coins are, however, so rough that they do not in any way resemble some remarkably fine coins I have struck undoubtedly at Patnā." Rupees of the Months of the Hābī Years of Akbar, J.A.S.B., 1897, p. 101, note.

B.M.C. No. 187 is said to be of Tatta and the year has been read as 36. Mr Whitehead has suggested that P.M.C. No. 890 is also of Tatta mint. The date is 981 in words. As Tatta was surrendered by Mirzā Jānī Beg Tarkhān, the last independent ruler of the province, only in the 37th year, both these decipherments would seem to stand in need of revision.

additional "upright stroke" does seem to be there, and the least that can be said is that if the odds are not decisively in favour of Patna, they are also not against it.¹

However that may be, there is another aspect of the matter which should not, in such doubtful cases, be overlooked, I mean, the historical. The fact is that there is not to be found in any of the original histories of the Mughal Emperors anything to show that Tatta or *Lower Sindh* was, at any time, an integral part of Bābur's dominions. Neither Badāoni nor Nizāmuddin Ahmad nor the habitually panegyric Abūl Fazl nor any other historian of the dynasty says that Bābur ever invaded that part of the country, or possessed any authority there. The truth is that like Gujarāt, Mālwa, Jaunpūr, etc., Sindh became altogether independent of the Dehli Sultāns on the fall of the Tughlaqs. "The Sammā Kings," says the Imperial Gazetteer "gradually extended their authority over the whole of Sind, the zenith of their fame being reached in the time of Jām Nizāmuddin, better known as Jam Nandā, who died in 1509 after a reign of forty-six years. The line ended with Jām Fīroz who was conquered by Shāh Beg Arghūn in 1520.... Shāh Beg afterwards conquered the fort of Bukkur and rebuilt the fortifications with bricks taken from the ancient stronghold of Aror." Shāh Beg died in 1522. "His son and successor, Mirzā Shāh Hasan, finally drove Jām Fīroz from Tatta to Cutch and at length to Gujarāt where he died.. Shāh Hasan died childless in 1554 after a reign of twenty-two (*sic*) years, and with him ended the Arghūn dynasty." (XXII 396-7.) The Arghūns were succeeded by the Tarkhāns and it was only after Mirzā Jāni Beg Tarkhān surrendered Tatta to the Khān-i-Khānān 'Abdur Rahīm in 1592 A.C. that *Lower Sindh* was reunited to the Empire of Dehli after an interval of more than two hundred years.

On the other hand, it is quite clear that the hosts of Bābur overran Bihār more than once during his short reign, and that he was, at his death, master of a considerable part at least of the province. Badāoni roundly tells us that "the Prince [Humāyūn] having taken the country of Harand [a misreading of *Kharid*] and *Bihār* from Nasir Khān Luhāni, and having appointed Khwājā Amīr, Shāh Hasan and Amīr Junaid Birlās to the government of Jaunpūr, proceeded by way of

Kālpi " and rejoined his father some time before the battle with Rānā Sāngā in 1527 A.C. (Ranking's Trans., I, 445-6.) Abū Fazl's account is a little more circumstantial but similar (Beveridge, *Akbarnāma*, I, 256-7.)

About two years afterwards we again hear of the Mughals invading Bihār.

" On 3rd Jumāda'l-awwal [935 A H., 25th January, 1529], news came that Maḥmūd, the son of Iskandar, had taken Bihār and was raising the head of rebellion. His Majesty returned from hunting to Āgrā and it was settled that he should proceed in person to the eastern districts. . . . On Thursday, the 17th of the said month, he crossed the Jamnā, and went towards the eastern districts. In these days the ambassador of Nuṣrat Shāh, the ruler of Bengal, brought valuable presents and did homage. . . . Near Karra news came of the defeat of Maḥmūd Khān, son of Sultān Sikandar. Having advanced near the borders of Ghāzīpūr, he stopped at Bhojpūr and Bihiyā. In that place *Bihār was bestowed on Mirzā Muḥammad Zamān*. On Monday, 5th Ramaṣān, being set at ease with regard to Bengal and *Bihār*, he proceeded to Sirwār to put down Biban and Bāyazīd. The enemy engaged with the victorious army and was defeated. After visiting Kharīd, and Sikandarpūr and being satisfied with the state of things there, he rode post towards Āgrā which he reached in a short space of time" *Ibid.*, I, 270-1.

Firishta is equally explicit.

" Towards the close of the year, the King received advices that the Prince Mahmood, son of the late King Sikundur Lody, had obtained possession of the province of Behar. . . . The King. . . . marched in person towards Behar. On reaching Kurra. Julal-ood-Deen Noosrut Shah Shurky, the ex-king of Joonpoor, prepared a royal entertainment. Mahomed Zaman Mirza was detached from Kurra to Behār from whence he expelled the Prince Mahmood Lody, but in a few months after, the Afghans of Behar, collecting troops, advanced again towards the Ganges. The King, on this occasion, detached Askurry Mirza with a division to oppose them at the Budry ford, and himself followed next day with the rest of the army. On reaching the banks of the river, he was preparing boats to cross when Cheen Teimoor Sooltan, who had already gained the opposite bank with only eighty horse, attacked without hesitation. Askurry Mirza, who had crossed at another place, also appearing fortunately in the enemy's rear, threw them into confusion and they fled. Noosrut Shah now joined the King, and promised to aid in the expulsion of the Afghans; and Babur having given orders to Sooltan Jooneid Birlas to prosecute the war in conjunction with Noosrut Shah returned to Agra." (Briggs, *Rise of the Mahomedan Power*, Calcutta Reprint, II, 62-3.)

This is from the translation of Briggs which was made

from an imperfect text. In the better and fuller recension which he himself afterwards edited, and of which the Lakhnau Lithograph is an inexpensive reproduction, we are expressly told that Bābur visited the tomb of Shaikh Yahyā, the father of Shaikh Sharf, which is at Maner, and gave away great sums in alms there.

و چون بقصبة منیر رسید مزار شیخ یحیی پدر شیخ شرف منیری را

زیارت کرده و خیرات بسیار نموده با کرة تشریف حضور ارزانی فرمود •

Lakhnau Lithograph, I, 211, l. 4.

Now, Maner is only 10 miles distant from Dināpore Cantonment (Imp. Gaz., XVII, 175), which is itself so close to Patna city that Dināpore, Bānpore and Patna are "regarded as one continuous narrow city hemmed in between the Ganges and the railway." (*Ibid.*, XI, 355.) It would appear then that the Imperial armies not only overran and seized Bihār, but that Bābur himself was for a time in the immediate neighbourhood of Patna, if not in Patna itself.¹

Two other relevant facts may be also mentioned. There is in the *Bāburnāma* or *Wāq'iat-Bāburī* (Memoirs of Bābur), a detailed statement of the revenues of "the countries from Bhera to Bihār" which had "submitted in a short time to his victorious standards." About twenty-five provinces are enumerated, but there is no reference whatever to Sindh, Upper or Lower. At the same time, the income from Bihār is given as 4,05,60,000 Tankas (E.D., IV, 262; Thomas, *Chronicles*, 390-1; A. S. Beveridge, *Memoirs of Bābur*, 521-2; Erskine, *History of Baber and Humāyun*, I, 540-543).

Secondly, there is, in the *Fathnāma* or 'Letter of Victory' which was issued in the Emperor's own name after the battle with Rānā Sāngā, the explicit statement that the "Divine favour had caused our standards to be upreared in the territories of Dihli, Āgra, Jūn-pūr, Kharid, Bihār, etc." (A. S. Beveridge, *op. cit.*, 561 or Leyden and Erskine, *Memoirs of Baber*, ed. 1826, p. 360.)

Briefly, we have the conqueror's own word for the fact

¹ I have contented myself with citing the summaries of Abūl Faẓl and Firishta. Bābur's own account of the second Eastern campaign occupies between forty and fifty pages in Mrs. Beveridge's Translation of his Memoirs, and is too long to quote in integrity. The references to the settlement of Bihār will be found at pp. 661, 662, 676 and 679. The visit to the tomb of Shaikh Yahyā of Maner is mentioned on p. 666. This Bengal campaign is also described in Mr. Lane Poole's monograph, 190 192, and Elphinstone's *History of India*, ed. Cowell, 435-c.

Kharid is now a pargana in Ballia district, United Provinces, and lay formerly on both banks of the Ghogrā. A. S. Beveridge *Op. cit.*, 664 note. Bihiya is a town in the Arrah Subdivision of Shāhābād district, Bengal. Imp. Gaz., VI, 5 and VIII, 173. Sikandarpūr is in Bānsdih tahsil, Ballia district. (*Ibid.*, XXII, 362.)

that he had overrun and settled Bihar His own silence about Sindh is also most significant The absence of any allusion in the histories of the Mughal dynasty to Babur's conquest of or suzerainty over Lower Sindh also militates with some force against the Tatta reading

It is therefore all the more necessary to quote a statement to the contrary which occurs in the *Tarikh-i Masūmī*, a History of the Province written by Mir Muhammad Masūm in 1009 A H This author asserts that "when Shah Hoosain [Arghūn] ascended the throne of his father at Nusurpoor, the Sudds Kazees and the chiefs represented to him that it was right to have his name read in the sermon Shah Hoosain said it was not proper for him to do so as long as any of the descendants of Sahib Kiran were remaining and the name of Babur Badshah was read" (A History of Sind Trans G G Malet, Bombay, 1855 p 95)

It should be observed that Mir Masūm speaks of Shah Husain having ordered the *Khutba* to be read in Babur's name *contrary to the wishes of his chiefs and Amīrs*² He does not make any *explicit* statement in regard to coins, and we are left to draw our own inference on that head But the *Khutba* and the *Sikka* generally, if not always went together,³ and his expressions might plausibly be construed to mean that Shah Husain resigned that regal privilege also and permitted Babur's titles and not his own to be displayed on the local money The bearing of this inference on the matter in issue is obvious The question we have to decide is 'Is the statement itself true'?

Unfortunately, this hearsay report of some local or family tradition receives no corroboration from any other source, and is opposed to some well known facts and authorities It is flagrantly contradicted and belied by Shāh Husain's (or Hasan's) subsequent conduct towards Babur's son and successor

¹ A similar statement occurs also in the *Tarkhān Nama* (Elliot and Dowson I, 312), but it is really taken at second hand from the History of Masūm (see the remarks in E D I, 301), and has consequently no independent value

² This seems to me to clearly imply that Husain's father Shāh Beg Arghūn, had had the *Khutba* read in *his own* name and not Bābur's The "Chiefs and Amīrs" were evidently, in favour of the practice being continued

³ Thus we are told that Hindāl had the *Khutba* read in his own name during Humāyūn's absence in Bengal, but he is not said to have gone to the length of striking coins (Beveridge, *Akbarnāma* Trans I, 338, 339, Ranking, *Badāoni*, Trans I 459 *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī* in Elliot and Dowson, V, 202) So again Mun'im Khān was once obliged by Mirzā Sulaimān's sudden invasion of Kābul to consent to the recitation of the *Khutba* in the invader's name, but there is no allusion whatever to coins (Beveridge, *Akbarnāma*, Trans II, 43, Lowe *Badāoni*, Trans II, 5 *Tab Akb* in E D, V, 249)

It is also in conflict with the utterances of Jauhar and Firishta—equally good authorities :

According to Mir M'asūm, Shah Husain's loyalty and devotion to the *House* of Timūr was so fervent and unselfish, that he would not have his own name inserted in the *Khutba* 'as long as any of the descendants of *Sahib Kiran* [Timūr] were remaining" M'asūm's work is not without merit, but it is to be remembered that he wrote about eighty years after Shah Husain's accession. On the other hand, Jauhar—a personal attendant who was with Humayūn throughout his wanderings in Sindh—assures us that "Shāh Husayn Sultan, Ruler of Tatta, had assumed the title of Majesty, being lineally descended from the Emperor Timur" (*Tezkereh Al Valiā* or Private Memoirs of the Moghul Emperor Humāyūn Trans C Stewart, 1832 p 29). The same eye witness informs us that the Emperor sent Mun'im Beg to remonstrate with Shah Husain and request him "not to pursue his vengeance any further. But Hu-syn refused to see the messenger and wrote an uncivil letter asking 'What benefits the King had ever conferred on him that he should now have any consideration for his distress?'" (*Ibid*, p 32).

The duplicity and perfidious cruelty of the ruler of Tatta are described in the most bitter terms by the historians of Humayūn's flight. There was never much love lost between the Arghūns and Babur, who had deprived and driven out Shah Beg, the father of Husain, from Qandahar. Indeed, Shah Beg is said to have turned his eyes towards Sibi and thought of establishing his power in Sindh, only when he was convinced by Babur's repeated invasions from Kābul that he 'would not rest contented until he had conquered and brought Qandahar under his own rule" (*Tarikhān Nāma* in Elliot and Dowson, I, 307)¹.

We have seen Jauhar expressly stating that 'Shah Hussyn had assumed the title of Majesty". Firishta who wrote about 1018 A H—only nine years after M'asūm—declares of his father, Shāh Beg, that he 'marched in the same year [927 A H] towards Tatta and possessing himself of it, had his name recited in the *Khutba* and stamped on the coins of that country".

در همان سال بحاکم تہدہ شہاب و اکبرا متصرف شدہ خطہ و مکہ

آبدار نام خود گزیداد *

Lakhnau Lithograph, II, 321

¹ This is again taken from M'asūm who writes "Shah Beg went to Seebee, telling his nobles that Babur Badshah had come this time to see the road to Kandahar, it is probable that he will again raise on high the banner of march against it next year for until he has turned me out of my place he will not find repose". History of Sind, Trans Malet 77

He leaves us to infer that Shah Husain did the same when following in the path of his father he reduced those towns which had not yet been subdued by his predecessor (Briggs *Rise of the Mahomedan Power* IV 435) Once more in his account of Husain's successor Mirza Isā Tarkhān he writes —

بعد از فوت شاه حسن اربعون سلطان محمود در بکرو و مدبران عسری
برجان و بکند د عده سروری نموده شریک رجا و مقام خویش خطه و سکه
نام در کردند •

Lahnan Lithograph II 322 l 12

After the death of Shah Husain Arghūn Sultan Mahmud in Bhakkar and Mirza Isā Tarkhan in Thattah each proclaimed his own supremacy and in his own place and residence had the *Khutba* recited and coins struck in his own name

Briefly if we are to believe Firishṭa not only Shah Beg Arghūn but Sultan Mahmūd of Bhakkar and Mirza Isā Tarkhan of Tatta had all declared their independence and in token thereof struck coins in their own names which were inserted likewise in the *Khutba*

This receives partial corroboration from a fact mentioned incidentally in another Provincial History of some credit—the *Tārīkh-i Tāhīrī*—which was composed in 1030 A H by Mir Tahir Muhammad (E D I 255) In his account of the Khan-i Khanan Abdu r Rahim's invasion of Sindh he writes

Mirza Jani Beg Sultan made this agreement with his soldiers that every one of them who should bring an enemy's head should receive 500 *gabars* every one of them worth twelve Miras called in the Mirza's time *postanis* of which seventy two went to one *tanka* (Elliot and Dowson I 287) These *gabars miras* and *postanis* were apparently coin denominations unknown elsewhere and it would seem as if the independent rulers of Lower Sindh had not only stamped money in their own name but that the province had a coinage nomenclature of its own

I may be now permitted to sum up the results of this discussion The name of mint town on the Shahrūkhī (or Baburī) in the White King collection is written in such a way that it does not exactly resemble either of the two forms in which the names Tatta and Patna are exhibited on the coins of the Mughal Emperors from Akbar to Muhammad Shah The names themselves are exceedingly liable to be confused in Persian writing The historical arguments against the attribution to Tatta are that Babur never invaded Tatta itself or any part of Lower Sindh that he does not include Sindh in the famous Statement of the Revenues of the Provinces of Hindustan which was drawn up in or about 935 A H (Beveridge *Memoirs* 520 522 n) that he himself puts forward no claim to be the suzerain

of Shāh Husain¹ and that no historian of the Mughal dynasty asserts that his authority or sovereignty had been formally acknowledged by the independent rulers of the province. It is true that in a Provincial History called the *Tarīkh-i-Mʿasūmī* there is a statement to the effect that Shāh Husain Arghūn had the *Khutba* read in Bābur's name but this assertion is so far unsupported. It is, moreover, in conflict with the utterances of Jauhar and Firishta, and scarcely consistent with the subsequent behaviour of Shāh Husain towards Humāyūn². On the other hand, it may be urged in favour of the ascription to Patna, that Bābur expressly includes Bihār among the provinces overrun by his armies soon after the battle of Pānīpat, that the revenues of Bihār are expressly mentioned in the Imperial Rent-Roll, that there is a detailed account of his second Bengal campaign and his settlement of Bihār itself in the 'Memoirs,' and that his visit to the shrine of Shaikh Yahyā at Maner, which is only 10 miles from Patna, is recorded in his invaluable Autobiography.

None of these statements, *pro* and *contra*, is without force, but there is also nothing absolutely conclusive about any or even all of them, and there is consequently nothing to preclude the possibility of this unique coin having been struck at either of the two places in dispute. We may accept Firishta's assertion that Shāh Beg Arghūn had the *Khutba* read and coins struck in his own name, but he does not categorically declare that Shāh Hasan did so. We may admit that Sultān Mahmūd of Bhakkar and Mirzā 'Isā Tarkhān of Tatta issued

¹ In his 'Summary of the Life of Meerza Shah Hoosain,' Mʿasūm himself says "In his youth he went from Kandahar to Babur Badshah at Kābool, remaining with him two years. Babur always spoke in praise of him, saying 'Shah Hoosain Beg has not come to me for service, but he has come to learn the customs of Kings.'" History of Sind, Malet's Translation, 123-9. There is a similar statement in the *Tarīkh-i-Nāma*. "In this same year, Shāh Hasan Mirza having quarrelled with his father, left him and went to the court of the Emperor Babur. . . The Emperor observed that his visit was not from any affection entertained towards himself by Shāh Hasan, but in order that he might learn the art of governing rightly, and at the same time perfect himself in the ceremonies of the Court." Elliot and Dowson, I, 303.

Shāh Husain's father, Shāh Beg, appears to have openly defied Bābur and repudiated his claim to be the superior of the Arghūns. Indeed, Bābur complains that Shāh Beg had, in writing to him, been so rude as to "impress the seal on the back of the letter, in the place in which one Amīr writes to another, nay, where an Amīr of some rank sets his seal in writing to an inferior Amīr." Leyden and Erskine, *Memoirs of Baber*, 225-226.

² Mrs Beveridge has pointed out that Mʿasūm's chronology is often manifestly erroneous (*Memoirs of Bābur*, 366), and that his account of the siege of Qandahār is contradicted by the contemporary narrative of Khwāndmīr in the important matters of date and mode of surrender. "Khwāndmīr's dates," she writes, "agree with the few fixed ones of the period and with the course of events; several of Mʿasūm's on the contrary, are *seriatim* five (lunar) years earlier." *Ibid.*, 435.

money in their own names but that would not prove that their predecessor Shāh Hasān had never struck coins in the name of Bābur. We may acknowledge that Jauhar may be correct in saying that he had assumed the title of Majesty but then there is nothing to show that this was done during Bābur's life time and the Afshar's words may be perhaps construed to mean that the event took place at some time after Humayūn's accession if not after the latter's defeat and flight from Agra.

Shah Husain had gone to Kābul after a quarrel with his father and been hospitably received and kindly treated by Bābur. He had then made his peace with his parent and fought on the latter's side during Bābur's last siege of Qandahar. He was throughout life an opportunist and time server, a politician accustomed to trim his sails to the prevailing wind. He had seen his father repeatedly trying conclusions with Bābur and known him repeatedly worsted. He knew that he held Sindh by an exceedingly uncertain tenure and that he himself was no match for the Emperor. It is therefore just possible that he tried to disarm Bābur's hostility and curry favour with him by conceding the empty honour of the Khutba and even striking a few coins in token of submission. The shah would sit very lightly on such a man and he would not scruple to throw it off at the first opportunity. We know that it was thrown off when the proper time arrived and there can be no difficulty in understanding his conduct in the days of Humayūn's adversity.

In setting out the historical arguments for and against the two rival readings I must not be deemed to prejudge the point in dispute. The question is an exceedingly difficult one and my present object is merely to clarify ideas and assist in obtaining the well-considered judgments of others who are entitled to speak on the subject. The same remarks apply to most of the notes in this article which are intended to elucidate opinion and not to forestall it.

Junāgadh January 1918

S H HODINATA

CHUNAR OR HISAR?

In his note on the Chunar Mint Mr Whitehead says: "The coin in this collection is the only piece in copper published from this mint. The mint name is situated on it in such a way that it might be read as the latter part of the word Hisar but I think Mr Rodgers' attribution to Chunar is correct because all the Hisar *fulus* which resemble the piece under discussion are of the *ilahi* type." (P M C Introd lxx) Luckily the coin is dated and the year ٩٦٧ و شعب و ذى (967) is clearly given in words on the reverse. It seems to me that

the difficulty is not so easily solved, for apart from the admittedly ambiguous and fragmentary character of the name on the obverse there is a historical objection which must be answered before the Chunār reading can be accepted. That objection is that Chunār appears to have been surrendered to Akbar *at the earliest* in 969 (perhaps 970 A H.), and that it did not belong to the Mughals at all in 967 A H.

In his chronicle of the sixth year of the reign (24 Jumada II, 968—5 Rajab, 969) Abūl Fazl says "One of the ennobling events in the Shāhinshāh's fortune which in this year applied collyrium to the eyes of the simple-minded aspirants after auspiciousness was that Chunar, which is an impregnable fortress, came into the possession of the imperial servants. The brief account of this event is that when 'Adil's son became a vagrant in the wilderness of ruin, the fort of Chunār which had been his abode came into the hands of one Fattū who belonged to his clan (*Khāsa Khel*). He regarded this inaccessible fort as his refuge and laboured to strengthen it. When the standards of fortune returned from the town of Karra and were set down at Āgrā [this was on Friday 17th Zil hajja, 968, 29th August, 1561, see p 230], Khwāja 'Abdul Majid Āsaf Khān was appointed to take the fort. As Fattū had some proper feelings and some good sense he perceived that the day of the Afghans' defeat had arrived, and so sent a number of people to express his submission" (Beveridge *Akbarnāma*, Trans., II, 231).

Nizāmuddin Ahmad's account is very similar, except that he puts the event into the ninth year (971-972 A H.) "The fort of Chunar," he declares, "was held by a slave of 'Adal named Fattū. He now wrote a letter offering to surrender it. The Emperor sent Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus and Āsif Khān to receive the surrender of the fort" (*Tabaqāt-i Akbarī* in Elliot and Dowson, V, 287-8). Badaoni describes the circumstances almost in the same words, with this difference, that he reckons it among the events of 970 A H. (*Ramāzān*) (Lowe, II, 62).

Now putting the matter on the lowest ground, and supposing the earliest and not the latest of these dates to be the correct one, it is difficult to believe in the existence of a Mughal mint at Chunār in 967 A H. The argument from type is not without interest, and has its uses on occasions, but it is apt to lead to very uncertain results. We really know very little of the principles which governed the determination or variations of type. We can hardly be sure that there were any fixed principles in the matter at all. In any case, such an argument can scarcely bear down the explicit statements of the contemporary historians. I submit, therefore, that the weight of the evidence, so far as it goes, is against Chunār instead of being in its favour.

Mr Whitehead informs us that 'one or two early Rupees of Akbar were struck' at Chunar and he has made room for Chunar in the list of that Emperor's silver mints. Of the two Rupees, one was in the cabinet of Mr Bleazby, and is now in the British Museum. The other is in this country and is in the Government collection at Lakhnau. This coin Mr C J Brown has kindly examined very carefully at my request and his opinion is quoted below. The coin was called Chunar by Ellis whose collection the Museum bought. There is no trace of a mint name on the coin. He might have seen another similar specimen with a mint name but I should think it unlikely. The date is 970 or 975 the unit is blurred.

Thus far the evidence appears to go against the inclusion of Chunar among the copper mints of Akbar and also against its being reckoned among that Emperor's silver mints. But the latter point cannot be decided so long as Mr Bleazby's coin remains unpublished.

28th December 1917

S H HODIVALA

KHAIRPUR OR UJAINPUR ?

The mint of Khairpūr a town in Sindh is only found writes Mr Whitehead on a few copper coins of Akbar. Coin No 656 [correctly No 655] dated A H 997 is of an unpublished type. Ilahi pieces of the forty fifth and forty seventh years are known and are exemplified in the Indian Museum I M Cat No 462 (P M C lxxiii). The place meant is no doubt the capital of the feudatory state of that name (Lat 27° 31' Long 68° 48') in *Upper Sindh* 17 miles south of Rohri (Bhalhar).

There is a difficulty in the way of this identification to which I must beg permission to invite attention. No town of the name of Khairpūr is mentioned in Abul Fazl's lengthy account of the province (Jarrett II 333-47). We should expect to find it among the Mahals of the Sarkar of Bhakkar (Ib 333-4) but there is no trace of it there. Nor is such a place spoken of in any one of the eight *Histories of Sindh* of which there are translations or abstracts in the first volume of Elliot and Dowson's invaluable work. Nor is there a single reference to it in any of the *Chronicles of Mughal domination in India*. Indeed there are fairly good grounds for believing that the town is altogether modern and that it did not exist at all in the days of Akbar. The writer of the article on Khairpur in the *Imperial Gazetteer* says: "On the present site of the town which owes its rise to Mir Sohrab Khan Talpur there stood prior to the year 1787 the village of Porra and the Zemindari estate of the Phulpotras. It was selected as the residence of the chief Mirs of Northern Sindh and for some time during

Tālpūr rule, a British resident was stationed here in terms of the treaty of April 20, 1838, concluded between the British Government and the Mirs of Sindh." (Ed. 1908, XV, 216.)

If this is correct, and it appears to be based on reliable local information or official reports,¹ the identification with the capital of the Mir must be abandoned.

There is a Khairpūr in Bahāwalpūr State, Panjāb, 38 miles North-East of Bahāwalpūr town.² There is another town of the same name in the 'Alipūr Tahsil of Muzaffargarh district, Panjāb, but the latter is said to have been founded only in the 19th Century by a Bukhari Sayyad of the name of Khair Shāh (Imp. Gaz. s. n.).

Rodgers was the first to publish a *fulūs* of the type represented by I.M.C., No. 462. The legend on the obverse is far from being perfectly clear. He boldly read it as ضرب نلوس, but said at the same time that he did not know where Khairpūr was. (Indian Antiquary, 1890, p. 223, Pl. II, fig. 25.) Mr. Nelson Wright does not see any trace of the ضرب or of the سكه on the obverse. (I.M.C., III, No. 462.) The specimen in the Panjāb Museum dated 997 A.H. is of a very different type. It is peculiar in having a dotted belt across the centre both on the obverse and reverse—an 'ornament' which is found only on some coins of Ahmadābād and a rare issue of Agra.³ Khairpūr in Persian writing (خیر پور) bears no small resemblance to Ujjainpūr اجین پور Cf. P.M.C., No. 575. I venture to suggest that the reading is erroneous and that the Ilāhī coins of 45 and 47 R., at least, may be issues of Ujjainpūr or Chainpūr.

Junāgaḍh.

S. H. HODIVĀLĀ.

DEOGARH.

The identification of the mint-town Deogarh is not free from difficulty. Two types of coins are known, which are very different from each other, though both purport to have issued from Deogarh in the reign of Shāh 'Ālam II. Several specimens of the first type were published by Dr. Hoernle in J.A.S.B., 1897, with the following remarks:—

"Nos. 40-44. Said to be coins of Jāora, a native state and town in Western Mālwa, Central India Agency, about 40 miles S.E. of Pratāpgarh on the railway line. They were all

¹ I find the same statement made in almost identical words in A. W. Hughes' Gazetteer of the Province of Sindh (1874), p. 420.

² According to Shalāmat 'Alī's "History of Bahāwalpūr," this Khairpūr was founded "by Balawal Khan, and named after Kheir Mohammed, his cousin," about the middle of the 18th Century (p. 40).

³ Information received from Mr. Whitehead (February 1919).

procured from Jaora. In Webb's Currencies of Rajputana p 23 however coins of this kind are ascribed to the Pratāpgarh State. No 43 is a rupee Nos 40 *a* and 40 *b* are eight annas No 41 is a four anna No 44 is a two anna and Nos 42 *a* and 42 *b* are pāyas. The dates of the coins are inconsistent. The rupee (No 43) has 1199 H and 29 julūs of Shāh Ālam while the julūs should be 26. The mint on the reverse of No 43 seems to read clearly *devarah* or *dēorā* which has also been noticed on other specimens. The only Deorā I know of is a small town on the Son river in Baghelkhand in the Rewa state a few miles beyond the borders of the British district of Mirzapūr. It certainly cannot be read *جاوره* Javarah or Jaora. On No 40 *a* there are distinct traces reading *جگ* *ciag* which would make Devagarh or Deogarh. This is a small town in Gwalior and is probably the name intended on all these coins. (*Loc cit* pp 265-9)

The coins are figured and it is clear from the Plate (No XXXII) that the second suggestion gives the correct reading of the name which is not *جاوره* but *جگورہ*. But Dr Hoernle was not equally happy in his attempt to determine the locality. Exactly similar coins are described and illustrated as he himself admits in Webb's Currencies of the Hindu States of Rajputana and are there ascribed to Pratāpgarh (or Partabgarh). It is common knowledge that these Partābgarh issues had at one time extensive circulation in those parts under the name of Salimshahi rupees. An examination of the Salimshahi rupee current in Malwa and coined by the Rājā of Partabgarh of which there is a drawing on Pl II in Prinsep's Useful Tables leaves no room for doubt as to its identity with Dr Hoernle's No 43 and Webb's No 9 Pl III the only difference being that the mint name is partially visible on Dr Hoernle's coin but entirely absent from the others.

But if these coins are specimens of the Salimshahi issues of Partabgarh why do they happen to exhibit the mint name Deogarh? The answer is that Deoria or Deogarh is the name of the old capital of the State of Partabgarh.

The compiler of the article on Partabgarh in the Imperial Gazetteer writes. The founder of the State was one Bika a descendant of Rana Mokal of Mewar who left his estates of Sadri and Darwad in 1553 proceeded south and subdued the aboriginal tribes. In 1561 he founded the town of Deolia or Deogarh naming it after a female chieftain named Devi Mini and subsequently he overpowered the Rajputs living further to the south and east. Hari Singh's son Pratap Singh who succeeded in 1674 founded the town of Partabgarh in 1698 and from it the State takes its name though some of the people still use the older name of Kanthal or uniting the names of the former and the present capitals call

the State Deolia Partabgarh As recently as 1869 the chief was described in an extradition treaty then ratified as the Rajah of Dowleh and Partabgarh *Op cit* ed 1908 XX 9 10

Elsewhere in the same work we read 'Deolia (or Deogarh) —The old capital of the State of Partābgarh Rājputāna situated in 24° 2' N and 74° 40' E about 7½ miles due west of Partabgarh town (*Ibid*, XI 247)

Turning to the 'Central India' of Malcolm we find him speaking of Dewla named also Pertaubgurrh Dewla as a fortified town in the province of Ajmeer the residence of the Raja of Pertaubgurrh' (*Op cit* II 398)

Elsewhere he says that Dewla is eight miles west of Pertaubgurrh (II 417) and at p 284 of the same volume he informs his readers that *Dewla or Deogarh* is in Lat 24° 2' 9" and Long 74° 43' 40" It is clear then that Deola or Deogarh was the old capital and even in Malcolm's time it was the chief residence of the Raja (*Ib* I 15)

In a word the Deogarh of these coins is not to be looked for in Gwalior but is Deola or Deogarh the old capital of Partābgarh The execution of these Salīmshāhī coins is exceedingly crude and imperfect but they are easily distinguished by the peculiar conformation of the Persian letters which are unlike those on any other coins in Rājputāna (Webb 25) Another distinguishing feature would seem to be that on the obverse the year is always either 1199 25 or 1199 29 (26 ?) or 1236 44-45 (Webb 24 5)

Some confusion is created by the circumstance that Deogarh rupees and half rupees of a very different type and apparently having little in common with them except the mint name are also in existence There are two specimens with the date 1193 20 in the Panjāb Museum (P M C No 3008 9) Mr Nelson Wright informs us that he has one of 1190 17 and Mr W S Talbot possesses a similar coin of 1198 A H (N S XIII 241) It is difficult to ascribe these coins to the Deogarh of Partābgarh and the probabilities seem to be in favour of their belonging to some other atelier

Unfortunately, Deogarh is a place name of very common occurrence in this country and the location of the mint is not easy No less than nine places called Deogarh or Devgarh are noticed in the second edition of the Imperial Gazetteer There is thus to be said however that most of them turn out on examination to be more or less obscure towns or villages for which no historical or political importance can be claimed during the period to which the coins are restricted and all but one of them are absolutely ignored in the *Muḥallabī* treatise

In the first place Deogarh is given as the ancient Hindu name of Deogar or Diulatābād but that obsolete form is hardly likely to have been resuscitated on coins in the last quarter of

the 18th Century The Deogarh in the Santal Parganas and in the Bamra Feudatory State Bengal may perhaps be dismissed as mere backwaters of civilization There is a Deogarh in the State of Udaypūr Rājputana but it is not enumerated among the Udaypur mints in Webb's fairly exhaustive treatise on the Rājputana Currencies (pp 8 16 19) The Deogarh in Lalitpur Tahsil Jhansi district appears to be indebted for its fame such as it is to its ancient remains of the later Gupta and Chandel periods and its real consequence appears to have terminated many centuries before the accession of Shah Ālam II Deogarh Bariya the chief town of a petty state in Rewa Kantha Agency Bombay would seem to have equally small claims to consideration and there is nothing to show that this chief was ever permitted to exercise the right of coining money Devgarh in Ratnagiri district Bombay and Devgarh (or Harehwar) in the State of Janjira are only small villages Attention may be also recalled to the fact that none of these localities is referred to by the historians

The only place of that name which is mentioned in the *Mughal Chronicles* and other historical writings is the Deogarh in Chhindwara district Central Provinces and it is mentioned not once or twice but a dozen times Passing by the earlier references in the *Badishahnama* of Abdul Hamid Lahori (*Bibl Ind* text I Pt II pp 110 111 and 230 2) where it is associated with Chauragarh and Nagpūr we come across the name several times in the *Maasir-i Alamgiri* and almost always in association with Chanda For instance we are told that in 1077 A H Daler Khan invaded the district of Chanda and extorted from its *Zamindār* Manji Malar [Ballar?] a present of five lacs of rupees for himself a kror of rupees as indemnity and fine for remissness in the payment of arrears and the promise of an annual contribution of two lacs (*Bibl Ind* text 59 See also *Ālamgirnāma* *Ibid* 1022 5) From Chanda Daler Khan proceeded to دوجرہ and squeezed from its ruler or marzban Koka Singh the handsome sum of fifteen lacs as arrears and the promise of an annual *pesi kash* of a lac of rupees (*Maasir-i Alamgiri* 59 60 *Ālamgirnāma* 1027 8) Two years later we hear that Daler Khan restored the territory of Deogadh to its Raja with authority to govern it absolutely as before (*Maasir* 102) We are next informed that in 1097 A H Bahht buland was installed as zamindar of Deogadh Islamdadh in the twenty ninth year—1907 A H (*Ibid* 273) Khafi Khan also notices the invasion of Deogadh by Daler Khan in 1077 A H and expressly states that its frontiers were conterminous or marched with those of Chanda اسب دوجرہ کہ سرحد چاندا متصل است (*Bibl Ind* text 205 7) We read again in his account of the events of the 43rd year of

the reign of Aurangzeb (1110 A.H.) that "the zamindār of Deogarh, in consequence of disturbances in his country, and the superior force of those who disputed the inheritance, had fled to the Court of Aurangzeb, and had received the title of Buland-bakht (*sic*) upon his becoming a Musulmān. Upon hearing of the death of his competitor, he hastened back to Deogarh without leave, and opposed the officers who were appointed to collect the tribute. He now joined Rām Rāja in plundering the country." (*Muntakhabu-l-Lubāb* in Elliot and Dowson, VII, 364; *Bibl. Ind.* text, II, 461.)

If we now turn for light to the 'Imperial Gazetteer,' we read that Chānda is "the southernmost district of the Central Provinces in the Nāgpūr division.... From the time of Akbar until the days of the Marathas, the Chānda princes seem to have been tolerably independent and powerful, for in their own annals and in those of the Deogarh line, we find them recorded as gaining an important victory over the latter rising Gond power in the middle of the seventeenth century.... In 1751, the Gonds were ousted, and the district passed under the control of the Marāthās, forming from this period, a portion of the Nāgpur Kingdom." (Ed. 1908, Vol. X, pp. 148 and 150-1.)

In another place we are informed that "Deogarh, the headquarters of the old Gond dynasty of Chhindwāra and Nāgpur, is a village about 24 miles south west of Chhindwāra, picturesquely situated on a crest of the hills. For a short period towards the end of its existence, the Deogarh Kingdom became of such importance as to overshadow Mandlā and Chāndā, and to take first place among Gond States." Towards the end of the seventeenth century, Bakht-buland "went to Delhi and entered the service of Aurangzeb. He is supposed to have gained by his military achievements, the favour of the Emperor, by whom he was persuaded to become a Muhammadan. He was acknowledged as Rājā of Deogarh.... and established many new towns and villages, also founding the city of Nāgpūr.... The subsequent fall of the Gond dynasty and acquisition of the Deogarh Kingdom by Raghuji Bhonsla belong to the history of Nāgpūr." (*Ibid.*, X, 206.)

The compiler of the article on Nāgpūr declares that there is no historical record of Nāgpūr prior to the commencement of the eighteenth century, when it formed part of the Gond Kingdom of Deogarh in Chhindwāra. Bakht Buland, the reigning prince of Deogarh, proceeded to Delhi, and appreciating the advantages of the civilization which he there witnessed, determined to set about the development of his own territories. To this end, he invited Hindu artificers and husbandmen to settle in the plain country, and founded the city of Nāgpūr. His successor, Chānd Sultān, continued the work of civilization, and removed the capital to Nāgpūr. On Chānd Sultān's death in 1730, there were disputes as to the succession, and his widow invoked the

aid of Raghuji Bhonsla who was governing Berar on behalf of the Peshwā. Raghuji on being called in by the contending factions replaced the two sons of Chand Sultan on the throne from which they had been ousted by a usurper, and retired to Berār with a suitable reward for his assistance. Dissensions, however, broke out between the brothers, and in 1743 Raghuji again intervened at the request of the elder brother, and drove out his rival. But he had not the heart to give back a second time the country he held within his grasp. Burhan Shah, the Gond Raja though allowed to retain the outward insignia of royalty, practically became a state pensioner, and all real power passed to the Marathas. Chandā, Chhātisgarh and Sambalpur were added to his dominions between 1745 and 1755, the year of his death" (*Ibid* XVIII 306).

This string of passages is somewhat long but it is indispensable for forming a correct notion of the importance of the Kingdom of Deogarh, which appears to have extended over the modern districts of Betūl, Chhindwāra Nagpūr, and portions of Seoni Bhandarā and Balāghat (*Ibid*, X, 13). The capital was at Deogarh which is about 24 miles south west of Chhindwāra town. "Though now containing only 50 or 60 houses the traces of foundations in the surrounding jungle and the numerous remains of wells and tanks show that the former city must have covered a large area. Deogarh contains several temples and on a high peak outside the village stands a ruined stone fort. All the buildings are constructed of the finest limestone" (*Imp Gaz* ed 1885 IV, 202-3).

Deogarh does not appear to have entirely lost its importance even after the conquest of the kingdom by the Marathas. The Gond Raja of Deogarh always conferred the *tikā* on the Bhonslas on their accession and he had also "the right of putting his seal to certain revenue papers" (*Imp Gaz*, 1908 X, 15). It is not at all improbable that there was a mint at Deogarh. The rupees which were struck at the capital of the old sister kingdom of Chānda by the Bhonslay Rajas and were "current in Nagpoor and the Nerbudda" are enumerated in Prinsep's List of Silver Coins (Useful Tables, ed 1834, p 43).

S H HODIVĀLĀ

SŪRAT AND SŪRAT

The Panjāb Museum possesses a very rare Rupee of which Mr Whitehead writes "Coin No 305, a square Hīhi Rupee of the year 38, is the only known piece of Akbar bearing the name of this mint [Surāt], but as both the mint name and the name of the month, probably intended for Ābān, are incorrectly spelt, the attribution to Sūrat cannot be called quite certain. The Rupee is undoubtedly genuine" (*P M C* Introd,

p. lxxxiii.)¹ Mr. Nelson Wright also is not sure that the ascription to Sūrat is "free from doubt." (I.M.C. Introd., lxxvii.)² Dr. Taylor goes a little further, and is of opinion that if it is Sūrat at all, it is not the well-known town on the Tāpti that can be meant. (B. B. R. A. S. Journal, 1907, p. 249, Note.)

What then are we to think? I beg to point out that **صورت** is not so inadmissible or incorrect a way of writing the name as has been taken for granted. There are in all languages some words which it is permissible to write in any one of two or even three ways. There are long lists of such double forms in many English dictionaries and the same thing is true of the names of persons and places. There are several Indian toponyms which equally respectable and competent writers spell in different ways, and at times, the same writer would appear to have seen nothing objectionable in the use of both forms.

An examination of the editions of the writings of the Musalmān chroniclers in the *Bibliotheca Indica* leaves the impression that Sūrat was one of them. Thus the name is written **صورت** at least once in the second volume of Badāoni's *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh* (p. 249, l. 3). The same form occurs once in the *Ālamgīrnāma* of Muḥammad Kāzīm (p. 134, l. 21) and four times in the *Muntakhabu-l-Lubāb* of Khāfi Khān (II, 248, l. 13; 251, l. 18; 444, l. 18 and 938 l. 21).

In the Lakhnau Lithograph of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, we have on the same page **قلعة صورت** in one line (p. 197, l. 13), **صورت قلعة** in two others (ll. 12 and 16), and **صورت** only in l. 22. **قلعة صورت** again occurs at p. 298, l. 20 and **صورت قلعة** in the very next line. At p. 299, we find **قلعة صورت** in l. 14, but **صورت قلعة** in the line following and **صورت**, only in ll. 17 and 20. In the twelfth line of the following page we have **قلعة صورت** again (300, l. 12). The commoner form **صورت** arrests attention at p. 304, l. 20, but then **صورت** recurs close upon its heels, l. 21.

I may also say that the name of the city is sometimes written with an initial **س** in old Pārsī writings on religious subjects. I myself possess a manuscript Persian Revāyet written in 1022 A.Y. (1653 A.C.) by Hirbad Mihrnūsh Kaiqubād Māhyār Rānā of Navsārī (18 miles from Sūrat) in

¹ Mr. Whitehead informs me (February 1910) that a second specimen of this rupee on which the name of the mint is written **صورت** is now in his own cabinet.

² Mr. Pannā Lal has described another rupee of the same year (39 R) on which the name of the town is written in the usual way with a **س**. The month is Ābān. Num Sup., XXVI, Art. 161.

which the form صور occurs more than once (folio 135 a 1 - 178 b 1 11)¹

It is of course possible to dismiss these variations as the vagaries of copyists or the errors of printers. But it is also to be remembered that oriental scribes are notorious for slavishly following in every little detail the originals before their eyes and the occurrence of the form صور in so many different places may be plausibly explained by the supposition that the authors themselves were not sure that it was incorrect and were disposed to regard it as admissible.

The upshot of the matter seems to be that these variant readings are not undeserving of attention but they can be hardly said to decide the matter in issue. Let us then see if any further evidence is available.

I have shown that the ع in عمرکوب is accounted for by the supposed connection of the town with Umar Sumra. It is not unlikely that the ص in صور is due to the same propensity to etymologise the names of persons and places. The origin of the name of the town is obscure. According to one local tradition it was first called Surajpur or Suryapur and was afterwards renamed Sūrāt by a pious Sultan of Gujarat (Muzaffar II) to make it agree with صورة the Arabic word for a chapter of the Qurān. Another story tells that a lady named Surata deserting the seraglio of the Emperor of Constantinople was befriended by a great merchant of that city. Escaping together to Gujarat the merchant was struck with the site of a fishing village near Rander. Here he settled and succeeding in trade raised the village into a town and called it by his lady's name. (Bombay Gazetteer Vol II Surat p 71.) Now صور means image form figure picture portrait and صوری has the sense of handsome. (Steingass Persian English Dictionary s v) *Suratā* would in the usual process of meaning making be supposed to be an اسم تائید name expressive of its qualities signifying Beautiful as a picture. The Persian poets habitually compare a lovely woman to an idol (ب) or picture (نگار). The name of

¹ The scribe was the high priest of the Parsis of Navsari and a grandson of the famous Dastur Mahiar or Mhrj Rēna for whom see Mr Vincent Smith's Akbar 163 and 478. The name of the town is written with a ص in other old copies also of the theological compilation known as the Revāyat of Darāb Hormazdyār.

The Mullā Firuz Library (Bombay) possesses a MS copy of Mirza Tahir Wahid's *Tarikh-i-Shah Abbas-i-Sani*. In this also the name of the town is twice written صور in the section relating to the Affairs of Hindustan. *Rehmat-ol-Katalogue Raisonné* IV 27 p 88.

the runaway mistress of the Ottoman would thus be written *صورت*, and her city would, of course, be *صورت*.²

I may also notice, without laying any undue stress upon them, two other facts, which are neither uninteresting nor irrelevant.

The English translation of an old 'Account of Shahajī and his son, Shivajī,' which was among the records preserved in the fort of Rāigadh is printed in the first volume of [Sir] G. W. Forrest's 'Selections from the Letters, Despatches and other State Papers preserved in the Bombay Secretariat (Marāthā Series).' This document contains a curious passage which is not without bearing on the matter before us:

"Shivajī himself went and plundered Sūrat where a great deal of property fell into his hands. Shivajī then wrote a letter to the King [*scil.* Aurangzeb] to the following effect: "That he had chastised his maternal uncle, Shāhiste Khan, that he had plundered his city of Surat (*Surat ra bé Surat lard*), that he had no right to Hindustan, which belonged to the Hindus, and that he had no right to the Deccan, which belonged to the Nizāmshāhī government, of which, he, Shivajī, was the vazir" (*Op. cit.*, I, 18).

Now there would be no point in the phrase *صورت را بیصورت کردم*, 'I made Sūrat *biṣūrat*' (*i.e.* ugly, featureless, deformed), unless the name of the town was written with a *ص*, and the fact that Shivajī or rather his Munshi permitted himself to indulge in this verbal conceit indicates that the spelling *صورت* was looked upon as fairly consonant with orthographic usage.

But this is not the only instance of the pun on Sūrat and *صورت*. There is, in the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* of Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, a passage which shows that the *jeu de mot* is as old as the days of Akbar and that, on one occasion, the Emperor himself "probed a question of policy with a play upon the words." After describing at some length the fort of Sūrat and the siege operations of 980 A.H., the historian says:

"The wretched disloyal Hamzabān and all the people in the fort sent out Maulānā Nizāmu-d-dīn Lārī... to sue for quarter. The Maulānā was conducted to the royal tent, and made his plea for mercy through the *amīrs* and officials. The chief *amīrs* remanded His Majesty that the batteries had been advanced very forward, and when they saw that he was inclined to mercy, they remarked that the garrison had resisted and fought with all their might so long as they had any power,

² Bishop Heber writes: "Surat, or as the natives pronounce it, Soorut (beauty), is a very large and ugly city, with narrow winding streets." Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India, Ed. 1849, Vol. II. 122.

and now that they saw that the fall of the place was imminent they were ready to beg for mercy His Majesty in his gentleness and humanity granted the petition Thus far I have abstracted from Dowson's version (Elliot and Dowson V 349) In the original the Emperor is said to have repeated while rejecting the advice of his nobles and complying with the request of the besieged the following lines which have been left out by the translator —

بدی را مکافات کردن بدی بر اهل صورت و د بحدی

بمعنی کسانی که بی نیّتند بدی دهنده و بدگوئی کرده اند

Tabaqāt i Akbari Lakhnau Lithograph p 298 ll 9 10

To return evil for evil is wisdom in the eyes of those who see only the outsides of things (اهل صورت) Those who penetrate their inner meaning have however done good after witnessing evil

This is the literal and original sense of the verses but it is clear that there is a *double entendre* in the first couplet which is susceptible of another interpretation also To return evil for evil to the people of Surat (اهل صورت) would be want of wisdom (بحدی i بحدی) Those who penetrate the inner meaning of things have done good after witnessing (i.e. experiencing) evil

It will be seen that the felicity of the quotation and its topical application depend on the resemblance in sound between *Sūrat* and صورت and the double meaning of the phrase اهل صورت

All this is interesting and not devoid of significance but it does not provide the sort of evidence which we should like to possess What is required is the occurrence of the form صورت in a contemporary document or record of which the authenticity and the date cannot be impugned Such a thing is not easily found and it must be therefore matter for congratulation that a record satisfying these conditions is actually in existence This is no other than the Grande Inscription de Qandahar to which I have already referred in the note on Bangala The epigraph is as I have said in two parts In the first there is a rough description of the boundaries of Akbar's empire in the second a long catalogue of the towns cities and famous fortresses of Hindustan There are in this list about one hundred and six names beginning with Udisa and Jaganat in the east and ending with Umārkot (عمرکوت) and Tatta (تٹا) in the west The principal towns in Gujarat are there enumerated as follows —

بدر صورت روح برودہ محمد اناد کلمات دودوبا گر بوالگر حام

کم کنگار احمد اناد بدر پسر بدروالہ *

Journal Asiatique, 1890, pp 206, 221 and 230 See also Beames, J R A S, 1898, p 801¹

Here then we have something tangible which proves that صورت is a form having fairly good traditional support. Mir M'asūm who composed and wrote out the inscription was not only a man of culture and learning, but was personally acquainted with Gujrat. He was himself one of the most famous calligraphers of his time, and had in his service a number of skilful engravers capable of transferring his elegant penmanship to stone. Such a man was hardly likely to write صورت on a monumental record with which he had taken such pains and which took, as he himself tells us, no less than four years to complete, if the spelling was held in his day to be inadmissible by those who were competent to form a judgment in such matters.²

There is another point connected with this coin about which a few remarks may be permissible. This is the name of the *Ilāhī* month on the reverse. Mr Whitehead has pronounced the opinion that it also is "incorrectly spelt," and that it is "probably intended for Ābān" (*Panjab Museum Catalogue*, Introd lxxxiii).

I submit that the suggestion will hardly bear examination,

¹ When Mirza Muhammad Taqī made his copy in 1889, the first three letters of بدر had been obliterated and the terminal ر only was visible. The whole word could be read clearly when Mohan Lal made his transcript in 1834 and has been restored from it. *Journal Asiatique*, 1890, p 230.

² Mir M'asūm belonged to a family of Tirmizi Sayyads settled in Bhakkar and was well known as a poet and historian. "Poverty compelled him to leave for Gujrat" where he was introduced to Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad then Diwan of the province. "Nizam was just engaged in writing his historical work, entitled *Tabaqāt al-Bārī*, and soon became the friend of Mir M'asūm, who was likewise well versed in history. In the 40th year, he was a Commander of 250. Akbar became very fond of him, and sent him in 1012 as ambassadar to Irān, where he was received with distinction by Shāh 'Abbās. From the Akbar nāmah (III, 416-423, 546), and Bird's History of Gujrat (p 426), we see that Mir M'asūm served in 992 (end of the 28th year) in Gujrat was present in the fight of Maisānah and in the final expedition against Muzaffar in Kacch. Mir M'asūm was also skilled as a composer and tracer of inscriptions and the *Riyāz ush-shu'arā* says that on his travels he was always accompanied by sculptors. From India to Isfahān and Tabriz, there are numerous mosques and public buildings which he adorned with metrical inscriptions. Thus the inscriptions over the gate of the Fort of Āgrah on the Jāmī Mosque of Fathpūr Siltī in Fort Mandū are all by him." Blochmann, *Āin*, Trans, I, 514-5. See also Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1874 pp 174-5 and 209.

as the *حان* is unmistakably clear on the plate (P M C, Pl XVIII, No 355) I venture to say that what the die cutter wrote or meant to write was *مهر حان*, an alternative or indifferent form of *مهر* which finds mention in the *Albarnāma*, and is recognised also by the Persian lexicographers. In his 'Account of the Establishment of the New and Divine Era,' Abūl Fazl gives the names of the thirty days of the *Ilāhī* month, and states that the name of the 16th day (which was also that of the 7th month) was '*Mihrgān* or *Mīhr*' (*Albarnāma* Tr Beveridge, II, 16, Text, II 10)

Now *مهر حان* is only the Arabicised form of *مهرگان* as there is no *گ* in the Arabic alphabet *مهر حان* is, therefore, in reality identical with *مهر*, i.e. the seventh month. Witness the definition in the *Burhān i Qāt'*:

مهر حان یا حدم نوروز مهریاد معرب مهرگان است * * * مهرگان
 یا گاه فارسی نوروز و معنی مهر حان است که معرب آنست و آن بمعنی
 مهر و محبت پیوستن است و نام روز شادویدم از هر ماه و نام ماه هفتم از سال
 شمسی باشد و آن بودن آفتاب عالمات است در برج میزان که ابتدای
 فصل حزان است *

"*Mihrgān* with *jīm*, of the same measure as *Mīhrbān*, is the Arabicised form of *Mihrgān* *Mihrgān* with the Persian *Kāf* (i.e. *Gāf*), of the same measure and having the same meaning as *Mihrgān* which is its Arabicised form. It means 'love' and 'the attachment of friendship' [It is also] the name of the 16th day of every month, and the name of the 7th month of the solar year, and that is coincident with the stay of the world illuminating sun in the constellation of the Balance and the commencement of the season of autumn."

The *Ghityāsu l Luḡhāt* says —

مهرگان دالکسر و گاه فارسی نام ماه حزان و آن مدت ماندن آفتاب
 است در برج میزان *
 مهر حان بالعقب و رای مهرگان معرب مهرگان *

'*Mihrgān* with *Kasr* (or *zer*), name of the autumnal month, and that is the period during which the sun remains in the constellation of the Balance

Mihrgān with *Fath* (or *zabar*) and the '*rā*' also with *Fath* (or *zabar*), Arabicised form of *Mihrgān*."

We may take the net result of this discussion to be that the coin is genuine, and that the doubts which have been

entertained on account of the spelling of the name of the town are not well founded. It is true that the prevailing form is سورت, and good Persian writers generally adhere to this as the more correct form, but the rule is not without exceptions, and the other form with the initial ص is neither unaccountable nor inadmissible. The rupee was probably struck in the seventh month (Mīhr) of the 38th year, and would seem to be a proof pattern or trial piece which, for obvious reasons, did not meet with approval. It is certainly curious that Mr Pannā Lal's coin is not only square, and bears exactly the same legends, but is of the same year and of the month immediately following (Ābān).

The College, Junāgadh.

S H HODIVĀLĀ

SAHRIND AND SARHIND

I have said that سورت is another or alternative form of سورت which is admissible, but is generally held to be less correct. Similarly, we have the double form سرهند or سهرند. The name of the town would seem to be written in *both* ways in the manuscripts of the works of Bidāoni, and Abūl Fazl and other historians on which the *Bibliotheca Indica* editions were based.¹ The same diversity is observed on the coins. On the Muhrs and Dams of Akbar the spelling is always سرهند. On the rupees of Aurangzeb and "all the succeeding Emperors as far as 'Ālamgīr II," the mint name is written سهرند. Khafī Khān informs us that it was Shāh Jahān who first set the seal of official sanction on the latter form, and at the same time enables us to realise the idea at the back of the Emperor's mind.

برداشتند آن نکته سطح طاهر باد که سهرند را سابق سرهند می نوشند
و فی الواقع تا سهرند در سلطنت عربیه بود یعنی بنصره سلاطین عربی بود
اسم سرهند اسم نا مسمی گفته می شد بعد از که فرمان روابان ممالک
محمروسه هندوستان سرطاعت و فرمان بری درگاه آسمان توانان نهادند بلکه

¹ We have سهرند in *Āin*, Bibl Ind Text, I, 369, 515, 549 and *Albar nūma* ib., II, 31, 32, 60, 75, 99, 113, 114, 121. III, 249, 345, 346, 372, 408, 578, 647, 696, 747, but سرهند in *Āin*, I, 527, 528 and *Albar nūma*, III, 501.

The *Bibliotheca Indica* text of Bidāoni's *Muntakhab* has سهرند on I, 248, 286, 288, 290, 309, 332, 375, 385, 427 but سرهند at I, 306, 406, 450, 460 and II, 14, 42, 91. 156, 187, 210, 269, 293, 312, 323, 381 and 389.

م و شان دیگر فرمان فرما نمائند و با آن طرف کانل و ممدفار در قلمرو
لازل سلطنت سعد در آمد حصرت اعلى فرمودند که سپرد می نوشته باشند *

Muntakhabu l Lubāb Bibl Ind Text I 402 ll 10 16

May it be evident to critical and discerning persons that in former times Sahrind [سهرند] was written Sarhind [سرهند] and as a matter of fact the empire of the Ghaznavides extended only as far as Sahrind and so much only was in their possession. Therefore the name Sarhind [lit end or head or frontier of Hind] was an appropriate designation (lit a name expressive of its qualities *Steingass*). Afterwards when the rulers of all the territories comprised (lit guarded protected) in Hindustan set the foreheads of submissiveness and obedience on the Celestial Court [of the Mughal Emperors] nay when the name and fame of no other sovereign remained and Kabul and even Qandahar in the north (lit in that direction or on the other side of Sarhind) were included in the eternal Empire of Hindūstan Hazrat Ala (ie Shah Jahan) issued orders that the name should be written Sahrind [سهرند].

In other words سرهند means in Persian head end or frontier of Hind and so long as the dominions of the Delhi Sultans did not extend much further the name was not inappropriate. But when as in the days of Akbar and Jahangir the Empire of Delhi stretched so far beyond that city as to include not only the districts now constituting the North West Frontier Province but even Afghanistan Sarhind became a palpable misnomer and the Emperor issued instructions for spelling the name in such a way that any such striving after meaning would become impossible.

No coins of Shah Jahan from this mint have been yet found and we have no means of verifying Hafi Khan's statement so far as his reign is concerned. But the coins of Aurangzeb etc

¹ The name *Sahrind* or frontier of Hind is popularly said to have been given to the city when it was the boundary town between the Hindus and the later Muhammadan Kingdom of Ghazni and Lāhor. But the name is probably much older as the astronomer Varsha Mihra mentions the *Sarindhas*. The *Sarindhas* or people of *Sarindha* must have occupied the very tract of country in which the present Sarhind is situated and there can be no doubt that the two names are the same. Ancient Geography of India 145-6. The *Sarindha* country is also mentioned in Alberuni's India Sachau's Translation I 303. According to the Imperial Gazetteer Sahrind is said to mean the lion forest but one tradition assigns its foundation to Sahr Rao a ruler of Lahore 166th in descent from Krishna and Frishta implies that it was the eastern limit of the Kingdom of Jaipal the Brahman King of Ohind. Ed 1908 XXIII 90.

² Mr H A Rose has published some letters addressed by Jahan Arā Begam Shah Jahan's favourite daughter to Budl Prakash the Raja of Sirmur. In one of these dated 21st Rab II 18th Julus

prove that the orthographic innovation which he had introduced did not fail to appeal to the understanding of his descendants.

I may add that the name of the town is written in the new way only by the authors of the *Bādishāhnāma* (*Bibl Ind*, Text. I. i, 215, 216, 230, 409; I, ii, 8, 9, 71; II, 115, 116, 121, 134, 206, 236, 247, 319, 412) '*Ālamgīrnāma* (*Ibid.*, 126, 142, 166, 219, 220, 759, 765, 848), and the *Maāshir-i-'Ālamgīrī* (*Ibid*, 42, 86, 132 and 209).

It is perhaps necessary to add a word of warning. Khāfi Khān's words do not mean that the form سهرند was first introduced or invented in the reign of Shāh Jahān. All that he really says is that he was the first to set the seal of Imperial sanction on that mode of spelling, and that he ordered the name to be so written in the State Records.

As a matter of fact, سهرند occurs occasionally in manuscripts of undoubted antiquity, e.g. Colonel Hamilton's MS. of the *Āin-i-Akbarī* (see *Bibl. Ind.* Text. I. 27, footnote 8), of which the exact date is not known, but which, in Blochmann's opinion, was "written in the reign of Akbar or that of Jahāngir" (*Ibid.*, Preface, p. 1).

We may take it for certain that the form is as old at least as the reign of Akbar. The following extract from a manuscript of the *Haft Iqlīm* of Amīn Ahmad Rāzī, who visited this country during that Emperor's reign, and finished his work in 1002 A.H. (1592 A.D.) is absolutely decisive on the point.

سرهند که بهرند نیز تغیر کرده اند سابق داخل سامانه بوده سلطان
فیروز شاه آنرا جدا ساخته سرکاری گردانیده و حصاری در آنجا بنا نموده
موسم به فیروز آباد سهرند امروز بجهت نژده و صفا و باغات دلکشای
معروف و مشهورست *

"*Sarhind, which has been altered also to Sahrind, was formerly included in the Sāmāna [division] Sultān Fīroz Shāh separated it [from Sāmāna] and constituted it a Sarkār by itself, and built there a fortress called Fīrūzābād. In these days (lit to day) Sahrind is a famous and well-known place on account of its beauty, purity [of the air] and its charming gardens.*" (Third *Iqlīm*)

Junāgadh, January, 1918,

S. H. HODIVĀLĀ.

SHERGARH.

Two early rupese of Akbar from a mint named Shergarh are known. They are dated 964 and 966 A.H. Shergarh

"Dawar Khān, the Faujdār of *Sahrind*" is mentioned (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1911, p. 453), and the name is clearly written سهرند in the original. *Ibid*, p. 450, l. 13. Thus goes some way towards corroborating Khāfi Khān's statement

occurs frequently, in several cases as an alternative name on the coins of the Sūr dynasty, and fortresses built by Sher Shāh near Dehli, Bhakkar, Rhotās in Bengal and Qānauj were all given the name of Shergarh

It is not easy to say where the Shergarh of these issues of 964 and 966 A H was situated Bhakkar may, with good reason, be put out of court on the ground that it was taken by Akbar only in 981 A H Dehli also may be eliminated as we have rupees of *Hazrat* i Dehli of 964 A H (I M C, III, No 180) and Dāms of Dehli alone with the date 966 (*Ibid*, No 391) Mr Whitehead has suggested that "the Shergarh of Akbar's coins was probably in Bengal" (P M C Introd, lxxxviii) I beg permission to point out that this is extremely unlikely, as the Eastern Provinces were then in the hands of the Afghāns and were not incorporated in the Mughal Empire before 981 2 A H

We have then to consider Qānauj The following passages from the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* and *Badāonī's Muntakhab* have a clear bearing on the matter, but have not, so far as I know, been quoted or referred to by any previous writer

"Upon arriving at Āgra, the Emperor was informed that Khān Zamān was besieging the fort of *Shergarh* four *loss distant* from Kanauj in which fort Mirzā Yūsuf Khān was shut up. When he [*scil* the Emperor] reached the *pargana* of Saket, 'Alī Kuli Khan [*i e* Khān Zamān] decamped from before Shergarh, and fled to his brother, Bahādur Khān, who was in Mānikpūr' (E D V, 319, *Tab Akb* Lakhnau Lithograph, 279, ll 14 17) Lowe's translation of the corresponding passage in *Badāonī* is as follows —

"When the Emperor arrived at Āgra news came that Khān Zamān was besieging Mirzā Yūsuf Khān Mashhādī who had shut himself up in *Shergarh* which is generally known by the name of *Qannouj* And when the town of Saket had become the camping place of the imperial army, news came in that Khān Zaman had raised the siege [of Shergarh], and fled towards Mānikpūr, where was his brother, Bahadur Khan" *Op cit*, II, 96, *Bibl. Ind* Text, 94, ll 2 13

Once more *Badāonī* tells us that "in the month of Jamada'l akhīr, while the camp was at *Shergarh* (otherwise called *Qannouj*), a book called *Singhāsān Battīsī*, which is a series of thirty two tales about Rājah Bikramājīt, King of Mālwa, and resembles the *Tutīnāmāh*, was placed in my hands, and I received his Majesty's instructions to make a translation of it in prose and verse" *Ibid*, 186, Text, 183, ll 17-21

The siege of Shergarh Qanauj is put by both writers into 974 A H and the Translation of the Thirty-two Tales about Vikrama was entrusted to *Badāonī* in 982 A H It follows that Qanauj was popularly known as Shergarh down at least to the year 982 Hijrī, and we may see in the fact grounds for assigning these rupees to the Qanauj mint On the other

hand, it appears from I M C, Nos 514 6 that the Akbari *alias* of the town was Shahgarh and not Shergarh in 968, 969 A H. But to this it may be replied that the transition from Shergarh to Shahgarh may have taken place *after* 966 A H, and that Nizam ud din Ahmad and Badaoni may have been ignorant of it or may have taken no cognizance of it on account of the older name being still in *greater* vogue. Besides there are some instances of the reappearance of the old name *on coins* even after a new name had been introduced. [It is very probable that the change to Shahgarh occurred in 957, but that after the defeat of Muhammad 'Adil the old name was resumed Ed.]

I ought perhaps to add that there are several other places called Shergarh in India. Abul Fazl mentions four *mahāls* of that name in the *Āin*. Two of them were in the Suba of Bengal (Jarrett Trans, II, 141, 144) and may, for the reason mentioned be rejected at once. The third was in the Beth (or Bist) Jālandhar Durb of the Sūbr of Lahor but it could not have been a place of any importance as its revenue was only 194294 Dams or less than five thousand Rupees. The fourth was embraced in that portion of the same Durb which was for fiscal purposes included in the Suba of Multān. This place has been identified with "a village about five miles north of Mailā, founded in the time of the Emperor Sher Shāh, and still showing ruins of its former prosperity" (E D MacLagan, Abul Fazl's Account of the Multan Sarkar, in J A S B, 1901, Pt I, p 3). This appears to have been a place of much greater consequence as its revenue was 5,741,200 Dams (1,43,530 Rs.), but it can hardly stand comparison with Qanauj in any respect.

Shergadha "a dependency of Jāhni" in the Panjab is thrice alluded to by Badaoni as the residence of 'Shaykh Dāūd Qādiri Jāhniwāl, the greatest Pole Star the master and asylum of Sainthood' (Lowe II, 159 160). But it does not otherwise appear to have been a place of any note.

Thornton mentions a 'Shetegurh' in the 'British district of Bareilly, on the route from Bareilly to Almora 20 miles north of the former. Lat 28° 40' N Long 79° 27' E'. Another place of the same name is said to be "in the Rajpoot State of Jeypoor 74 miles S E by S from Jeypoor and 121 miles E by S from Ajmeer, Lat 26° 2' N, Long 76° 35' E' (Gazetteer, New Edition, 885).

There is a Shergurh in Jodhpūr which is marked in Constable's Hand Atlas (Pl 27 A, b) as well as in Keith Johnstone's Atlas of India (Pl 5 E, f). See also Imp Gazetteer, ed 1905 XIV, 148, 191. Another homonymous locality is in 'the Chhātā tahsil of Mathura district N W P, Lat 25° 46' N Long 77° 39' E on the right bank of the Jamnā, 8 miles north east of Chhātā town. The town derives its name from a large

fort now in ruins built by the Emperor Sher Shah (Imp Gaz ed of 1887 XII 380) This place was visited by Peter Mundy in 1631 He calls it 'Shawgurr' and says it was 8 course [Koss] from Cole [Koil i e Alighur] It seems to have been a depot for Saltpetre and he purchased there 400 fardles [about 2 000 maunds] of the best Saltpetre that is transported out of India to Christendom (Travels of Peter Mundy ed Sir R C Temple Hall and Society Edition II 76)

Tieffenthaler notices a Scherghar three miles south west of Narwar and says it was entoure de bonnes fortifications (*firma arce*) Description de l'Inde I 182 This place was held in jagir by the Bhopal Bourbons and they are said to have fled to it from Dehli on the fall of that city by Nadir Shah $25^{\circ}35' N 77^{\circ}58' E$ (Imp Gaz ed 1908 VIII 324)

Lastly there is the ruined fort of that name in the Sasaram Subdivision of Shahabad District Bengal situated in $24^{\circ}50' N 83^{\circ}44' E$ 20 miles south west of Sasaram town The spot was selected by Sher Shah as the site of a fortress soon after he had begun strengthening Rohtasgarh which he abandoned on discovering the superior advantages of Shergarh (Imp Gaz Ed 1908 XII 272) But this Shergarh as well as Rohtasgarh came into Akbar's possession only in 984 A H (Beveridge *Akbarnama* Trans III 205 6 Badāoni Trans Lowe II 185) and it is not likely that any coins could have been struck there in 964 or 966 A H

The other places of the same name are not so easily dismissed though there is this to be said against the Shergarh in Jaipur and Jodhpur that Akbar's authority or suzerainty had been hardly acknowledged at that early period in that part of Hindustan Shergarh near Chhota town in Mathura district and Shergarh near Narwar may have been places of considerable portance in the latter half of the 16th Century but we unfortunately know little or nothing about them

In these circumstances anything like an absolutely conclusive or satisfactory identification is not to be expected The most that can be said is not that any particular identification is certain but that it is more probable than as probable as or less improbable than some other After looking at the matter from all points of view it seems to me that the claims of Qanaur are at least as good as and not inferior to those of any of the other places mentioned in this note At the same time they are not so incomparably superior to those of its competitors as to entitle us to give a definitive verdict in its favour

Juraga lh

ZAFARNAGAR

S H HODINALA

One of the unassigned mints of the Mughal Emperors of India is that of Zafarnagar I am not aware says Mr Nelson

Wright, ' of the exact locality of this mint town Dr Codrington in his ' Musalman Numismatics ' identifies it with Fathabād in the province of Āgra ' The references to the place, however, in the chronicles of Jahāngīr's, Shāhjahān's and Aurangzeb's reign (see E D VII, pp 37 and 315, also Blochmann's *Āin*, p 503) seem to leave no doubt that the Zafarnagar of the coins is the town of that name in South India, south of Ahmadnagar " (I M C, III, Introd, lxxvii) The reason given for ruling out Fathabād is good, if not absolutely conclusive, but Mr Nelson Wright's own suggestion is not very helpful nor unassailable In the first place, it is not possible to find in any modern Indian Atlas (neither Constable's nor Keith Johnston's, nor that accompanying the New Imperial Gazetteer), a 'town of that name in South India' marked at all In the second, it will be seen on examining the three passages relied upon, that there is nothing whatever in them to warrant the statement that Zafarnagar was situated to the south of Ahmadnagar

Where then are we to look for this town which the earliest coin is an undated Rupee of the reign of Jahāngīr? (P M C, No 1034) An examination of the original Persian authorities shows that there is no lack of references in them to a town of that name in the Dekkan, but there is, in by far the greatest number of them, little or nothing that is useful in determining its exact situation The earliest direct mention with which I am acquainted is in the *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, but all that can be learnt from it is that Zafarnagar was somewhere in the Balaghat (Savryād Ahmad Khān's Edit, p 381 l 24, Rogers and Beveridge's Trans, II, 296, XIX R Y, 1033 A H) There is a similar passage in the *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngīrī* but it adds nothing to our knowledge (p 217 l 8) The name occurs no less than eight times in the *Bādīshāh-nāma* of 'Abdul Hamīd Lihori (*Bibl Ind Text* I, 1, 501, 505 517, 532, I, ii, 35, 36, 68, 278), but all that can be gathered from these passages is that the place was somewhere near Daulatabad (I, 1 501 and 505), as well as Rohankhera (I, 1, 517) and Ahmadnagar (I, ii, 36), and that when the prince Shujā resolved upon investing Parendā, he placed *thānas* or military garrisons

¹ Fathabād is a very common place name but there can be little doubt that the town meant is the 'Fattihabad' of which Sir H Elliot says that it was "known also by the name of Zafarnagar" and "was included in the Haveli of Agra and formed part of the Tappa of Shamsabad" He further states, and it would be difficult to quote a higher authority on such a question that it was 'founded by Aurangzeb in 1067 A H in commemoration of the victory obtained by him over his brother, Dara Shikoh' (*Memoirs of the Rases of the North Western Provinces of India*, Ed Beames II 87)

The coins are of the reigns of Jahāngīr (undated) and Shāh Jahān (3 R 5 R, and 1043 A H) and could not possibly have been struck at the Zafarnagar or Fathabād 'founded by Aurangzeb'

at Zafarnagar, Jālnāpūr, Shāhgadh and Bhīr for protecting the convoy of grain and fodder from Burhānpūr to Parendā. (I, II, 35.). Khāfi Khān also twice mentions Zafarnagar (*Bibl Ind. Text*, I, 489; II, 293) but tells us really nothing more than that Rāmgar was a *taluqa* in the King of Gulkanda's Suba of Zafarnagar. (E.D., VII, 315-6) The solitary reference in the *Maṃgīrnāma* is scarcely more illuminating. It gives us only the name of the person (Wazīr Beg, Irādāt Khān) who was appointed Qil'adār of Zafarnagar in the third year of Aurangzeb's reign (*Bibl. Ind. Text*, 567) A careful scrutiny of the *Maṃsiru-l-Umarā* discovers no less than fifteen passages in which Zafarnagar is alluded to. Twelve of these can be traced to the *Bādshāhnāma* or some of the other authorities already cited and teach us nothing new (*Bibl Ind Text*, I, 186, 718, 743; II, 64, 261, 794; III, 6, 385, 401, 403, 443, 739) But there are three others which are exceedingly helpful and deserve to be quoted in the original. In the first of them, we are informed that in 1030 A.H., Rāja Bikramājī razed to the ground the new town built by Malik 'Ambar at Kharkī (near Daulatābād), and that 'Ambar was obliged to make a humiliating peace with the Mughals. وقرار یافت که

راجه نا جميع عساکر بقصبة تمرني معاودت نموده متوقف شود راجه
 حسب الحكم شاهی متصل قصه مذکور بر کنار رودخانه مشهور بکمرک
 پورنا سرزمینی پسندیده در غایت استحکام قلعه از سنگ و آهک اساس
 نهاد و آنرا بظفر بکر موسوم ساخته برشکال در آن مکان گذرالید *

Maṃsiru-l-Umarā, II, 191-2

"And it was settled that.....the Rāja should return to the Qasbah of Tamarni with the entire army and stay there. The Rāja in accordance with the Shāh's [i.e. Prince Shāh Jahān's] commands, selected a spot in the vicinity of the abovementioned Qasbah on the bank of a river known as the Gharak-Purnā, and laid the foundations of an exceedingly strong fortress of stone and mortar. He gave it the name of *Zafarnagar*, and spent the rainy season in that place."

In the second passage, we are again informed that "this (قصبة تمرني) Qasba of Tamarni is at present spoken of as *Zafarnagar*," الحال بظفر بکر زبان زد است (III, 437, l 20). Lastly, we are told in the biographical account of Muṣṭafā Khān Khwāfi that "in the thirtieth year [of the reign of Shāh Jahān] he was distinguished by being appointed to the governorship of the fortress of *Zafarnagar*, which is included in (*lit.* related to) the Bālāghāt of Berār, and is situated at a distance of twenty-eight koss from Aurangabād "

در سال سیوم بحراست قلعه ظفر نگر مضافی بالاگهات برار که بیست و هشت
(III, 516, ll. 16-19.) گروهی اورنگاناد واقع است اختصاص یافت

The gist of all this is that a fortress was erected in A.H. 1030 by the Rāja Bikramājī at Tamarnī, a *qaṣba* or township situated at a distance of 28 koss from Aurangābād on the banks of the Gharak-purna, and called Zafarnagar.

This is so far satisfactory, but then it may be argued that the *Maasiru-i-Umarā* is not a contemporary authority, but a modern compilation. I am therefore happy to say that it has been possible to trace the statement to its source. This is the '*Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*' or *Shāhjahānnāma* of Muhammad Sāliḥ Kambū, a voluminous but most valuable chronicle in which not less than 210 pages are occupied by an account of Shāh Jahān's life from his birth to his accession. At p. 159 we read:—

و بدینای پادشاهی چون عذر را بر وفق خواہش ہواخواہان مطیع
و فرمان بر یافتند خاطر از جمیع مواد جمع ساخته ہمعنان فتح و ظفر با سائر
عساکر بسوی تہرنی شناوند و چون محال بالا گہات قلعه کے قابل نشستن
مرزبان و دنگاہ لشکر و نشانہ تہانہ باشد نہداشت و قلعه احمد نگر خود
در سرحد واقع شدہ از وسط ولایت دور افتادہ بود لاجرم اولیای دولت در سر
زمینی پسندیدہ کہ این طرف تہرنی واقع بود بر فراز رود خانہ کہوک پور
قلعه ساختن اسمی در کمال رفعت و حصانت بنا ہادہ در اندک فرصتی
آن حصی را باستحکام تمام صورت اتمام دادند و بذات مقتضای وقت و مقام
ظفر نگر موسوم ساختہ حسب الحکم عالی امرای عظام با فواج خود در مواضع
مذکورہ ذیل نابین دستور گذریدند داراب خان و راجہ بکر اماجیت ہا ہشت
ہزار سوار در ظفر نگر عبد اللہ خان در مقام ارہ کہ شش کروہ این طرف
ظفر نگر واقع است و خواجہ ابوالحسن در موضع پاپلی دو کروہی ارہ و سردار
خان برادر خان مذکور در دیو لگام نزدیک بروہدیگر

(Bibl. Ind. Text, 159, ll. 7-20.)

"When the Imperial officers (*lit.* servants) found [Malik] 'Ambar disposed to be as dutiful and submissive as the hearts of all loyalists could desire, their minds were made easy on all

scores and they hastened towards Tamarni with all the forces accompanied by (lit riding side by side with) victory and triumph. And as the district of Balaghāt possessed no strong hold fit to be the headquarters of a governor the camp of an army or for the establishment of a *thānā* and as the fortress of Ahmadnagar was situated on the very outskirts of the district and at a great distance from its centre the Imperial officers laid the foundations of a substantial fortress of great height and strength in a chosen spot on this side of Tamarni and on the bank of the *Gharakur* [nā]. The fortification was completed in a short time and it was named *Zafarnagar* fittingly with the time and place. Then the great nobles spent [the rainy season] in the following places with the forces in accordance with the exalted commands. Darab Khan and Raja Bikramajit with 8 000 horse in Zafarnagar. Abdulla Khan in the locality of Arrah which is six koss on this side of Zafarnagar. Khwaja Abul Hasan in Palpli two koss from Arrah and Sardar Khan brother of the said Khan in Deulgām near Rohanikher.

It is clear that Zafarnagar is to be looked for in the close proximity of Tamarni and the river Gharak purnā. Now I find in the Official Gazetteer of Aurangabad District the statement that Temburni is a place of some importance 5 miles south of *Jafarābād* and is surrounded with a strong wall (p 848). As for this Jafarabad we are told that it is the chief town in the Jāgr of that name in the Bholardan Taluq of Aurangabad District. It is situated at the confluence of the Purna and Kūlna rivers in lat 20° 11' 35" North and long 76° 3' 35" East. It is a large and populous town surrounded by a fortified stone wall now in a very dilapidated state but a small stone gaddi (fort) inside is in fair order. There are seven masjids and temples in the town and the principal mosque has a Persian inscription recording its construction under the orders of Aurangzeb by Rīzazāth (sic) Khan¹ in 1076 Hijrī (A D 1664). A large handsome cistern with a the fortification has also an inscription which states that it was erected under the orders of Shah Jahan by Mustafa Khan Tur Ioman in 1040 (A D 1630). *Ibid* p 847.

Let us now learn what Thornton has to say about the place.

Jafferabad in Hyderabad or Territory of the Nizam a

¹ *Rīzazāth* Khan is an impossible name. I have no doubt that *وزارت* is a misreading of *وزارت*. We know that Wazir Beg *Iradat* Khan who had been implicated in the rebellion of Prince Muhammad Sultan and had been disgraced in consequence was pardoned and restored to favour on the *Jashn* of Aurangzeb's 44th birthday and appointed Qiladar of Zafarnagar with the mansab of 1000 400 horse vice Mirza Ali Arab—17 Ziqa ad 1070 A H. *Alamgurnama* 566 7.

town near the north west frontier towards the British District of Ahmednugger. It is situated on the river Gurk-poornah, a tributary of the Godavery, and here a large stream. The town is of considerable size. Distance from Hyderabad, N W, 260 miles, from Aurangabad, N E, 45 miles, from Bombay, N E, 220 miles. Lat $20^{\circ} 14'$, Long $76^{\circ} 5'$ (Thornton, Gazetteer of the Territories under the Government of the East India Company, New Edition, p 432)

This settles the matter. According to the '*Amal-i-Sālih*' and the '*Maāsiru-l-Umarā*', Zafarnagar was in the immediate neighbourhood of Tamarni, on the bank of the Gharak Purna and about 28 koss distant from Aurangabad. According to the two Gazetteers, Jafarabad is situated on the 'Gurk Poornah' at a distance of only 5 miles from 'Temburni' and 45 miles from Aurangabad. There is besides the evidence of the inscriptions in the mosque and cistern still existing in 'Jafarabad'. They are said to have been built under Imperial orders in 1040 A H and 1076 A H by the local Governors, Mustafa Khan Turkman¹ and Iradat Khan respectively. We know from the contemporary historians that the former was Thanadar of Zafarnagar in the sixth year of Shah Jahan (1042 A H), and that the latter was first appointed Qiladar of Zafarnagar on the 17th of Ziq'ad 1070 A H. There would then seem to be no reasonable doubt that the Jafarabad of the Gazetteers and Atlases is the same as the Zafarnagar of the historians.

But it may be still asked. Why then is the place now called Jafarabad? Of this difficulty also, I have found the solution in a very rare work, 'Gladwin's History of Hindostan during the Reign of Jahangir, etc'. We there read that in 1030 A H "Shah Jehan left a garrison at Kehrkee and then marched to the relief of Ahmednagar. Amber, alarmed at the rapid progress of the Imperial arms, sent a message to him with a promise to remove immediately from Ahmednagar, abandon all his conquests and make the most ample submissions to the Emperor. Shah Jehan insisted that Nizamul Mulk should resign to the Emperor that part of his country which remained unconquered at the conclusion of the last war, and that Adil Khan, Nizam ul Mulk and Kotab ul Mulk should together pay a peishkush of fifty lacs of rupees. Amber readily acceded to these terms, he immediately raised the siege of Ahmednagar and his troops joined Shah Jehan at

¹ Mustafa Beg had been a servant of Khurram or Shāh Jahān in the days of his princehood and was ennobled as Turkman Khān at the accession of his patron to the throne. *Badishāhnāma* I, i, 121. He is mentioned as Thanadar of Zafarnagar in the sixth year of the reign of that Emperor. *Ibid* I, i, 505-6. His death in the seventh year (1042 A H) is also recorded. *Ibid*, I, ii, 293. There is an account of the man in the *Maāsiru-l-Umarā* also (III, 384-5).

Terminee In consideration of this victory Shah Jahan ordered a stone fort to be built to which he gave the name of *Zufferabad*. He stationed garrisons throughout the Dekkan and during the rains cantoned his army at *Zufferabad* (*Op cit*, Calcutta 1788, p 53)

It is clear that this stone fort built at *Terminee* and called '*Zufferabad*' is no other than the *Zafarnagar* of the *Amal i Salih* and the *Maāsiri i Umarā* and the question is Where did Gladwin get that form of the name? Sir Henry Elliot has shown that his work is made up of translations from the first part of the *Tuzuk i Jahāngīrī* (the authentic recension of the Emperor's Memoirs) and the *Maāsiri Jahāngīrī* or *Jahāngīr nāma* of Khwaja Kamgar Husainy who is also called *Ghairat* [or 'Izzat'] Khan (Elliot and Dowson VI 277 8, see also 252 and 439). Now there is no record of the construction of the fortress in the *Tuzuk* itself and it is doubtful if Gladwin had actually seen that portion of the Memoirs in which the events of 1030 A H were set down (*Ibid* VI, 279). It follows that Gladwin must have derived his information from the *Māasir i Jahāngīrī*. He is known to have abstracted copiously from that work of which the author himself informs us that he was 'induced to undertake its composition at the instigation of the Emperor Shah Jahan in the third year of his reign A H 1040' (*Ibid*, VI 439). It would thus appear that the new foundation was even then known by both names. Perhaps *Zafarnagar* was the strictly official designation, *Zafarābād* the popular name.

It is of course not impossible to argue that the author of the *Maāsir i Jahāngīrī* has made some mistake or that Gladwin has misread زفر for زفر . But any such supposition is negatived by the fact that the place is called *Zafarvad* in the *Voyages of Monsieur de Thevenot*. In the account of his journey from Bagnagar [Bhagnagar or Haidarabad] to Sūrat he says that his companion M Bazon [Bazou] parted from him at Patry as the former had business at Aurangabad and he himself at Burhanpūr. 'For my part I took my way by the Towns of Patou, Ner, Chendequer, *Zafarvad*, Rouquera and Melcapour, all of which six are not so good as one of our ordinary cities'. A more detailed itinerary of the route from Patry to Brampour [Burhanpūr] is also given and is as follows —

'The way from Patry to Brampour To Gahelgaon, 9 coss Doudna a river Patou a town, 6 coss Ner, a town 6 coss Seonny, 8 coss Chendequer a town, 2 coss Ourna a river *Zafarvad* a town, 10 coss, Piply, 10 coss Deoulgan 6 coss Rouquera, a town 6 coss Melcapour, a town, 2 coss Nervar a river Purna River Japour, 12 coss Taptv River Brampour, a town 2 coss The whole 39 leagues and a

half" ¹ Travels into the Levant, etc., English Trans., 1686 Part III, p. 107

It will be observed that Palply [Piply], Deulgion and Rohankhera where garrisons are said to have been stationed by Rāja Bikramjit are all clearly located by Thevenot in the neighbourhood of his *Zafraad*. The author of the '*Amal-i-Sālih*' says that Palply (Piply) was two koss from Arrah which was six koss from Zafarnagar. The Frenchman informs us that Piply was 10 koss from *Zafraad*. Any one who will take the trouble to find these places on a good map or atlas will have no difficulty in convincing himself that Zafarnagar and *Zafaraad* are absolutely identical ²

The fact is that the synonymous suffixes *ābād*, *nagar*, *-pur*, *patan*, and *garh* or *-kot* were sometimes not clearly differentiated in the case of newly-founded towns, or the many capricious and temporary *aliases* or '*Urfs*' devised by successive Emperors for old towns. Names like Fathpūr, Fathābād, Fathnagar and Fathgarh, Zafarpūr, Zafābād and Zafarnagar, Islāmpūr, Islāmābād, Islāmgarh and Islāmnagar were so common, and so often bestowed *simultaneously* on all sorts of

¹ Patry (Pāthri) in Parbhānī district, Haidarābād State Imp Gaz. ed 1908 XX, 30 31. Constable's Hand Atlas of India, Pl 31, D b

Doudna (Dudnā), River in Parbhānī IG, XIX, 410

Patou (Partūr), IG, XX, 31. Constable 31, D b

Seouny (Sheoni) in Aurangābād district, Haidarābād State Constable, 31 D b

Chendequer (Sindhkhed) in Mehkar t'aluq, Buldāna district, Berār, IG, XXII, 433, Constable 31, D b

Zafraad (Jafarābād) in Aurangābād district, Haidarābād State, Constable, 31 D a

Deoulgan (Deulgion Rājā) in Chikhli t'aluq, Buldāna district, Berār, IG, XI, 272, Constable, 31 D a

Rouquera (Rohani hed) in Malkāpūr t'aluq, Buldāna district Berār, IG, XXI, 304

Melcapour (Malkāpūr) in Buldānā district Berār, IG, XVII, 91, Constable, 31, D a

Pourna (Purna), IG, XX, 412

Japour (Shālpūr ?), Nimār district, Central Provinces, Constable, 31 D a

Thevenot landed at Surat on the 12th of January 1666. He left Bhāgnagar or Haidarābād on the 13th of November, 1666 and reached Burhānpūr on the 9th of December of that year. Travels Part III, 1, 170. He "died at Miāna, a little place about thirty leagues from Tauris [Tabriz], on the twenty-eighth of November, 1667" *Ibid*, Preface

² The strategical importance of the *thāna* of Zafarnagar [Jafarābād] is clearly shown by the fact that the battlefield of Asaye is situated only six or seven miles to the north west of Jafarābād. The battle which established, by the defeat and death of his rival Mubārīz Khān the independence of the first Nizām of Haidarābād was fought in 1724 at Shahrkhelda or Fathl helda—a village situated about twenty miles to the north east of Jafarābād. Asaye is in Lat. 20° 15' N Long 75° 54' E. Fathkhelda in 20° 13' N and 76° 27' E. Jafarābād in 20° 11' N and 76° 3' E. Grant Duff mentions 'Jafferaabad' in his description of the battle of Asaye. Bombay Reprint, 1873, p. 572.

places that sometimes one, sometimes another of the suffixes caught the popular fancy and acquired vogue to the exclusion of the original termination

Thus, Abūl Fazl tells us that when Akbar founded the great city at Sikri near Āgra, "H M gave it the name of Fathābād and this by common use was made into Fathpūr" *Akbar nāma*, Trans, II, 531 دربان عالمیاء فتحپور اشتہار نامت (Text, II, 365) Manucci also speaks of the town as 'Fateabād' (Storia, I, 132) The Venetian is not always accurate or reliable, and the statement may be due to some inadvertence or a lapse of the memory, but it is not impossible that he may have picked it up from some person much more correctly informed than himself about Akbar's doings

Elsewhere, Abūl Fazl informs us that the Emperor laid the foundations of a fortress on the site of an old city near Amber, and called it Manaharnagar (*Akbar nāma* Trans, III, 311, see also *ib*, 362) The place is 28 miles N N E of Jaipur and is now called Manoharpūr It is the *Monoarpur* of Tieffen thaler who says it is 15 leagues north of Jaipur and adds that it was a well known town and possessed a fort (*Description de l'Inde*, I, 323, see also *Imp Gaz*, XVII, 200)¹

There is the exactly similar case of Jaipur itself It is common knowledge that it was at one time called Janagar, and that form of the name occurs in several Hindu as well as Muhammadan writers [Harnam Singh, *Sa'ādat : Jāwīd* (c 1810) in Elliot and Dowson, VIII, 344, Harsukh Rai *Ma' m'au l Akhbār* (c 1800 A C), *Ibid*, 365, 367, *Maāsiru l Umarā* (1779 A C) II, 83, Allahvār Bilgrāmī, *Hadīqatu l Aqālim*, (c 1776 A C), Lakhnau Lithograph, p 170, l 7] It is now known only as Jaipur and the 'nagar' has in this case also, been cast out in favour of *pur* It is also fairly well known that Ghaziābād in Mirat district was formerly called Ghazi d din-nagar (*Imp Gaz*, XII, 221), and that the original name of Anūpshahr was Anūpnagar (E D, VIII, 147, 170, Num Sup, XIX, 410) There is also the analogous case of Mankot and Mangarh (N S, XXXI, 362 365)²

¹ The name of the town is given as Manoharpur by Badāonī *Bibl Ind Text* 252, Lowes Trans II, 259 It is Manohargadh in the Lakhnau Lithograph of the *Tabaqāt : Akbarī* (p 339 l 3) but Manohar nagar, in Dowson's version Elliot and Dowson V, 407 We learn from the *Maāsir* : '*Ālamgarī*' that one of the wives of Kambakhsh was a sister of Jagat Singh, Zamindar of Manoharpūr, *Bibl Ind Text*, 211, l 2

² There are other instances also Jafarabād, the chief town of Babriawād, 'derives its name from Sultan Muzaffar of Gujarat who built the fortifications hence the town was called Muzaffarābād, by contraction Zafarabad and Jafarābād as it is now invariably called' Bombay Gazetteer, Vol VIII (Kathiāwār), p 452

This place is frequently mentioned by the early European travellers Thomas Best calls it 'Madafeldebar' (*Journal in Purchas, His Pilgrimes*,

This does not mean that we are permitted to "regard -*pur* -*naagar*, -*garh*, -*pattan* and *ābād* as always interchangeable far from it. We should thereby only create inextricable confusion and make it almost impossible to identify Indian place names which are, even without any such gratuitous assumption, difficult enough to fix. All that is implied and the utmost that can be conceded is that in a few—probably a very few—cases, some such confusion does appear to have occurred. But those cases form the exception and not the rule, and the exceptions should be recognised only when, as in this instance, satisfactory contemporary evidence is forthcoming.

Junāgadh, 2nd January, 1918

S H HODIVĀLĀ

MacLehose's Reprint, IV, 130) It is also mentioned in the Voyages of Sir James Lancaster, p. 239. Sir Thomas Roe speaks of it as "Malda far" (Embassy, Ed. Foster, 94) and "at one time favoured the idea of obtaining the cession of the town from the Mogul with a view to fortifying it and making it the headquarters of the English." Foster, The English Factories in India (1618-1621), 180 n.

Similarly, the name of a famous hunting seat of the Mughal Emperors near Āgra is usually written Samūgarh (سموگرہ) *Bādīshāhnūma*, II, 355, 311, 362, *Ālamgīrnāma*, 111, 112, *Maʿātir* : *Ālamgīr* 7, but the Emperor Jahāngīr always speaks of it as Samūnagar (سمونگر) *Tūzūk Jahāngīrī*, Text, 98, 99, 121, 274, 326, 327, Rogers and Beveridge, Trans. I, 202, 203, 248, II, 95, 193, 200. Khāfī Khān has Samūgadh (سموگدھ) *Muntaẖhabu l-Lubāb*, Text, I, 598, II, 22, 31, 687, 700, 718.

Sir Henry Elliot informs us that Abūl Fazl's *Sikandar-pūr* (Atreji) in Sarkār Qanauj "is now known as *Sikandar-ābād*." *Memoirs of the Rases of the North Western Provinces of India*, ed. Beames, Vol. II, 91.

Elsewhere, the same authority tells us that *Islāmpūr Bahrū* in Sarkār Sambhal is now "more usually known as *Salimpūr Bahrū*." *Ibid.*, II, 136r.

So Blochmann assures us that *Sulaimānābād* was early changed by the people to the shorter form *Salimābad*, by which name it is still known at the present day. *Notes on Places of Historical Interest in the District of Hughli*, Proo. A S B, 1870, p. 112.

So again, the *Mānikdrug* of Abūl Fazl (*Āin*, Text, I, 483, Jarrett, II, 236 and the *Ālamgīrnāma* (Text, 1025) is now shown as *Manikgarh* in our maps and atlases. *Imp. Gaz. Atlas*, Pl. 39, B 3, *Constable's Hand Atlas of India*, Pl. 32, A b.

3 NUMISMATIC SUPPLEMENT No XXXV

Note—The numeration of the articles below is continued from p 249 of the "Journal and Proceeding" for 1921

212 A BOMBAY HALF RUPEE OF CHARLES II



Metal	Silver
Mint	Bombay
Size	8 of an inch
Weight	90 grains
Date	?
Provenance	Munich Bavaria

Obverse—

In centre PAX DEO in two lines within a beaded circle around it (MONETA) BOMBAYENSIS surrounded by a beaded circle between two lined circles

Reverse—

A shield of Arms—Three ships etc between two wreaths
A similar coin without date but a rupee probably the property of the British Museum and published by Dr Thurston is attributed to the reign of Charles II (Plate XVIII of the Madras Museum catalogue) Also compare Mr Atkins Rupee No 11 (figured) and a half rupee No 12 both undated (Coins and Tokens etc of the British Empire London 1889 page 137)

Mr Atkins in his work writes — The first commercial intercourse of the English with India was a private adventure of three ships which were fitted out in 1591 The earliest coins for the East Indies were either struck at our own mint by our monarchs or coined by their authority During the reign of Charles II the Company began by authority from the Crown to strike coins for their factory at Bombay all of which

bore either the name or some reference to the Sovereign. The first money coined in the East Indies was at Bombay in the year 1671 when the Court of Directors gave instructions to their servants to establish a mint and a few years later this measure was sanctioned by the Crown. A clause in the charter granted by Charles II dated October 31st 1677 empowered the Company to stamp money at Bombay.

This half rupee also bears no date or the name of the sovereign but appears to have been issued during the reign of Charles II.

I have not been able to refer to the works of Ruding and Bruce nor to Mr Thomas's article in the *Indian Antiquary* Bombay 1882.

Bombay }
31st January 1919 }

(E KOTWAL)

NOTE — A rupee of this description was in the White King collection No 985 of Schulman's Sale Catalogue — (*Editor*)

213 THE OFFICIAL SEAL OF PRINCE AZAM SHAH



Prince Azam Shah was the eldest son of Aurangzeb. At the time of his father's death he was Governor of Gujarat and part of Central India. He disputed the succession with his brothers prince Mu'azzam (subsequently Shah Ālam Bahadur) and prince Kām Bakhsh and struck coins in his own name in the years 1116 and 1119 A.H. all of the first regnal year. These are known in gold and silver of eight mints and are all rare. Azam Shah was defeated and slain at the battle of Jajau near Agra in the year 1119 A.H.

I now illustrate a brass official seal of Azam Shāh bearing the name of his Wazīr Zaim Khan which was dug up in the Old Fort Delhi during the winter of 1914-15. The seal itself is in the Delhi Museum. It was sent to me for identification and the Deputy Commissioner of Delhi kindly permitted me to publish it.

18th May 1920

R. B. WHITEHEAD I.C.S.

resented by the "slaves of Firoz Shah" and the dynasty needed open support. When Firoz died Muhammad was compelled to resign his share in the kingship and to yield to the law of primogeniture. Tughlaq the son of Iath Khan was the obvious successor and when he proved a failure and was removed in the manner sanctioned by precedent the nobles according to Thomas put forward Abūbākr Shah the son of Zafar Khan, as a claimant for the throne.

This account it is submitted is incomplete. When Tughlaq succeeded it was obviously to the advantage of Zafar to remain in the background. When Tughlaq was deposed the right of succession would devolve in the natural sequence on Zafar but if Zafar was away from Delhi if he was still for the sake of argument in his western viceroyalty the obvious course was to take his son as his representative. By putting forward Abubākr the claims of Zafar could be maintained against Muhammad who in his strongholds of the north thought of nothing but the recovery of the sovereignty which he had exercised for a year or more.

According to the coins Tughlaq reigned from the death of Firoz in 790 till his death in Safar 791. Zafar reigned in 791 and Abūbākr reigned in 791 and 792. The vast majority of the coins of Abubākr bear the date 792 and those of 791 are rare. Consequently it is reasonable enough to suppose that his rule comprised but a short period of 791. In Rāmzan 792 Muhammad reoccupied the throne a fact which accounts for the existence of a few coins bearing his name and that date although the resistance of Abubākr was not finally overcome till Muharram 793.

The conclusion is irresistible. Zafar under the style of Firoz Shah Zafar succeeded Tughlaq II but survived his succession only a few months and was followed by his son Abubākr. The testimony of the coinage cannot be ignored. We have a Sultan named either Firoz Shah Zafar bin Firoz Shah or else Firoz Shah Zafar plain and simple whose only date is 791 and we cannot on the strength of an analogy prove that these coins were struck jointly by Firoz and his son especially as any such contention involves in the case of the more common coins an assumption that they were issued when both Firoz and Zafar were dead and another Sultan ruled in Delhi.

It may fairly be argued that the adoption of the title of Firoz Shah in conjunction with Zafar was done to strengthen the claim of that prince to the throne in the eyes of the people. Firoz Shah reigned in peace and popularity for nearly forty years and his prestige was immense. The third son Muhammad styles himself invariably Muhammad Shah Firoz Shah and not Muhammad Shah bin Firoz Shah and the point though small is not insignificant.

It is no light matter to interfere with the accepted chain of history, but when acceptance involves the brushing aside of palpable dates as inconveniences, one can only feel surprise at the acquiescence displayed in the admittedly theoretical explanation given by one who, though the greatest expert of his day, has shown himself, in many points of equal importance, liable to the common failing of mankind.

H. NEVILL

215 THE CURRENCY OF THE PATHAN SULTANS

One of the strangest facts connected with the study of early Muhammadan numismatics in India is the extent of our ignorance as to the designation and value of coins belonging to well-known and characteristic types. Much effort was devoted by Edward Thomas to the origin of particular weights, but on the few occasions on which he attempts to give a definite value to a billon or copper coin, he displays the greatest diffidence. We have come to know coins by their types and weights, but few attempts have been made to give a denominational value to a particular type.

The subject is one of absorbing interest to the numismatist, and though the matter demands a great expenditure of labour in the way of research and the elaboration of detail, it is high time that a start should be made in removing a reproach to an exact science, and it is hoped that active numismatists will lend their aid in the quest after precision. In this paper it is not proposed to touch on the relation of gold to silver, but merely to initiate an attempt to show that certain well-known coins may be described with greater accuracy than "the large billon of Firōz" or "the small copper of Mubārah."

In making this start, it seems desirable to adopt certain postulates. These are not proved, and are possibly incorrect; but until they are disproved, it is better to base theory on assumptions and if subsequent adjustment is found necessary, to apply that adjustment to the subject as a whole.

It is stated by Thomas and endorsed by Mr. H. Nelson Wight that the *tanka* weighs 175 grains or 100 *ratis*. The weight of the *rati* therefore is 1.75 grains, and if this is accepted as accurate, we have to make very considerable allowances for the wear and tear of ages. It is of course possible that the real weight of the *rati* was under-estimated at first, and force is lent to this suggestion by the unquestionable fact that while perfect specimens of the *tanka* subsequent to the reign of Firōz Shāh have actually a weight of 175 grains, no silver *tanka* struck before the days of Muhammad bin Tughlaq has a higher recorded weight than 170.2 grains and the average weight of all the *tankas* recorded by Thomas up to the days of Firōz Shāh is no higher than 166 grains.

The second postulate is that the value of copper in relation to silver stood at 64 to one up to the days of the Maurya conquest. Much ingenuity is displayed by Thomas in proving this contention and it is indubitably the case that throughout the period the quaternary system prevails. It is perfectly clear that the *tanka* contained 64 *panils*, but at the same time we have distinct evidence of the introduction at certain periods of a decimal system.

Further, we have to be cautious. Too much stress must not be laid on the accuracy of the weighing machines employed in the mints or on the honesty of the officials. A defect of a gram or two would probably pass without notice and in spite of the notorious skill of the craftsmen in slicing the exact amount of metal off a bar it is not difficult to imagine that while an unduly heavy piece would be clipped a slight defect in weight would be disregarded. Allowance for such laxity is most necessary in the case of billon. The general existence of a billon coinage enabled the sovereign to manipulate the coinage to suit his purse with very slight chances of detection and even if the coinage were not debased deliberately it was easy for the mint master to secure a handsome profit by a slight reduction in the proportion of silver.

Consequently we have to bear in mind that the ideal proportion and weight do not necessarily coincide with the real. Allowances must be made readily for divergence from the standard not only as intentional but also because it by no means follows that the admixture of copper and silver in the correct proportion will produce a mass perfectly and molecularly homogeneous and uniform. The methods adopted in the formation of the alloy were crude, and it cannot be assumed that the bars from which the coins were cut contained silver and copper in the same proportion throughout. This is a matter to which insufficient attention has been paid in the past and I am indebted to the courtesy of the Master of His Majesty's Mint at Calcutta for an authoritative opinion on the subject. It is clear that if so appreciable a variation occurs in an alloy containing the insignificant proportion of copper as that used for the manufacture of current silver coin the variation in cases where copper largely predominates in bulk must be very wide. He writes —

As regards the question of homogeneity of silver copper alloys when cast into bars, there is no doubt whatever that such bars are not uniform in fineness throughout their length. This is not only a matter of common knowledge to those who have to deal with such alloys but is a matter which is taken into account in modern Mints in the manufacture of silver coins. When casting bars of standard silver it is always found that the tops and the bottoms have different finenesses and an appreciable remedy for fineness of

' the coins made from the bars is allowed in consequence. It has been found, however that there is one exception namely the silver copper alloy containing about 71 to 72 per cent of silver (theoretically 71.89 per cent) this silver copper alloy when melted and cast into a bar is homogeneous throughout even when the bar is allowed to cool rapidly.'

This is a most valuable piece of information and is of the greatest interest in the study of Pathan billon. It accounts in large measure for the very unsatisfactory results attained by tests in the past and forces us to reconsider decisions reached by Thomas and apparently accepted without demur by his successors.

The expressed opinion of Thomas that billon coins had their value determined by sight and touch involves too large a demand on the imagination. It is incredible that coins having the same weight and bearing identical legends should have been intended to pass current at different values. The appearance of the newly struck billon does not seem to have been taken into account. Appearances at the present day are most deceptive. A coin may seem to be pure copper, but after treatment by fire or by acid at the hands of the *sonar* the same coin will seemingly consist mainly of silver. Almost any billon can be cleaned so as to present a silvery appearance and we have to think of the coins as they must have looked six hundred or more years ago and not in their present guise as they appear after centuries of burial and exposure to chemical action.

On this point the Master of H. M. Mint adds the following comment —

The question of the composition and the methods of identification of ancient coins to which you refer as dealt with by Edward Thomas is one which is quite outside the work of the Mint. The suggestion that coins of the same size and design had widely different values which were determined by the public according to the appearance and touch appears absurd from the modern point of view since it is always considered of the first importance in designing and manufacturing coins to arrange that different denominations shall be as distinctive as possible from each other as regards size and design and different shapes are sometimes adopted to give further distinctiveness.

This was as true five hundred years ago as it is now. The various types obviously had different values, for otherwise all coins might have been of the same size and design. One has only to examine the great variety of the coinage in the days of Firuz and others such as Tughlaq II in particular, to feel assured that the suggestion put forward by Thomas is altogether untenable.

Practically all the information we possess as to the free

tional portions of the rupee expressed in billon and copper derived either from the labelled pieces of Muhammad bin Tughlaq in the shape of his forced currency or else from the account given by Shams i Sirāj 'Afif the biographer of Firōz Shāh. It is unnecessary to refer here to the half-*tanka*s and the extremely rare fractions of the *tanka* in pure silver which have come to light. These obviously bear a direct relation to the *tanka* by their weight, and from the numbers which have been found it is manifest that small change was restricted mainly to pieces of billon and copper.

With a *tanka* of 175 grams we should expect a copper *jaitil* of the same weight. No such coin is to be found, however, till we reach the heavy coppers of Firōz Shāh and his successors. It is unsafe perhaps to assert that it never existed in earlier days, for even the well-worked field of the "Pathan" kings of Delhi still continues to provide the most unexpected discoveries. The obvious fact, however, is that no copper *jaitil* of full weight is known earlier than the time of Firōz Shāh, and the only inference is that if this coin existed at all, it must have been in billon. Here again we encounter a difficulty, for the *jaitil* as $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *tanka* would contain no more than 2234375 grains of pure silver, and consequently the silver element would be hardly perceptible. Therefore either the *jaitil* was a mere money of account or else a copper coin current as a *jaitil* had a conventional and fictitious weight. The *jaitil* of Muhammad bin Tughlaq (Thomas No 207) is represented by a single specimen weighing 74 grams. This coin is supposed, owing to the fact that it bears its designation on its surface, to have formed part of the system of forced currency though it is difficult to understand why the *jaitil* should have been represented as a substantial coin, when the *dogani* was less than half its weight amounting to a paltry 16 *ratīs*.

With the heavy copper of Firōz Shāh, a coin of great rarity, we get a coin of at least 140 grams. Now a 140 grain or 80-*ratī* copper represents $\frac{1}{2}$ of the silver *'adalī* of 140 grains, but does not bear any obvious relations to the 175 grain *tanka*. It would be very convenient to assume a *jaitil* of this weight, for this would not only enable us to place as *jaitils* the coppers of Muhammad bin Firōz, Mahmūd bin Muhammad and Sikandar (Nos 266, 274 and 278), but also to find half *jaitils* in the well known coppers of Ghiyas-ud-din Balbān, Mu'izz-ud-din Kayqubād, Jalāl-ud-din Firōz, Alā-ud-din Muhammad and others, which clearly weigh 70 grains or 40 *ratīs* in their perfect state. The objection to this is that in the coppers of Abūbakr (Nos 255 and 259) we have coins which in some instances weigh as much as 165 grains, while the coppers of Mubārak (No 289) actually run to 172 grains and their halves bear out the same conclusion.

Probably the easiest solution of the problem, though not wholly satisfactory, is to assume that in theory the 140-grain coppers were actually *jaitils* and the 70-grain coppers were half-*jaitils*, and that although in many cases the weight is over 140 grains, yet the amount of copper which the ideal coin should have possessed was not present in practice except in a few instances.

On this assumption we have a clear example of the *jaitil* and its subdivisions in the coins of Fīrōz Shāh. The large copper was what is now termed a pice or $\frac{1}{4}$ of the rupee, the common 70-grain copper was a half *jaitil* or half-pice (No. 283) and the 36-grain copper (No. 234) was a *fals* or quarter-*jaitil*. Unfortunately the name of the half-*jaitil* is unknown, but on this basis we can account for the great majority of the purely copper pieces subsequent to the reign of Altamsh, the intricacies of whose coinage require special study.

If the solution of the problem presents difficulties in the case of copper, the complications arising from the mixture of copper with silver are far more perplexing. It is clear that all fractions of the *tanka* larger than $\frac{1}{16}$ could not have been of copper only, and as the proportion of silver may vary *ad libitum*, the value of particular coins must depend on the amount of silver which we imagine should have been included in their composition. Analysis is the main guide, but analysis is a troublesome matter, and further, for the reasons already given, analysis is not everything.

The commonest coins of billon have clearly a weight of 56 grains or 32 *ratis*. This type comprises the large series designated the bull and horseman type, and continues almost without interruption to the days of the Mughals. Now these coins are often of different types in the same reign, and usually one type contains ostensibly much more silver than another. This is particularly noticeable in the case of the billons struck by 'Alāu-d-dīn Muḥammad (Nos. 135 and 136). The coin with the Persian legend on both sides is clearly worth more than that with a marginal legend in Nāgrī. It is probably safe to assume that the coins with a Nāgrī margin from the bull and horseman of Muhammad bin Sām to the coins of Ghiyāsu-d-dīn Tughlaq (No. 163) had the same value. This value I would place at one-sixteenth of the *tanka*. It is true that the assay conducted by Thomas of twelve worn specimens of the common bull and horseman type (No. 107) of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd yielded too much silver for this allocation, but it is impossible to trust the bāzār analysis absolutely and it is equally difficult to assign to this type a higher value than one anna.

A billon coin of 56 grains or 32 *ratis* containing 6 *ratis* of silver is very nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ of the *tanka*. A coin with 12 *ratis*

of silver and 20 *ratīs* copper is one eighth of the *tanka* and was known as a *hashtgāni*. A coin with 24 *ratīs* of silver and 6 *ratīs* of copper would be a *shānz lahgāni* or one fourth of a *tanka*.

The first obvious type of *hashtgāni* is the coin of Alau d dīn Muḥammad with Persian legends on both sides (No 135). This is followed by the rare billon of Shāhāb d dīn Umr (No 141) and those of Qutb d dīn Mubārak (Nos 147 and 151) Nasir d dīn Khusrū (No 150) and Ghiyāth d dīn Tughlaq (No 164). The other billons of Mubārak (at any rate Nos 148 and 152) are *cl al ārganis* of the *tanka*. This value may also be given to the small billons of Fīroz Shāh and his successors (IMC No 44, Thomas Nos 229 243 269 279). We cannot expect to find further *hashtgānis* of this weight as in the days of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq this coin changed its character to a market extent.

That the *shānz lahgāni* was a known coin is clear from the forced currency type (No 199) which claims to be one fourth of the *tanka*. We probably find it in its true form among the so called silver small pieces of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq especially No 192 and possibly No 189. Of the others No 194 is certainly a *hashtgāni* while No 193 and No 190 are probably no more than half this value.

The large square billons of Qutb d dīn Mubārak (Thomas 191a and IMC No 250) and the similar coin of Khusrū now in the Lahore Museum are puzzling. They contain a high proportion of silver but they are not half *tankas*. The maximum weight is 84 grains or 48 *ratīs* and if they were meant to represent *shānz lahgānis* they would have a composition of silver and copper in equal proportions more or less. The apparent proportion of the two metals suggests the piece of 24 *ratīs* which is said to have existed in the days of Fīroz Shāh this possessing 36 *ratīs* of silver to 12 of copper. This gives an inconvenient piece of six annas which must have been very difficult to distinguish from the coin of 20 *ratīs* also said to have been a coin of Fīroz.

With the introduction of the *Ahlāfātī* currency of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq we find a new type of billon which proved extremely popular. This was a piece of some 140 grains or 80 *ratīs* (Thomas No 215) and it was repeated in the common undated billons bearing the name of Al Ḥakīm b. Amir Illāh and subsequently in the ordinary billons of Fīroz Shāh (Nos 228 and 230) Zafar (No 247) Tughlaq II (No 250) Abūbakr (No 251) Muḥammad (No 261) Sikandar (No 272) Mahmūd (No 277) Muḥammad bin Farīd (No 293) and Alam Shāh (No 297). Now Thomas (pp 282 283) suggests that these coins though possessing distinctive characteristics bore very different values. His difficulty arose

from the fact that he obtained a striking variation in the silver contents of different specimens, the amount ranging from 12 to 24 grains. As already stated, it is unthinkable that there were coins of equal weight and identical appearance which were intended to pass current as pieces of six, eight and ten *jaitils* simultaneously. If it were attempted at all it is certain that the system could not have long survived and we must be content to assume an average of $4\frac{1}{2}$ *ratis* or 18.4 grains of silver and in consequence to regard all the coins of this type as *hashtgānīs*. As one eighth of the *tanka*, such a coin would be of the greatest convenience and the enormous quantities issued by Firōz Shāh and his predecessors must have done much to make this type the standard currency of the day. Firōz struck but little silver, so far as we can tell. Thomas boldly asserts that the *tanka* was not struck by this monarch, but this statement has been proved incorrect and there is no reason why we should not in due course discover *tankas* corresponding in type to all the gold issues of the reign.

The introduction of the 'adalī or silver coin of 80 *ratis* by Muhammad bin Tughlaq tends to confuse the currency greatly. The silver 'adalī did not last more than a year or two, but at any rate it had the effect of establishing a decimal system side by side with the quaternary scale of immemorial antiquity. The brass tokens of Daulatabād are expressly described as *tankas* of 50 *jaitils* or *panjāhgānīs* and the half piece was a *nisfi* of 25 *jaitils*. Now before and after his disastrous experiment with brass, Muhammad bin Tughlaq issued a billon coin of 140 grains which in many cases has obviously a high silver content. Thomas assumes that this was a perpetuation of the 'adalī, but he was clearly wrong as every piece however silvery its appearance has a considerable admixture of copper in its composition (Tho. No 182). This coin runs on to 742 H and was obviously in common use. If it were a coin of 24 *jaitils*, the silver in its composition would amount to some 64 grains, whereas a *nisfi* would have nearly 63 grains. I know of no analysis of these coins, but I would incline to the theory that they are *nisfis* of 25 *jaitils* and that their production was limited to the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq. When we are told that coins of 24 and 25 *jaitils* were current in the days of Firōz Shāh it does not follow that they were struck by that monarch.

Another problem arises in the coin described as of impure silver by Thomas (No 261) struck in the joint names of Muhammad and Firōz Shāh. This and the coin with امير المومنين on the reverse, published by Rodgers is of the full weight of the *tanka*. The type was reproduced by Tughlaq II, Zafar and subsequently by Muhammad when sole king up to the last year of his reign. The coin is very silvery but is obviously

billion If three fourths are silver, as seems probable, we have in this type the missing piece of 48 *patils* or twelve annas

Before following up the later developments of billion coinage, we have to hark back to the smaller pieces that is to say, those of less weight than 56 grains Omitting the coins of Altamsh, whose minute issues are beyond guesswork, we start with the tiny '*adal*' of Nāsiru d dīn Mahmūd a coin of 12 grains Thereafter the '*adal*' runs up to 42 grains or 24 *ratīs*, but this weight is unusually high and 20 *ratīs* represents the general size of these pieces In this type we have clearly the *dogānī*, a half anna piece containing in the reign of Nāsiru d dīn Mahmūd three *ratīs* of silver and the balance of copper while subsequently the proportion of copper and therefore the size were increased for obvious purposes of convenience The brass *dogānī* of Muhammad bin Tughlāq retains the same weight of 20 *ratīs*

The billions of lower value than the *patil* instituted by Firoz Shāh are identified by Thomas in Nos 231 and 232 If this is correct, the latter contains but half a grain of silver and the coin itself justifies this theory It is extremely rare, and in all probability it served little purpose, as the *fals* of pure copper would fill the need with less inconvenience

Firoz Shāh also claims credit for the *shashgānī*, a seemingly unnecessary coin of six *patils* or one and a half anna This should contain the equivalent of $9\frac{3}{4}$ *ratīs* of pure silver, and is consequently a coin very difficult to place The only suggestion I can offer is that the 84-grain coin (Thos No 236) is a piece of six *patils*, and if this is the case, we may assume that the issue of such money ceased when the news of the accession of Abū 'Abdullah reached Dehli

The billions of Zafar and Abūbaktar with a square area have a weight of some 64 *ratīs* Their silver content varies to outward appearances, and they are clearly inferior in value to the *hashtgānī* It is suggested that these again are *shashgānīs* but in the absence of more definite information we are driven to mere speculation It is hardly possible in any case to make more than an admittedly tentative allocation, but weight tells for something and it is clearly improper to assume that the weight of any piece was determined arbitrarily and bore no relation to its intended value Even the weights of the forced currency of Muhammad bin Tughlāq are not devoid of meaning in spite of all that has been asserted to the contrary The substitute for the *tanka* or '*adalī*' weighs 80 *ratīs*, and the unnamed pieces (Nos 197 and 198) are 64 *ratīs* in weight and were obviously meant to represent coins of lower denominations The brass quarter (No 199) was of 40 *ratīs* while the *hashtgānī* was of 32 and the *dogānī* of 16 *ratīs* This scale does not correspond with the alleged values, it is true, but it indicates an ascending order of worth, and even under the most

scheme of substitution the unfortunate victims of caprice were taught by size and weight the orders of the sovereign.

A fresh complication ensues with the accession of Bahlol Lodi. This ruler appears to have been very modest in assuming the outward signs of sovereignty, and the absence of the gold and silver *tanka* bearing his name is very remarkable. Moreover, it is very unfortunate from a numismatic point of view, for we require evidence as to the relationship of silver to copper during the period, and more solid ground on which to trace the transitional stage from the old currencies of Delhi to the reforms inaugurated by Sher Shāh.

There would be little difficulty in regarding the billon of Bahlol and Sikandar as the lineal descendant, degenerate it may be, of the *hashtgānī*, were it not for two facts. While we can find coins bearing a close approximation to the requisite proportion of 18.4 grains of silver to 121.6 grains of copper it is obvious that in many specimens the amount of silver has been reduced to a wholly unwarrantable extent, that is, if the coin is intended to be one-eighth of a *tanka*. On p. 368 Thomas gives a statement which must be regarded as authoritative. The assay conducted at the Calcutta mint supports the theory that the 140 grain billon of Sikandar was intended to pass as a *hashtgānī*, but only if the coins of the first ten years of his reign be ignored. In the case of these coins we get the miserable average of 2.7 grains of silver, and this would warrant the contention that these billons are no better than *dāms* and ran at 40 to the rupee. The coins of the subsequent years could not possibly have had this low value. They are better than *shashgānīs*, and are very fair specimens of the *hashtgānī*. The odd thing is that the coins of the early years of Sikandar, that is, those struck at Delhi, look to me as if they contained much more silver than the later products of his Agra mint. Some years ago I had to examine some thousands of these coins, and the resemblance in weight and colour between the latter coins of Bahlol and the earlier issues of Sikandar, as compared with the coarser coins of his later years, was very striking.

Thomas definitely accepts the view that the billon of Bahlol was the *bahlolī* and that 40 went to the full *tanka*. This, I submit, is unreasonable, if only for the reason that his crude assay yielded 15.3 grains of pure silver in one case and 14 in another. It is true that from one coin he failed to get any silver at all, but this single example proves nothing, and if we are to take forty of the ordinary billons of Bahlol we shall have a mass of metal which is worth four or five times the value assigned by Thomas.

Further it is incredible that the value of the *sikandarī* should have been twice that of the *bahlolī*; yet Thomas is positive that the former coin was raised in value to one-twentieth of the silver *tanka*. On his own showing this is wrong, for

Sikandar was not likely to waste silver on his double *dam*. In the face of the coins themselves we are not to be convinced by an explanatory statement of Perishta whose ideas on ancient numismatics were positively childish.

Now Bahlol Lodi struck other coins than the large billon. His 140 grain copper (No 315) is common and is clearly the descendant of the *jaitil*. It may not have been $\frac{1}{4}$ of the *tanka* for this attribution in any case rests on a large assumption as stated above but if we take it as it appears to be in reality $\frac{1}{8}$ of the *tanka* we obtain a clue to the statements regarding the changed relationship of the small change of that day to the rupee. This means that the old *jaitil* has become the half *dam* and the fact marks an important stage on the road to the reformation of the currency. The 70 grain copper (No 313) was a half piece but when we find a 55 grain billon (No 312) clearly representing the old one anna piece it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the large billon is nothing but our old friend the *hashtgāni*.

That a further change came with the reign of Sikandar seems clear for Sikandar struck no large copper pieces. At all events nothing but billon is known and Thomas is confidently in error when he states that No 316 is of copper. Nevertheless it is difficult to believe that 20 of these coins went to the *tanka*. Possibly the number was changed to ten and in that case the smaller coins which alone appear in the reign of Ibrahim foretell the advent of the *dam*. Several points have yet to be elucidated with regard to the Lodi coinage. Why did the 140 grain billon disappear after 920 H? So far as can be ascertained none is known save a belated specimen of 935 H struck in the name of Sultan Mahmud bin Sikandar bin Bahlol who apparently endeavoured to rally the Afghans after the defeat of Pampat and was proclaimed king in Bihar in 935 only to fly before the army of the Mughals after a nominal reign of a few months. Thus con the identification of which was purely accidental I had laid aside in order to study the date without paying any attention to the obverse the general appearance and texture so resembling that of the ordinary *sikandari* that I failed to observe as possibly many others have done the significance of a piece which claims a niche in the temple of history as the last of the billons.

If the foregoing suggestions are rash and incapable of support I make no apology. The object in view will have been attained if criticism leads to a more certain identification of well known but nameless friends.

H NAILI

216 HISTORICAL NOTES ON THE HONORIFIC EPITHETS OF MUGHAL MINT TOWNS

It may be truly said of the Honorific Epithets of Mughal mint towns that they open out to the curious inquirer one of the most interesting as well as instructive by-paths of numismatic study. Here as elsewhere Mr Stanley Lane Poole deserves the credit of having led the way by tabulating in one of his indexes all the mint titles which had arrested his attention. Twelve years afterwards Dr Taylor followed up the subject in the Centenary Memorial Volume of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. This second list is as might be expected not only more complete but the classification has the merit of being a double one. Each epithet is first shown against all the mint towns with which it is associated and then each mint town is mentioned along with all its titles. (*Loc cit* 427-436.)

It is now sixteen years since Dr Taylor wrote and it is permissible to say that his useful monograph stands in need of some revision. The following tables are submitted with a historical commentary in which an attempt has been made to bring together all the passages in the historians which throw any light on the origin of these epithets. They have been prepared on the same lines and the evidence in reference to each prefix has been re-examined so far as the writer's resources would permit. It is not necessary to call attention to all the changes but two principal points of difference may be indicated. In the first place Asafabad Salimgarh [Salimabad] Shahabad Shergarh Sahibabad Pathabad Farrukhabad Muhammadabad Muminabad etc. have been treated not as true Honorific Epithets but as Eponymous equivalents or alternatives. In the second some titles resting upon tentative or conjectural decipherments which have had to be abandoned *eg* بلادہ معا و برح etc. have been deleted along with two others, حورو گئی پناہ and شاه گردوں نارگہ of which the meaning had been imperfectly apprehended. At the same time an attempt has been made to specify the years or period of every reign during which each epithet figures on the coins. This has been done especially with reference to the earlier emperor in whose times all sorts of alterations appear to have been frequently and somewhat capriciously introduced and no attempt made to preserve anything like uniformity in the use of these complimentary appellations. When on the other hand matters had settled down during the decline and fall of the empire, to a dead level of formal and even meaningless routine it has not been thought necessary to mention the actual years. It is scarcely required in the circumstances and is not calculated to add anything really valuable to our knowledge.

HONORIFIC ELEGANTS WITH THEIR MINTS

بلدہ

Ujjain Shah Jahan, 1039 A H
 Āgra Akbar 981 A H
 Ilahabād Aurangzeb 1071 A H
 Burhanpūr Shah Jahan (*misārs* only)
 Bikaner, Alamgir II (1 R)
 Saikhnd Akbar 987 A H

بلدہ خارجیہ

Burhanpūr Aurangzeb (probably 1st year)

بندر

Dawal Akbar 42 R
 Lahri Akbar 42 R

رود مداریک

Sūrat Aurangzeb 1070 71 A H

بدرہ

Hardwar Shah Ālam II 1212 1214 A H

حصرت

Dehli Akbar, 964 988 A H

حصرتہ بنگالہ

Aurangabad Aurangzeb 1100 A H to 'Alamgir II

حظہ

Jakhnau Akbar 967 A H (N S XVI)
 Kashmir Jahangir (Undated *Misār*)

دارالامان

Āgra, Humayūn, 941 3 A H
 Multan, Aurangzeb, 1069 1072 A H , Ālamgir II, 7 R
 Jamnūn Shāh 'Ālam II 1195 1200 A H

دارالبرکات

Nagor (or Nagpūr), Ahmad Shāh (II h)
 'Ālamgir II Shāh 'Ālam II

دارالعباد

Haidarābad, Aurangzeb, 1099 A H 1118 A H
 Kam Bakhsh, 'Azim Shāh (II h), Shāh 'Ālam I (I R)

دارالخلافت

Ahmadābād Akbar, 980 A H
 Akbarabad Shah Jahān 1038 9 A H , 1065 A H

Akbarpūr Tānda, Akbar, 97x A H
 Āgra, Bābar, 936 A H
 „ Humāyūn, 937 A H 941 A H
 „ Akbar, 965-988 A H
 „ Jahāngir, 1028 A H (*Nisār*)
 „ Shāh Jahān, 1037 8,
 Bahrāich, Akbar, 970 978 A H
 Jaunpūr, Akbar, 972 988 A H
 Dogāon, Akbar, 974 986 A H
 Daulatābād, Shāh 'Ālam II
 Shāhjahānābād Shāh Jahān, 1058 A H to
 Bahādur Shāh II
 Shāhgarh Qanauj, Akbar, 968 9 A H
 Gorakpūr, Akbar, 984 A H
 Lāhor, Humāyūn, 938 940 A H
 „ Akbar, 976 A H.
 Lākhnau, Akbar, 97x 988 A H
 Mālpūr (?), Akbar, 984 A H

دارالخلافت حطه

Awadh Akbar, 966-97x

دارالخلافت مرغام

Gwāliar, Akbar, 96x A H

دارالحدید

Ajmer, Aurangzeb, 30 R—50 R

„ Shāh 'Ālam I, 1 R

Farrukh-siyar, 7 R to Shāh 'Ālam II

دارالسرور

Burhanpūr, Shāh 'Ālam I (1 R) to Shāh 'Ālam II

Sahāranpūr, Shāh 'Ālam II, 1209-1215 A H

دارالسلام

Dogaon, Akbar, 986 1003 ? A H

Mandisor, Shāh 'Ālam II, 1203 A H

دارالسلطنت

Ahmadabād, Akbar, 981 996 A H

Burhānpūr, Jahāndār, 1124 A H

Fathpūr, Akbar, 982 989 A H

Korā, Akbar, 37 (?) R [*H N W*]

Lāhor, Akbar, 976 989 A H

Fathpūr, Shāh Jahān, 1 R

Lāhor, Shāh Jahān, 1 R to 'Ālamgir II

دارالصر

Patna, Akbar, 984, 987 A H

(?) Jaunpūr, Humāyūn, 939 A H

„ Akbar (Undated)

Kālpī Muhammadābād, Akbar, 963-4 A H¹

¹ A Fathpūr fulūs of 979 A H has an honorific which was read as

در راه دکن	Urdū, Jahāngir (1025 A.H. 11 R.)
زمین البلاد	Ahmadābād (?), Muhammad Shāh.
زیدت البلاد	Ahmadābād, Raf'iu d-darajāt
سرکار	Lakhnau, Akbar, 967 A.H.
سوی	Jaipūr, Muhammad Shāh, 1153 (?) A.H. to Shāh 'Ālam II.
شهر	Anhirwāla Pattan, Akbar, 984-985 A.H.
شهر معظم	
دارالسلطنت	Ahmadābād, (?) Akbar, 981 A.H.
شهر محکم	Champānūr, Humāyūn, 942 A.H.
صوبہ	Awadh, Shāh 'Ālam II, 1229 A.H. 26 R
طغر قویں	Urdū, Akbar, 984 A.H.; 1000 A.H.; 35 R — 50 R; Undated; Shāh Jahān, (Nişār)
فرخنده بنیاد	Haidarābād, Shāh 'Ālam I to Muhammad Shāh except Raf'iu-d-darajāt
قصہ	Amirkot (?), Akbar, 979, 989 A.H. Pānīpat, Shāh 'Ālam II.
قطعه (i)	Bareilly, Shāh 'Ālam II, 1209-1220 A.H.
تاج	Agra, Bābur, 936 A.H. Alwar, Akbar (Early type) Pūnch, Shāh 'Ālam II ? (Taylor) ¹ Gwālīar, Akbar 987 A.H.
منقرضہ حالات	Akbarābad, Aurangzeb, 1096 A.H. to end; Shāh 'Ālam I (1 R).

¹ Dr. Taylor notes that 'تاج' is prefixed to the name of 'Pūnch' or 'Būnch' on a copper coin of Shah 'Ālam II (B.B.R.A. Society's Journal).

دارالصر ^{حطه}

Kālpi, Akbar, 964 968 A H

دارالصر ^{حطه}
متفرک

Jaunpūr, Humāyūn 937 943 A H

دارالصر قلع

Āgra, Bābur or Humayūn, 936 7 A H

دارالطغر

Bijāpūr, Aurangzeb, 1097 A H to
Farrukh-siyarZebābad (?), Shah 'Ālam II 1218 A H (W h)¹

دارالعدل

Āgra Humāyūn 943 A H

دارالفتح

Ujjain, Aurangzeb 1073 A H to Shah 'Ālam II
except Ahmad Shah

دارالعلوم

Muhammadabad Banaras, Shāh 'Ālam II²

دارالملک

Kabul Aurangzeb, 1094 A H to Muhammad
Shāh 1151 A H

دارالملک حصر

Dehli, Humāyūn, 940 2 A H

„ Akbar, 977-979 A H

(Fathpūr)² Akbar, 979 A H

دارالمنصور

Ajmer (?), Akbar, 979 A H

Jodhpūr, Ahmad Shāh to Shāh 'Ālam II

دارالصر by Rodgers I have not mentioned it as the reading is almost certainly wrong and a satisfactory solution of the difficulty is still to seek

¹ In the First Supplement to his Mint list, Mr Whitehead called attention to a Rupee in the Bleazby collection, dated 1218-45 R — the name on which had been “tentatively read as Dāru z Zafar, Zamābad” It was added that “a duplicate already existing in the British Museum had been labelled ‘Sirdhēna’ by Prinsep (Num Sup XXV, 236) Mr Whitehead is now of opinion that the correct reading is ‘Zebābād’ and I am inclined to accept the emendation We know that Shāh 'Ālam II bestowed upon Begam Samrū the title *Zebu-n-nisā* to mark his appreciation of the valuable service rendered by her in 1788 A C

² The epithet on a fulūs of 981 A H has been deciphered by Mr Whitehead as دارالعلوم and the coin has been ascribed by him to Tatta (P M C, No 880) but this is open to serious doubt, and I have thought it best to keep دارالعلوم out of these lists

- در راه دکن Urdū, Jahāngīr (1025 A.H. 11 R.)
- زمین البلاد Aḥmadābād (?), Muḥammad Shāh.
- زمینت البلاد Aḥmadābād, Raf'iu-d-darajāt
- سروکار - Lakhnau, Akbar, 967 A.H.
- سوی Jaipūr, Muḥammad Shāh, 1153 (?) A.H. to Shāh 'Ālam II.
- شهر Anhirwāla Pattan, Akbar, 984-985 A.H.
- شهر معظم دارالسلطنت Aḥmadābād, (?) Akbar, 981 A.H.
- شهر مکرّم Champāntr, Humāyūn, 942 A.H.
- صوبه Awadh, Shāh 'Ālam II, 1229 A.H. 26 R.
- ظفر قرین Urdū, Akbar, 984 A.H.; 1000 A.H.; 35 R.—50 R; Undated; Shāh Jahān, (Nigār).
- فرخنده بنیاد Ḥaidarābād, Shāh 'Ālam I to Muhammad Shāh, except Raf'iu-d-darajāt.
- قصیدہ Amirkot (?), Akbar, 979, 989 A.H. Pānīpat, Shāh 'Ālam II.
- قطعه (?) Bareilly, Shāh 'Ālam II, 1208-1220 A.H.
- قاع Agra, Bābur, 936 A.H. Alwar, Akbar (Early type) Pūnch, Shāh 'Ālam II ? (Taylor)¹ Gwāliar, Akbar, 987 A.H.
- مستقر الخانات Akbarābad, Aurangzeb, 1096 A.H. to end; Shāh 'Ālam I (1 R.).

¹ Dr. Taylor notes that **پنچ** is prefixed to the name of 'Pūnch' or 'Būnch' on a copper coin of Shāh 'Ālam II (B.B.R.A. Society's Journal).

Ajmer, Shah 'Ālam I 1 R to

Farrukhsiyar 1 R 6 R

Akbarābād, Farrukhsiyar, 5 R to Shah 'Ālam II

مسعود الملک

Akbarābād Shah 'Ālam I 1 R to

Farrukhsiyar, 5 R

'Azīmābād Farrukhsiyar 3 R to 7 R

مقصود

Udaypūr Muhammadābād Akbar, 984 A H

مقام دلع

Gwalhar Akbar 968, 987 (?) A H¹

MINTS WITH THEIR HONORIFIC EPITHETS

Ajmer

دارالمنصور (')

دارالحدید

مسعود الملک

Ujjain

بلند

دارالمنع

Ahmadabad

دارالعلایف

دارالسلط

دین البلاد (?)

دین البلاد

شهر معظم دارالسلط (?)

Centenary Volume 432-436) The only mention of 'Punch in Mr Whitehead's Mint list is under Aurangzeb (AR) and the authority cited is Taylor. Dr Taylor himself Mr Burn enters under Punch an Aurangzeb Rupee belonging to Dr Taylor and a Shah 'Ālam II fulūs in the Cabinet of Dr White King. In the White King Sale Catalogue itself, the name of 'Punch is nowhere found though a fulūs of Kila Bundi "avec feuille et lance comme marques" is registered (Part III No 4179).

It would be exceedingly rash to arbitrate between these authorities in the absence of the coins themselves though it is clear that there must be a mistake somewhere. At the same time there would appear to be grounds for thinking that قلع is prefixed to the name of some mint on a fulūs of Shah 'Ālam II.

¹ My acknowledgments are due to Mr R B Whitehead for scrutinizing this list and calling attention to some errors and omissions.

Udaypūr

مفتوحہ

Urdū

در راز دکن

ظہر قوس

Akbarābād

دارالخلاوت

مسندقرالخلاوت

مسندقرالاماک

Akbarpūr-Tānda

دارالخلاوت

Āgra

رلدہ

دارالاعمان

دارالخلاوت

دارالاصرب قلعہ

قلع

Alwar

قلع

Ilahābād

رلدہ

Amīrkot (?)

قصده

Awadh

دارالخلاوت خٹہ

صوبہ

Aurangābād

حصہ صوبہ بنیاد

Burhānpūr

بلدہ

بلدہ ماحرہ

دارالسرور

Bareilly

قطعه (۱)

Bahrūch

دارالخلاوت

Bijāpūr

دارالظہر

Bikāner

بلد

Pānīpat

قصبہ

Patna

دارالضرب

Pattan (Anhirwāla)

شہر

Pūnch (?)

قلع

Jammūn

دارالامان

Jaunpūr

دارالخلافہ

دارالضرب خطہ مندری

Jodhpūr

دارالمنصور

Jaipūr

سوی

Champānr

شہر مگرم

Haidarābād

دارالجهاد

فوخندہ بنیاد

Dogāon

دارالخلافہ

دارالسلام

Dehli

حضرت

دارالملك حضرت

Dewal

نندر

Sarhind

بلد

Sūrat

نہ، مناری

Sahāranpūr

دارالسرور

Shāhjahānābād

دارالخلافت

‘Azīmābād

مستقر الملک

Fathpūr

دارالسلطنت

(‘) دارالملک حصرت

Kābul

دارالملک

Kālpī

دارالصرب

دارالصرب خطّه

Kashmīr

خطّه

Gwāltar

دارالخلافت مقام

قلع

مقام قلع

Gorakpūr

دارالخلافت

Iāhor

دارالخلافت

دارالسلطنت

Lakhnau

خطّه

دارالخلافت

سرکار

Lahri

نذر

Multān

دارالامان

Mandisor

دارالسلام

Nāgor

دارالدعوات

Hardwār

قبرته

HONORIFIC EPITHETS ACCORDING TO REIGNS

BABUR

(Agra) قلع (Āgra) (?) دارا صرب قلع دارالحلاف

HUMAYŪN

دارالصرب قلع (Agra) دارالحلاف (Agra) دارالامان
دارالملک (Āgra) ارالعدل (Jaunpur) دارالصرب خطّ مندرک (?) (Āgra)
شهر مکرّم (Champaner) (Dehli) حصرب

AKBAR

خطّ (Dehli) حصرت (Dewal Lahri) مندر (Agra Sarhind) بلدہ
(Lakhnau), (Ahmadabad Akbarpūr Tanda Āgra Bahraich, Jaunpūr Dogron Shahgarh Qanauf Gorakpur
دارالحلاف (Awadh) دارالحلاف خطّ (?), (Lahor Lakhnau Malpūr
(Ahmadabad) دارالسلطت (Dogaon) دارالسلام (Gwalior) مقام
(Ahmadabad) دارالسلطت شهر معظم (Fathpūr Kora Lahor),
دارالملک (Kālpi) دارالصرب خطّ (Patna Jaunpūr Kalpi) دارالصرب
(Lakhnau) سرکار (Ajmer), دارالمنصور (?), (Dehli Fathpūr) حصرب
(Agra) قلع (Urdu) طغر مرس (Anhirwala Pattan) شهر (Gwalior)
مقام قلع (Muhammadabad Udaypūr) معنوحہ (Alwar, Gwalior)

JAHANGIR

(Kashmir) خطّ (Āgra), *nisārs* only
(Urdū) دراز دکی

SHAH JAHAN I

(Ujjain Burhanpūr) دارالحلاف (Akbarabad Agra
(Urdū) طغر مرس (Fathpūr Lahor), دارالسلطت (Shahjahanabad)

AURANGZEB

(Sūrat) مندر منارک (Burhanpūr) بلدہ فاحرہ (Ilhabad) بلدہ
(Haidarabad) دارالحفاد (Multan) دارالامان (Aurangabad) حصرت مندر
دارالسلطت (Ajmer) دارالحبر (Shahjahanabad) دارالحلاف (Lahor)
(Khabul) دارالملک (Ujjain) دارالفتح (Bijapūr) دارالطغر (Lahor)
(Akbarabad) مندرالحلاف

A'AZAMSHAH

دارالعق (Ujjain), دارالحک (Haiderabad), خجسته بناد (Aurangabād)

KAM BAKHSII

دارالحک (Haiderabad), دارالظفر (Bijapūr)

BAHADUR SHAH SHAH 'ĀLAM I

دارالحک (Haiderabad), خجسته بناد (Aurangabad), دارالحک (Shahjahanabad), دارالسرور (Burhanpur), دارالحک (Ajmer), دارالسلطنت (Lahor), دارالملك (Ujjain), دارالظفر (Bijapūr), دارالملك (Kabul), مستقر الحک (Akbarabad), فرجده بناد (Haiderabad), مستقر الملك (Ajmer)

JAHANDAR SHAH

دارالحک (Shahjahanabad), خجسته بناد (Aurangabad), دارالظفر (Burhanpur, Lāhor), دارالسلطنت (Burhanpur), فرجده بناد (Kabul), دارالملك (Ujjain), دارالظفر (Bijapūr), مستقر الحک (Akbarabad), مستقر الملك (Haiderabad)

TARRUKHSIAR

دارالحک (Shahjahanabad), خجسته بناد [Aurangabād], دارالسلطنت (Lahor), دارالسرور (Burhanpur), دارالحک (Ajmer), فرجده بناد (Kabul), دارالملك (Ujjain), دارالظفر (Bijapūr), مستقر الملك (Ajmer, Akbarabad), مستقر الحک (Haiderabad), مستقر الملك (Akbarabad 'Azimabad)

RAFIU D DARAJAT

دارالحک (Shahjahanabad), خجسته بناد [Aurangabād], دارالسلطنت (Lahor), دارالسرور (Burhanpur), دارالحک (Ajmer), دارالملك (Ujjain), دارالملك (Kabul), دارالملك (Ahmadabad), مستقر الحک (Akbarabad)

SHAH JAHAN II

دارالحک (Shahjahanabad), خجسته بناد [Aurangabād], دارالسلطنت (Lāhor), دارالسرور (Burhanpur), دارالحک (Ajmer), فرجده بناد (Haiderabad), دارالملك (Ujjain), مستقر الحک (Akbarabad)

MUHAMMAD IBRAHIM

دارالحکومت (Shahjahanabad)

MUHAMMAD SHAH

دارالحکومت [Aurangabad] حاکمیت بناد
 (Lahor) دارالحکومت (Burhanpūr) دارالسور (Ajmer) دارالحکومت
 (Al madabad ?) ریس المالک (Kabul) دارالملک (Ujjain) دارالحکومت
 مسفر الحکومت (Haidarabad) ورجند بناد (Jaipur) سوی
 (Akbarabad)

AHMAD SHAH

دارالحکومت [Aurangabad] حاکمیت بناد
 (Burhanpūr) دارالسور (Ajmer) دارالحکومت (Shahjahanabad)
 (Jaipur) سوی (Jodhpur) دارالحکومت (Lahor) دارالحکومت
 (Akbarabad) مسفرالحکومت

ĀLAMGĪR II

(Mul tan) دارالامان (Aurangabad) حاکمیت بناد (Bihaner) (بنده)
 (Shahjahanabad) دارالحکومت (Nagor or Nagpūr) دارالحکومت (Ajmer) دارالحکومت
 (Lahor) دارالحکومت (Burhanpur) دارالسور (Ajmer) دارالحکومت
 (Jaipur) سوی (Jodhpur) دارالحکومت (Ujjain) مسفرالحکومت
 (Akbarabad)

SHAHJAHAN III

دارالحکومت (Akbarabad) مسفرالحکومت (Shahjahanabad) دارالحکومت

SHAH 'ĀLAM II

(Nagor or Nagpūr) دارالحکومت (Jammun) دارالامان (Haidwar) بناد
 (Daulatabad Shahjahanabad) دارالحکومت (Burhanpur and Saharanpur) دارالسور (Ajmer)
 (Ujjain) دارالحکومت (Zebabad ?) دارالحکومت (Mandisor) دارالحکومت
 (Jaipur) سوی (Jodhpūr) دارالحکومت (Muhammadabad Binaras)
 (Pinch ?) ملج (Bareilly) و طبع (Panipat) و صبه (Awadh) صوبه
 (Al barabad) مسفرالحکومت

BIDAR BAHET

دارالحکومت Shahjahanabad

AKBAR II

دارالحکومت Shahjahanabad

BAHĀDUR SHĀH II

دارالحالات Shahjahānābād¹

It will be seen from these tables especially the last, that a very small beginning was made by Bābur with only two or three epithets for a single town, Āgra. In the reign of his son, the number rises to seven, of which four دارالحالات, دارالاصرب, دارالامان and دارالعدل are prefixed to the name of the same city (Āgra). Another place (Lāhor) is also called دارالحالات. This disregard for anything like rule or method in the distribution of these appellations is carried to much greater length during the first half of Akbar's reign. We can now reckon so many as twenty separate titles, but the confusion also is proportionately increased, and no less than thirteen different towns of all degrees of eminence are attended by the high sounding designation, 'Seat of the *Khilāfat*'. At the same time, two different places are called بلدة, two more are characterised as بندر, three others are styled دارالاصرب, four are distinguished as دارالسلطنة, and each of six other cities (Ahmadābād, Awadh, Dehli, Kālpī, Gwāliar and Lakhnau) is honoured by two different attributives.

¹ It might be as well to say that on the coins we have دارلحالة, دارالسلطنة, and بلدة, and Mr Lane Poole's transcriptions are *Dār al-Khilāfat*, *Mustakarr-al Khilāfat*, *Dār as-Saltūnah*, and *Baldat* (BMC Introd lix). This is in accordance with the rules of Arabic grammar and pronunciation, which do not necessarily apply to Persian. In Persian as well as Hindūstānī, we say *Khilāfat*, *Saltanat* and *Baldah*. Mr Nelson Wright and Mr Whitehead have سلطنة - خلافة and بلدة in Persian, but write *Khilāfat*, and *Saltanat* in English. In the historical works from which these notes and illustrations are almost entirely drawn, there is considerable diversity in the manner of spelling these words. In the Bibliotheca Indica Editions of Badaonī (Vol II), the *Iqbūlnāmā* and *Khūfī Khūn* (Vol II), خلافت and سلطنة only arrest attention, and the other forms are not at all found or are exceedingly rare. In the first volume of the *Badishāhnāmā* in the same series, the words are written in both ways, but خلافت and سلطنة are overwhelmingly preponderant. In the *Albūrnāmā*, *Ālamgīrnāmā* and the *Mas̄nawī*, 'Ālan girī, خلافة and سلطنة are decidedly in favour, and in the second volume of the *Badishāhnāmā* they only seem to be tolerated.

In these circumstances it may be safely said that neither of these forms is wrong, and that both are indifferent or almost equally correct. It is not easy to make a choice, and it is not without some hesitation that I have transcribed the ت in full, and this has been done only because it seems to be much more in accordance with the Persian system of pronunciation.

Then all this jumble of names and titles comes sharply to an end and the *Ilahi* issues of the last two decades of the reign exhibit no epithets at all. They continue to be *generally* eschewed on the artistic and interesting issues of Jahangir though they are freely employed by himself in his remarkable 'Autobiography'. They are then revived by Shah Jahan but there is still no conscious attempt to reserve a certain epithet for a specified town or to restrict a particular town to a characteristic epithet. Thus Fathpur and Lahor are both styled دارالسلطنت, and first Āgra then Akbarabad then Shah Jahanabad and lastly Akbarabad again are successively entitled دارالخلافت. At the same time Ujjain and Burhanpur share the designation *شاه* between them. It will be seen that though there is a revival of the old custom it is still on a very limited scale and the total number of prefixes is only three. With the accession of Aurangzeb they come again into considerable vogue and the number mounts up to thirteen of which no less than nine are so far new that they had never figured on the mintages of any of the preceding rulers of his house. Aurangzeb also introduced for the first time and maintained throughout his long reign a commendable uniformity in their application. Each of these thirteen *sobriquets* was strictly reserved for an individual mint and no mint was permitted to appropriate more than one title.

Three new designations (مسفرالملک دارلسرور فرجده نباد) were added by Bahadur Shah Shah Ālam I and one or two other changes also were made by him which were responsible for some temporary confusion. This was however eliminated by Farrukhsiyar who consigned his grandfather's innovations to oblivion and reverted to the old arrangements of Aurangzeb. He transferred مسفرالملک to his own favourite city Azimabad but the title itself perished with him and Azimabad also lost its preferment. The epithets had now been systematised and become more or less matters of mere form. The single new feature of Rafi ud darajat's mintages was the application of رب اللاد to Ahmadabad. The two innovations of Mulfammad Shah were the conjunction of the title سوی with the name of Jaipūr and the use of the epithet رن اللاد for a place still un-

¹ The exceptions are not important but may be noted here رن اللاد prefixed to the name of Āgra on a n sār of 1028 A.H. in the Panjāb Museum (No. 1186) and خطه to that of Kashmir on an undated n sār which was in the White King collection (Catalogue Part III No. 3746). There is also a unique piece of Urdu dar rah-i-Dalan but this descriptive suffix has strictly speaking nothing honorific about it.

determined of Ahmad Shāh the prefixing of دارالمرکات to the name of Nagor and of دارالمنصور to that of Jodhpūr. In the reign of Ālamgir II Bikaner is for the first time styled بادشاه. The appropriation of the distinctive appellations of old Muslim cities by the Rājput and Marāṭha rulers of the day reached a climax under the second Shah Ālam. The Dogra chief of Jammūn took a fancy to دارالامان Sindhia thought دارالاسلام would be 'just the thing' for Mandisor the Marāṭha (?) masters of Daulatābad¹ would have nothing less high sounding than دارالخلافت and Saharānpūr must be called دارالسرور. Three new titles also were devised دارالسرمد for Hardwar دارالطوق for Bareilly and دارالعلوم for Banaras. Nothing could be more typical of the period itself or of the total disruption of the Empire which it witnessed than the unauthorized assumption by the Hindu chiefs of powers and dignities and titles which were often used in the Emperor's name against his person.

After this preliminary survey let me proceed with the historical commentary which has been divided into two parts. In the first an attempt has been made to throw such light as is possible in the circumstances on the origin and significance of the most remarkable or distinctive titles with a view to investing these shadowy prefixes with a modicum of reality.

In the second references have been given to all those passages in the published works of contemporary historians in which honorific epithets are associated with the names of the towns.

PART I

لَدَن فَاخِرَة (Sumptuous rich or resplendent town) is the epithet of Burhanpur on a unique coin in the Panjab Museum (No 1617) which is undated but which must be reckoned among the earliest of Aurangzeb's silver issues. That Emperor had often resided at Burhanpūr when prince governor of the Subas of the Dekkān and it was there that he had fallen madly in love with the fair Zamabadi so named from Zamabād one of its suburbs. Burhanpūr was in those days one of the greatest industrial and commercial centres of the country and its wealth and grandeur are often extolled by contemporary travellers and historians. Abul Fāzī speaks of it as a large city three kos distant from the Tapti. It was

¹ These *Daru l Kī shafatī Daulatabad* Rupees have been never published and I know them only from a casual mention of them in Mr Whitelock's P.M. Catalogue Introductory p. lxxiv. As the date is unfortunately not given it is impossible to say by whom they were issued though we know that Daulatabad was for about four years in the possession of the Mahrattas. I propose to discuss the point more fully on another occasion.

in the *Vaāsū* : *Ālamgirī* and but once in *Khafi Khan*. Even on the coins its vogue is limited to about two years and it is dropped in the 3rd year of the reign.

حضرت دہلی appears frequently on the early issues of Akbar and دارالملک حضرت دہلی which is found on the copper coins of Humayun also figures sometimes on the mintage of his son. The first part of this double title was extensively associated with the name of the capital on the copper coins of the Dehli Sultans and the second part on those in silver and gold (P M C Introd lxxv). But there does not seem to have been any fixed rule or usage in the matter. حضرت alone is found occasionally throughout the Pathan series on Copper and Billon Coins also (C/ I M C II Nos 80 1 87 8 160 168 9 185 6 241 257 8 414-447 457 8 478 495 501 4 526 8 530 546 571). Again دارملک though less frequently arrests attention on the issues in silver (*Ibid* Nos 245 6). حضرت is prefixed to the names of Deogarh and Daulatabad on the coins of the Great Monever Muhammad Tughlaq (*Ibid* 307 8 396) and the combination در لعلآباد حضرت is characteristic of the mintages of Qutbuddin Mubarak (*II* 243 247 249 and 269). On the coins of the Sultans of Bengal their capitals Firūzabad and Lakhnauti are styled حضرت and Sunargaon is called حضرت حلال (*Ibid* p 142). Similarly Ahsanabad (Gulbarga) is called حضرت on the coins of the Bahmanis and Shadiabad (Mandu) bears the same epithet on those of the Khilji rulers of Malwa (*Ibid* Bahmani Coins Nos 1 5 13 Malwa Coins Nos 15 17 23 25 34 36). But this Shadiabad is at the same time qualified as دارملک also (*Ibid* 2 14 30 33 37 39 40).

In all these cases Hazrat refers to حضرت سلطان i.e. the August or Royal Presence or His Majesty. We even now speak of the chief town of a district as the *Huzur Tahsil* the Tahsil which is in the حضور or presence of the Collector and other government officials. Beames in *Elliot Supplemental Glossary* II 86 note. See also Hobson Jobson ed Crooke s v Huzoor Thomas *Chronicles* p 150.

خجندیہ آباد Of auspicious foundation makes its appearance on the coins of Aurangzeb for the first time in the 3rd year of his reign (1100 A H). The city founded by him during his second viceroyalty of the Southern provinces in the neighbourhood of the somewhat older town built by Malik Ambar was Khafi Khan tells us first called Aurangabad (*Bibl Ind Text* I 489). The earliest known coins of this

Emperor—the gold muhr of 1070 A.H. (I.M.C. III, No 1123) and the rupee of 1071 A.H. (B.M.C., No 730)—both bear that name only. The epithet *خاسته بنیاد* is not found in the 'Ālamgīrnāma, a voluminous contemporary chronicle of the first ten years of the reign which was completed and dedicated to the Emperor in the 32nd year (E.D. VII, 174.) Its author uses several synonymous expressions, e.g.

اورنگاد فیض بنیاد، بلد فیض بنیاد اورنگاد، خطہ فیض بنیاد اورنگاد

اورنگاد، but the specific adjective is never prefixed to the name of the town. In the *Maāsir-i-Ālamgīrī* as well as the *Muntaḥhabu-l-Lubāb* of Khāfi Khān, the new name occurs frequently, but both those works were compiled after the death of Aurangzeb.

Neither of these writers gives the reason of the appellation, of which there is a tacit recognition in their pages, but it is not difficult to understand it. It is common knowledge that it was during his stay in Aurangābād that Aurangzeb accumulated those resources in men, money and munitions which afterwards enabled him to defeat his brothers in the struggle for the throne¹. It was from Aurangābād that he had started on Friday, the 12th of Jumād I, 1068 A.H. "at a miraculously-blessed and auspicious hour which was the choice of persons of wisdom and foresight, and the ornament of the ephemeris in the almanacs of Creation, 'with a whole world of majesty and power and glory and dignity,' and in the company of victory and good luck and good fortune"

در ساعتی کرامت طراز میمنت اثر که مختار اهل دانش و بینش و زیب

حدول نقویم آفریدش بود * نا جهانی فرو عظمت شوکت و شان * نصرت قرین

طالع و اقبال همعان *

'Ālamgīrnāma, Bibl Ind Text, 43, ll 20-22.

With all his austerity and 'puritanism,' Aurangzeb was not free from superstition, and it would seem as if he had come to look upon this city as associated in no uncertain manner with the rise and culmination of his greatness². It is,

¹ So Khāfi Khān speaks of the Dekkan as "a mine of wealth and fighting material" (معدن خزائن و سپاه) Bibl Ind Text, II 852

Mr. Lane Poole writes: "The Deccan was the Dauphiné of the Moghul empire. It was there that Shah Jahan had mustered his strength to try conclusions with his father; and it was thence that Aurangzeb drew his forces in the struggle which ended in his coronation." 'History of India,' Ed. A. V. Williams Jackson, Vol IV, 105-6

² So Jahāngīr says: "My revered father considering the village of Sikrī, which was the place of my birth, lucky for him [در خرد مبارک دانسته]

perhaps not altogether devoid of significance that he had in 1100 A H just completed that conquest of the kingdoms of Bijapur and Gulkanda which had been the greatest ambition of his life. The cycle of good fortune which had begun at the foundation of the city had been thus completed just at the time when the Dekkan bade fair to once more become his headquarters. There is therefore nothing surprising in his having commemorated the consummation of his plans by bestowing on the city associated with their inception and perhaps also maturity the distinctive title *Khayista bunyad*.

House of peace safety security is prefixed to the name of Agra on the copper coins of Humayun. *در الامان آگره* is never found in *Abul Fazl* or *Badi'uz-Zaman* though it does occur once in the *Tabaqat-i Akbari*. But nothing is said as to the reason of the epithet and we are left only to speculation in the matter. The sole explanation I can offer is based on the following considerations.

The first year of the sixteenth century had seen the Uzbek leader Shaibani Khan pouring the destructive inundation of his barbarians over Transoxiana. Bukhara and Samarkand soon fell before him. Shahrkhan and Beshkent were ravaged. Khwarizm was next attacked and Balkh besieged and taken. All the horrors of Tatar warfare were afterward let loose on the fair cities of Khurasan. The Persians under Shah Ismail then came upon the scene and Shaibani was defeated and killed in a great battle near Marv in 1010 A C. His body was dismembered the skin of his head was stuffed with hay and sent to the Emperor of Constantinople. The skull set in gold was made into a drinking cup which the Sultan was proud of displaying at his great entertainments. (Erskine History of Baber and Humayun I 304) The

in the original] made it his capital. *Tuuk-i-Jalung* in Rogers and Beveridge Trans I 2. Elsewhere he informs us that Panpat used to be very propitious to my gracious father and honored ancestors and that great victories had been gained in it. *Ibid* I 58.

اس منزل و مقام بر آئی کرام و احداث دوی لاحترام ما همیشه

مداری و فرخنده آمده و دو فتح عظیم درین سرزمین روداده *

Sayyad Al mad Khas Edition 97 I 20

In another place he writes. Mu'taqid Khan bought a house at Agra and passed some days in that place. Misfortunes happened to him one after another. We have heard that prosperity and bad luck depend on four things first upon your wife second upon your slave third upon your house fourth upon your horse. *Ibid* I 93.

So Mr Masum informs us that his ancestor Baba Hasan Abdali settled at Langar of Kandahar saying to his disciples. From this earth the smell of friendship comes to me. He remained there all his days and died there. *Tarikh-i-Said* Trans Malet p 90.

Uzbegs had gone but the terrors of religious persecution were now added to the miseries of foreign invasion. The Shah's first care was to introduce the observances of the Shi'a sect into his new dominions and as he was met by a bigotry and a firmness equal to his own he did not accomplish that object without a severe and cruel persecution in the course of which the blood of many men eminent for their piety and their virtues flowed and many distinguished names were added to the list of the martyrs for the pure Sunni faith (*Ibid* I 305). The Shah commanded prayers to be recited and the *Khutba* read in Shi'a form in the grand mosque of Herat. The chief preacher of the mosque having honestly refused to repeat the curses on the three companions of the Prophet and Aisha the Prophet's wife was dragged from the pulpit and cut in pieces on the spot. Next day the Shah sent for the Sheikh ul Islam and attempted to bring him over to the new opinions. Having failed the venerable man was condemned to a cruel death in inflicting which the Shah himself is reported to have taken an active part. This persecution raged against recusants of every rank as long as Shah Ismail remained in Khorasan (*Ibid* I 321). On the Shah's death the Uzbegs again invaded Khorasan took the holy city of Mashhad after a sharp resistance and retaliated by putting all the male inhabitants of Tus to the sword and carrying off all the women into slavery contrary to the terms of the capitulation (*Ibid* I 457).

In these circumstances many eminent men of both sects naturally sought safety in flight and several had taken refuge in the Court of Babur. Abul Fazl gives the names of thirteen illustrious men — poets, divines, physicians and historians — who were his courtiers and companions. Beveridge *Albar nāma* Trans I 280-282.

With all his faults Humayun was a man of learning and liberal sentiments. His father's varied predilection for knowledge and culture had descended to him. He continued says Noer the traditions of his house and loved even in the midst of all his troubles to be surrounded by poets, scholars and authors. It is the opinion of Nizamu'd-din Ahmad that he was unequalled as an astronomer and mathematician. He possessed also wide geographical information. (Noer The Emperor Akbar Trans Mrs Beveridge I 136). He was a poet besides and we have the authority of Abul Fazl for saying that a copy of his complete *Divān* existed in the Imperial Library. (Beveridge Tr *Akbarnāma* I 66 and *Addenda* p 211). He was no bigot in religion and Firsihti informs us that he was believed to be of the Shi'a persuasion because he gave such encouragement to *Kutubashies* and the inhabitants of Eral to join his standard from his earliest years so that many persons of eminence in Khorasan devotees of

the Holy Family, found favour with him" (Briggs' Translation Reprint, II, 179) His court had thus become, as it were, دارالامان, "the gathering place of all men of worth and intelligence from adjacent countries and afforded an *asylum* denied by their wild confusion and desolating unrest, for the fostering and development of science" (Noer, *Op cit*, I, 126)¹ In this connection the following passage from 'Abdu r Razzaq's *Mall'au s-Sa'adain* is instructive and will bear quotation

"Professors of various religions and even infidels, abound in that city [*scil* Hormuz], and no measure of injustice is permitted to any one in it, hence the city is called the abode of security (*dāru l amān*)" (Elliot and Dowson, *History of India* IV, 96 See also R. H. Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century*, Hakluyt Society, p. 7)

The epithet again attracts attention on the Multan Rupees of the very first year of Aurangzeb's reign (1069 A H) After hurriedly going through the ceremonies of his first coronation at Delhi, the Emperor took up the pursuit of Dāra, who had been forced to quit Lāhor, and taken the road of Multān "On this Aurangzeb who had already crossed the Satlaj, altered his course for Multān Before he reached that city, he heard that Dārā had proceeded on his flight . He therefore gave up his march to the westward, and returned without delay to Delhi" (Elphinstone, ed Cowell 605) Aurangzeb left Delhi on 7th Zilq'ada 1068 ('*Alamgīr nāma*, 160), crossed the Satlaj on the 5th of Zilhajja (*Ibid* 192), was within three kos of Multān on the banks of the Ravi on 7th Muharram, 1069 A H (*ib*, 207), and paid a visit

¹ The most eminent of these literary refugees was the historian Khwandamir, who has himself given a long account of the "annoyances and misfortunes to which he was subjected under Uzbek rule in Herāt" (A. S. Beveridge, *Memoirs of Bābur*, 605 Note See also Elliot and Dowson IV, 142-3) He paid his respects to Bābur on Saturday, the 4th of Muharram, 935 A H at Āgra (E. D., IV, 143) and his *Ḥabīb u-Siyar* was finished in Bābur's Camp at Tirmohani near the confluence of the Sarjū and the Ganges (Bombay Lithograph, I, iv, 84, E. D., IV, 155-6) He afterwards wrote the *Humāyūn nāma* or *Qānūn i Humāyūn* accompanied Humāyūn to Gujarāt and died in his camp in 942 A.H. (Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, ed Keene, s. n., E. D. V, 116) Two other *emirés*—Maulāna Shihāb, the Enigmatist, and Mir Ibrāhīm, the Harper are also mentioned A. S. Beveridge, *Loc cit*, 605 Badāonī Rankings Translation, I 449-50 A later refugee was Mir 'Abdu l Latif Qazvīnī Suspected of leaning towards the Sunnis, he and his father Mir Yahyā were persecuted by the bigot Shāh Tahmāsp The father being too old and infirm to fly, died in prison at Ispahān The son "fled to Gilān, and afterwards at the invitation of the Emperor Humāyūn went to Hindustān" (Blochmann *Ain*, Trans I 447-8) Of this man, Abū l Fazl says that "from his lack of bigotry and his broad mindedness, he was called in India a Shia and in Persia a Sunni" (*Akbarnāma*, Trans Beveridge, II 35) He was appointed tutor to Akbar in the second year (964-5 A H), and it was he who first taught Akbar the principle of the *Sulh-i Kul* or 'Universal Toleration'

to the shrine of the Saint Bahāuddīn in the city on the 9th (*Ib.*, 209). In the *‘Ālamgīrnāma*, the epithet occurs for the first time in the heading of the chapter describing the "Return of the victorious retinue from the *Dāru-l-amān* of Multān to the *Dāru-s-Saltanat* of Lāhor and the march thence to the *Dāru l-khilāfat* of Shāhjahānābād" (p. 211). It is quite possible that Aurangzeb coined the epithet as a memento of the sense of security he experienced on hearing of Dārā's flight from Multān to Bhakkar. "He had been travelling," writes Mr. Lane Poole, "by forced marches day and night, with his usual unflagging energy, lived the life of a common soldier, ate nothing but meal, drank bad water, and slept on the bare ground. His endurance of hardships awed his followers; but Dārā's own fatal tendency to political suicide saved his brother further trouble. The misguided prince, when aware of Aurangzeb's pursuit, instead of seeking to build up a formidable resistance at Kābul, where he was sure of the support of the governor, Mahābat Khān, turned south to Sind. Aurangzeb at once saw that the enemy had practically disarmed himself, and leaving a few thousand horse to keep up the chase, he returned to the east." (Aurangzeb, *Rulers of India Series*, 55-6.) Briefly, we may fairly suppose the title to have been conferred upon the city in grateful recognition of the *peace and tranquility* he had himself experienced in its neighbourhood. There was now no reason for anxiety, his most dangerous enemy had, instead of doing the thing he feared, done that which he hoped and wished, but never expected he would, and his throne was practically secure.

Such an explanation of the honorific is, at first sight, not unsatisfactory, but there are two fairly well-attested facts in the history of the town which appear to militate against it. In Multān are buried two of the most renowned saints of Musalmān India—Shaikh Bahāu-l-haqq wau d-dīn Zakarriya and his grandson, Shaikh Ruknu-d-dīn. Of the first of these personages, it is said that when a Mongol force "descended on the province and dismantled the walls of the city," the citizens were saved from a general massacre by a ransom paid by him. (*Imp Gaz.*, XVIII, 26.) The sum is said to have been 100,000 Dinārs. (Raverty, *Tabaqāt i-Nāṣiri*, Trans. 1201 note; see also 784, 844 and 845 n). This appears to have occurred about 653-4 A.H., 1257 A.C., and the saint is believed to have died on 7th Safar 665 A.H., 7th November, 1266 A.C. (Jarrett, *Āin*, III, 363; Beale, *Biographical Dictionary*, s.n.)

His grandson, Ruknu-d-dīn, is reported to have rendered the people of Multān a similar service in the following century. When Bahrām Ibā, the adopted brother of the Sultān Tughlaq, raised a rebellion in Multān, the Emperor Muḥammad marched against him, and he was defeated and put to death. "His head," says Badāonī, "was brought to the Sultān, who in-

tended to set the blood of the Multanis flowing like rivers on account of his crime but when the Shukhu l Islam Qutbu l 'Ālam Shaikh Ruknu l Haqq wau d din Qurushī having bared his venerable head presented himself at the court of the Sultan and made intercession the Sultan pardoned the offences of the people' (Ranking's Translation I 304) Firishta also tells us that the king then gave orders for a general massacre of the inhabitants of Mooltan but the learned sheikh Rookn ood Deen interceded for them and prevented the effects of this cruel mandate (Briggs *Rise of the Mahommedan Power Calcutta Reprint* I 421)

Briefly the city would seem to have twice received quarter (امان quarter pardon indemnity grace) through the intercession of these Saints and might have been called دارامان in consequence. The difficulty is that there is no trace of this particular epithet in historical literature before the time of Aurangzeb¹. It is found in the *Ālamgīrnama* and occurs also in the *Maān : Ālamgīr* though not in Khafi Khan. There is no example of its use however in any earlier writer though Firishta speaks of Multan as دارالسلام. The Cupola of Islam in an untranslated chapter of his History (Lakhnau Litho graph II 404 l 17)

It may be also not unworthy of notice that Multan is called دارالعلم Excellent City in the *Ālamgīrnama* (210 217) and شهر کرامت نهر (Ibid 209) کرامت is a miracle performed by holy men as opposed to معجزه a miracle wrought by God through His Prophets in proof of their mission (*Hughes Dictionary of Islam* s v). It is generally believed among the Mahammedans writers Dr Lee that every saint has it in his power to perform miracles without laying claim to the office of a prophet 'Travels of Ibn Batuta Trans 1829 p 7 note

During the dissolution of the Mughal Empire the title دارامان is prefixed to the name of Jammūn on the coins of the Dogra prince Ranjit Dev. It looks at first sight like a pretentious or meaningless transference by the Hindū chief

¹ In a Farmān said to have been issued by Akbar in the 37th year of his reign granting to Hir Vijaya Sūrī the Jāmīn places of pilgrimage at Gīrnat Abu Pārasnath etc دارامان ملتان دارالسلطنت لاہور دارالاحکام اکبر آباد are all distinctly mentioned one by one but the document itself is on several grounds open to suspicion. The Farmān has been published with a photograph of the original and translated into English and Hind by Mumtaz Navijaya; in the Introduction to a Sanskrit poem on Akbar called *Akṣipūras Kōś* (loc cit pp 35 40)

of the title borne by Multan to his own capital. There are it must be said several other examples of the annexation by the rebellious vassals of the empire of the epithets, originally devised with some show of reason by the Musalman Padishahs. Thus Sindhia pleased himself with calling Mandisor دارالسلام. The Rathor of Jodhpūr laid hands upon دارالمصوّر. Some Daulatabad rupees struck apparently by the Mahrattas bear the incongruous prefix *Dārul Khilāfat* and the person in authority at Nāgor (or Nāgpūr) took a fancy to دارالوہاب an old epithet of Ajmer.

It is true that Rodgers was of a different opinion. His remark that *Dārul Āmān : Mullān* was given more because of the rhyme than the reason provokes the obvious comment that *Dārul Āman : Jammūn* seems to have neither rhyme nor reason. Our knowledge of the political history of Jammūn is really very small but he seems to have felt no difficulty in accepting an explanation which he had come across in the Urdū History of the Panjāb written by Rāi Kanhiya Lal Bahadur. He says writes Rodgers that in those days Jammū was regarded as the abode of peace and safety that bankers and merchants had fled from the Sikh spoiled plains of the Panjāb and had taken refuge in Jammū where Ranjit Deo was too strong for the Sikhs to attempt anything against him. (J A S B 1885 p 62) Once more he assures us that 'the time in which he [*sic* Ranjit Deo] lived was one of utter lawlessness yet his little state was the abode of peace and safety (دارالامان)'. *Ibid* 63. Lastly, he asks his readers to notice how the title of '*Dar ul Amān*' the '*Gate of Safety*' agrees with the description of its condition under Ranjit Deo as given above by Rāi Kanhiya Lal (*Ibid* 64).

This Urdu word was according to Rodgers himself written only in 1877 A.C. and this explanation would appear so far to be unsupported by contemporary or other evidence of a reliable kind. But I find that the statement really rests on much better authority than Rāi Kanhiya Lal's. Forster who passed through Jammū about April 1783 writes. Runzeed Deo the father of the present chief of Jumbo who deservedly acquired the character of a just and wise ruler largely contributed to the wealth and importance of Jumbo. Perceiving the benefits which would arise from the residence of Mahometan merchants he held out to them many encouragements and observed towards them a disinterested and honourable conduct. Negative virtues only are expected from an Asiatic despot * * * but the chief of Jumbo went further than the forbearance of injuries he avowedly protected and indulged his people particularly the Mahometans.

to whom he allotted a certain quarter of the town, * * * and that no reserve might appear in his treatment of them a mosque was erected in the new Colony, a liberality of disposition the more conspicuous, and conferring the greater honour on his memory, as it is the only instance of the like toleration in this part of India * * * He was so desirous also of acquiring their confidence and esteem, that when he has been riding through their quarter during the time of prayer, he never failed to stop his horse until the priest had concluded his ritual exclamations. The Hindoos once complained to this Chief that the public wells of the town were defiled by the vessels of the Mahometans and desired that they might be restricted to the water of the river but he abruptly dismissed the complaint saying that water was a pure element, designed for the general use of mankind and could not be polluted by the touch of any class of people. An administration so munificent and judicious, at the same time that it enforced the respect of his own subjects made Jumbo a place of extensive commercial resort where all descriptions of men experienced in their persons and property, a full security." George Forster, 'A Journey from Bengal to England' Ed 1798 I, 245-7

This extract cannot be commended for brevity, but nothing could give a more vivid idea of the Oriental conception of a *Darul Amān* than this European traveller's picturesque description of this Dogra prince's broad minded tolerance. Indeed, we have here an elaborate paraphrase of the single sentence in which 'Abdu r Razzaq explains why Hormuz was honoured with the same appellation in his own day.

Cunningham also in his 'History of the Sikhs' has something to say about the matter

"Har Singh Bhang died and he was succeeded by Harnda Singh, who carried the power of the Misal to its height [He says this took place about 1770] He rendered Jammu tributary, and the place was then of considerable importance for the repeated Afghan invasions, and the continued insurrections of the Sikhs, had driven the transit trade of the plains to the circuitous but safe route of the hills and the character of the Rajpūt chief Ranjit Dev, was such as gave confidence to traders, and induced them to flock to his capital for protection" (*Op Cit* Ed Garrett 114)

It remains to add that after Ranjit Dev's death Jammu ceased to be 'a place of safety' or 'security'. Dr Vogel writes "Jammu was first invaded by Bhamma Singh in 1761 and Har Singh in 1762, both of the Bhang Misal and the capital was plundered. The Sikhs were however compelled to retire before a fresh invasion of the Afghans under Ahmad Shah in 1764 and for twelve years there was peace. The second inroad was invited in 1774 by dissensions in the Jammu royal family

Ranjit Dev, was at variance with his elder son, Brajraj Dev and wanted to pass him over in the succession * * * In the struggle which ensued, no decisive success was secured by either side and the Sikhs ultimately withdrew * * * The next inroad occurred in 1782 under Maha Singh Sukarchakia, the father of Ranjit Singh By this time Ranjit Dev was dead * * * The city of Jammu was plundered and burnt and the country laid waste, and this was followed by a dreadful famine which caused much distress" (The Panjab Hill States in Journal of the Panjab Historical Society, (1914), Vol III 117 8)

The problem of these coins of Ranjit Dev is not an easy one Neither the date of his accession to the throne, nor that of his death is accurately known According to the circumstantial account in Major G Carmichael Smyth's 'History of the Reigning Family of Lahore with some account of the Jummoo Rajas' (quoted by Rodgers), he was born in 1724, ascended the throne in 1742 and reigned in peace and prosperity till 1780 A D when he died' (*Ibid*, 65) The difficulty is that we possess coins struck in Ranjit Dev's name in *Samvat* 1841 (26 R), i.e. 1784 5 A C Some other coins issued from *Dārū l Amān* : Jammūn in the name of Shāh 'Alam II are dated 1195 (XXIII R) 1196 (XXIV R) and 1197 (XXV R) i.e. 1781, 1782 and 1783 A C

Forster says that Ranjit Dev died in 1770

'It appears,' he writes, 'that Jumbo continued to increase in power and commerce until the year 1770, the period of Runzeid Dele's death when one of his sons the present chief, contrary to the intention and express will of his father, seized on the government, put to death one of his brothers, the intended successor, and imprisoned another, who having made his escape sought the protection of the Sicques' (*Op cit*, I, 247 8)

The compiler of the article on Sialkot on the Imperial Gazetteer asserts that Ranjit Dev died in 1773 A C (*Op Cit* XXII, 328) Cunningham declares that the event occurred in 1770 ('History of the Sikhs' Fd Garrett, 1918 p 115 note) Dr Vogel, who has recently devoted considerable attention to the history of the Panjab Hill States and had the advantage of examining their archives, implies that Ranjit Dev was alive in 1774, and died only in 1781 'Amrit Pal reasserted the claim of Basohli, and with the help of Ranjit Dev of Jammu seized the territory in 1774 On the death of Ranjit Dev in 1781 his son and successor acting as lord paramount, restored these *Parganas* [*Scil* Bhalu and Jundh] to Chamba * * * The Tānkari letter from Brajraj Dev conveying the territory to Chamba is still extant, and is dated 15th Bhadon S 57 (A D 1781) In another Tānkari document from the same source dated 18th Bhadon, S 59 (A D 1783) we find the same statement" 'History of Basohli State in Journal Panjab

Historical Society Vol IV 1913 p 94 (See also *Ibid* p 44)

It is obvious that there is a mistake or confusion somewhere. If the coins were struck by Ranjit Dev himself these dates must be wrong. If the dates are correct the coins must have really been issued by some one else in his name after his death.

دارالبرکات Abode of blessings or prosperity is coupled with a mint name of which it is not easy to say whether it is Nagor or Nagpur. I am personally inclined to prefer the former reading for the following reason. Dr White King had a *Dārul Mansūr* Jodhpur rupee of the fourth year of Alamgir II. There is in the Panjab Museum a *Dārul Barakat* Vāg r rupee of the fifth year of the same Emperor. Both coins have been figured the Jodhpur coin in Num Chron 1896 Pt II Pl XII fig 8 the *Dārul Barakat* rupee in P M C Pl XVII No 2839. It seems to me that there is a very close resemblance in the style of the lettering which is by itself of a somewhat peculiar type. The obverses in particular are so similar as to indicate that the dies of both were either cut by the same person or that the engraver of the second had the first before him as his model.

The history of Nagor in the 18th century may possibly throw some light on the origin of the epithet. Tod writes

Of the twelve sons of Ajeet [Ajit Singh Raja of Jodhpur] Abhe Sing and Bulht Sing were the two elder. To Bukht Sing who was with his father the eldest brother wrote promising him the independent sovereignty of Nagore where they then were as the price of murdering their common sire. Not only was the wretch unstartled by the proposition but he executed the deed with his own hands under circumstances of unparalleled atrocity. (Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan Calcutta Reprint 1898 I 763)

This was in Vil ram Samvat 1781 (1724 A C). On coming to the throne Abhay Singh not only fulfilled his promise to his brother but added to it the fief of Jhalor (*Ib* I 764). After a reign of twenty six years Abhay was succeeded by his son Ram Singh in 1750 A C. Bakht Sing absented himself from the inauguration and sent his nurse as his proxy. This was construed as an insult by Ram Singh who resumed the fief of Jhalor (*Ibid* II 944). A civil war broke out. Ram Singh was defeated at Mairta and Bakht Singh became King of Jodhpur with the support of a great majority of the clans (*Ibid* 946). He ruled only for three years but during that short period he found both time and resources to strengthen and embellish the strongholds of Marwar. He completed the fortifications of the capital and greatly added to the palace of Joda from the spoils of Ahmedabad. He retaliated the injuries on the intolerant Islamite and *threw down*

his shrines and his mosques in his own fief of Nagore, and with the wrecks restored the edifices of ancient days." (*Ibid*, 948.) Bakht Singh was poisoned in S. 1809 (1752 A.C.) and succeeded by his son Bijai Singh. Meantime, the dispossessed Rām Singh had called in Jayāppā Sindia to his aid. Bijai was defeated on the plains of Merta in 1756 and obliged to take refuge in his father's old fief of Nāgor. "During six months, he defended himself gallantly in Nagore, against which the desultory Mahrattas, . . . made no impression." (*Ibid*, 774.) While the siege was dragging on, "a Rajput and an Afghan . . . offered . . . to sacrifice themselves for his safety, by the assassination of the Mahrattā commander." Jayāppā was murdered at the door of his tent; one of the assassins "plunged his dagger in his side, exclaiming 'this for Nagore!' and 'this for Jodhpur!' said his companion, as he repeated the mortal blow." (*Ibid*, 776-7.) By this murder, the hordes of Jayāppā were converted "from auxiliaries into principals in the contest," and were appeased only by the cession of Ajmer and a fixed triennial tribute. But they at the same time "displayed the virtue common to such mercenary allies, and abandoned Rām Singh to his evil star." Bijai Singh himself reigned in peace for several years. (*Ibid*, 953.)

It may be fairly conjectured that the epithets دارالبركات and دارالمنصور are connected with these events. Nāgor was inseparably associated with the rise of Bakht Singh's fortunes and Jodhpūr with their culmination. Both towns were Bijai Singh's towers of strength also and remained faithful to him. This is perhaps the reason of their being entitled 'Abodes of blessing' and 'Abodes of victory' on the coins.

دارالجهاد 'Seat or Land or Country of Holy War' makes its first appearance on the coins in 1099 A.H. There is no room for doubt as to the reason of the epithet. "When Aurangzeb drew near to Haidarabad," Khafi Khān informs us, "Abūl-Hasan . . . sent a letter to Aurangzeb, renewing his protestations of obedience, and reiterating his claims to forgiveness. . . . Aurangzeb wrote a reply, the gist of which is as follows: 'The evil deeds of this wicked man pass beyond the bounds of writing; but by mentioning one out of a hundred, and a little out of much, some conception of them may be formed. First, placing the reins of authority and government in the hands of vile tyrannical infidels; oppressing and afflicting the sayids, shāikhs and other holy men; openly giving himself up to excessive debauchery and depravity; indulging in wickedness and drunkenness night and day; making no distinction between infidelity and Islām, tyranny and justice, depravity and devotion, waging obstinate war in defence of infidels; want of obedience to the Divine Commands and prohibitions, especially to that command which

forbids assistance to an enemy's country, the disregarding of which had cast a censure upon the Holy Book in the sight both of God and Man. Moreover, it had lately become known that a lac of pagodas had been sent to the wicked Sambha'" (E D VII, 325, Text II, 327 8) The same writer subsequently tells us that after the conquest "the city was called the hostile country (*dāru l jhād*)" (*Ibid* 336), and that 'Abdu r Rahīm Khan was appointed Muhtasib or censor. 'It was ordered that several customs of the infidels and other innovations which the irreligious (or heretical) Abū l Hasan had introduced should be set aside and that the idol temples should be demolished and mosques erected in their stead'.

فرمودند که بعضی رسم کفار و بدعتهای دیگر که ابوالحسن ندیس روح

داده از سمرقند طرف سارند و بدعتها را مسمار نموده مسجد نمایند *

Bibl Ind Text II, 358 9

Among the passages in the Quran in which *Jihād* is enjoined (Sūra II, 214 5, IV 76 9 VIII 39 42 IX 5 6 IX 29), the persons against whom it is a duty to declare it are most clearly indicated in the last, which runs thus 'Make war [جهاد] upon such of those to whom the Scriptures have been given as believe not in God, or in the last day, and who forbid not that which God and His Apostle have forbidden and who profess not the profession of the Truth'.

The head and front of Abū l Hasan's offending had been the assistance given to the *dāru l harb* Shambhaji and "want of obedience to the divine commands and prohibitions". The first thing Aurangzeb did after the conquest was to give orders for the setting aside of "several infidel customs and other innovations which the irreligious (or heretical) Abū l Hasan had introduced". Now what were these customs? Tavernier, Thevenot and Manucci have left us some word pictures of Haidarābād which enable us to understand the reasons of Aurangzeb's denunciation.

'There are,' says the first of these travellers 'so many public women in the town, the suburbs and in the fortress which is like another town, that it is estimated that there are generally more than 20 000 entered in the Darogha's register, without which it is not allowed to any woman to ply the trade. In the cool of the evening you see them before the doors of their houses. It is then also that the shops

* The orders were evidently executed

At Maisarām, 10 miles south of Hyderābād are the remains of some Hindu temples destroyed by Aurangzeb after the fall of Golconda. Imperial Gazetteer Ed 1908 VI 126

where they sell *tāri* [toddy] are opened . . . The king derives from the tax which he places on the *tāri* a very considerable revenue, and it is principally on this account that they allow so many public women, because they are the cause of the consumption of much *tāri*, those who sell it having for this reason, their shops in their neighbourhood. These women have so much suppleness and are so agile that when the king who reigns at present wished to visit Masulipatam, nine of them very cleverly represented the form of an elephant, four making the four feet, four others the body, and one the trunk and the king mounted above on a kind of throne, in that way made his entry into the town " (*Travels*, ed Ball I, 157 8) ' 1

" Publick Women," says Thevenot, " are allowed in the kingdom, so that nobody minds it when they see a man to their Houses and they are often at their Doors well drest to draw in Passengers , But they say, most of them are spoiled. The common People give their Wives great Liberty. When a Man is to be Married, the Father and Mother of his Bride make him promise that he will not take it ill, that his Wife go and walk through the Town, or visit her Neighbours, nay and drink Tary, a drink that the Indians of Golconda are extremely fond of " (*Travels into the Levant* ' Eng Trans of 1687, Pt III, p 97)

Manucci tells a story (which is too long to quote in his own words), of a Musalman from Persia who on being wantonly insulted by a Hindu, gave him a slap. The Hindūs then gathered in great numbers, beat him, bound him and carried him to Madanā Abū l-Hasan's Brahmin minister. The minister ordered the hand with which the blow had been given to be cut off. The Musalmān fried the severed hand in oil, showed it to Aurangzeb, and cried out that God had made him king " to redress injustice, such as this done to a Sayyid a descendant of the Prophet . . . He was told to be patient and in due time punishment would be inflicted, for the little respect paid by the tyrant to the chosen of God " Irvine, ' *Storia do Mogor*, ' Trans III, 131 2

The following dicta from the ' *Fatāwā-i-Ālimgiri* ' a

¹ This is borne out by what Khāfi Khān says, Elliot and Dawson, VII, 336. " He [Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah King of Golkonda] took great pains in repairing the fort of Golkonda. He had a wife named Bhāgmātī of whom he was very fond. At her request, he built a city two kos distant from the fortress, to which he gave the name of Bhāgnagar. Some time after the death of Bhāgmātī, the name was changed to Haidarabad, but in the vernacular language of the people it is still called Bhāgnagar. That woman had established many brothels and drinking shops in that place, and the rulers had always been addicted to pleasure and to all sorts of debauchery. Abū l-Hasan exceeded all his predecessors in his devotion to pleasure. So the city got an evil name for licentiousness. After the conquest by Aurangzeb it was called the hostile country (*dāru l-jihād*) "

work on Sunnī jurisprudence composed by a syndicate of scholars under the instructions of Aurangzeb himself are of interest. A *Dāru l harb* becomes a *Dāru l Islām* on one condition namely the promulgation of the edicts of Islam. The Imam Muhammad in his book called the *Ziyādah* says a *Dāru l Islām* again become a *Daru l harb* according to Abu Hanifah on three conditions namely (1) that the edicts of the unbelievers be promulgated and the edicts of Islam be suppressed (2) that the country in question be adjoining a *Daru l harb* and no other Muslim country lie between them that is *when the duty of Jihad or religious war becomes incumbent on it* and they have not the power to carry it on (3) that no protection (*aman*) remains for either a Muslim or a *ḥimmī* viz that *amānu lawāl* or that first protection which was given to them when the country was first conquered by Islam. *Fatāwā i Ālāmgarī* Vol II p 854 quoted in Hughes Dictionary of Islam p 69. See also Houtsma Encyclopaedia of Islam S V *Dāru l Harb*.

ارلحلاف, Seat of the Khilāfat (Caliphate) One of the strangest things about the issues of the first period of Akbar's reign is that this epithet is indiscriminately associated with the names of no less than thirteen mints Ahmadābad Akbarpur Tānda Āgra Awadh Bahraich Jaunpur Dogion Shahgarh Qanauj Gwāhar Gorakpūr Lahor Lakhnau and Malpur (?). It is not easy to understand why so many places of at best but second or third rate importance were given such an exalted appellation. There is something of the same confusion in the historians of the period. Āgra Dehli Pathpūr and Lahor are all promiscuously called *Daru l Khilāfat* and at the same time have other epithets of similar import but it is not carried to anything like the same length. Moreover all those four towns were or had been metropolitan centres in the real sense at some time during the reign. It is not easy to suggest an explanation and I can only cite a passage in the *Albarnā* in which appears to have some bearing on the matter. Writing of Humayūn's 'Return and Restoration' Abul Fazl says —

As the affairs of the Panjab had been happily arranged by the expedition of His Majesty the Shahinshah [i.e. the Prince Akbar] there His Majesty Jahānbanī [scil. Humayūn] remained in Dehli and employed himself in the work of political administration. He gave his attention to the reconstruction of the territories the extirpation of enemies and the conquest of other provinces. He repeatedly said that he would make several seats of government and labour for the regulation of Indra Dehli Āgra Jaunpur Māndu Lāhore Qanauj and other suitable places would be chosen and in every place there would be an army under the charge of a prudent far seeing subject cherishing and just officer so that there should be no

need for an auxiliary force. And he would not keep more than 12 000 horse attached to his own person. (Beveridge *Albarnāma* Trans I 642 Bibl Ind Text I 356)

The unhappy accident which befell him soon after his restoration put an end to this and many other magnificent projects so far as he was concerned but it is not impossible that the idea of having several seats of government [the word in the original is پای‌نصب] at Dehli Āgra Jaunpūr Mandū, Lahore Qanauj and other suitable places was seized with avidity by the highly receptive mind of his son who appears from the very first to have been troubled as Mr Lane Poole puts it with a perpetual restless yearning after innovation. (B M C Introd lxxi)

It is true that after the introduction of the Ilāhi types all these *Dārul Khilāfat*, *Dārul Saltanat* and the rest were swept off the board and are rarely found on the coins before the accession of Shah Jahan but while they were in vogue there appears to have been no small diversity and caprice in their application.

دارالحنو Abode of goodness felicity grace is observed on the coins in conjunction with Ajmer about the thirtieth year of Aurangzeb's reign but the epithet itself is really of much older origin and is coupled with the name of town in the *Bādīshāhnāma* of Abdu l Hamid Lahorī which appears to have been completed about the twentieth year of Shah Jahan (Bibl Ind Text I pt 1 163 174¹). Several other synonymous titles are bestowed upon the town by the historians e.g.

دارالبرک Abode of blessing

حظۀ نعلین صافی District of gracious foundation

دارالسعادت Abode of felicity or bliss

حظۀ مدارک Blessed district territory or place

in all of which there are clear allusions to the spiritual benefits accruing from pilgrimages to the tombs of Sharīḥ Muḥmūd dīn Chishtī and other holy persons reposing there. The tomb of the former—the Khwajā of Ajmer as he is generally called—is spoken of as

روضۀ قدسۀ Fabrigat i Akbari (Lakhnau lith) 291

روضۀ مقدسۀ Badaoni II 185

مروء مقدسۀ Badaoni II 49

¹ Muhammad Salih in his *Amal-i Salih* informs us that Abdu l Hamid was celebrated for the beauty of his style and that he died in 1063 H (1654 A D). Elliot and Dowson VII 3

مرقد مقدور 'Tab Akb' 256 Badaoni 'II 165
 مزار فاضل الانوار 'Badaoni' II 108 228, Tab Akb 348
 مزار مقدور فاضل الانوار } 'Badaoni' II 165

It is perhaps worth while to state that Kerbela (or Mashhad i Husain) a place of pilgrimage of the Shi'ite Moslems which is only less sacred to them than Mashhad i Ali and Mekka is called *ارض لحدیر* on the coins of the 'Abbasides Codrington 'Manual of Musalman Numismatics' 130

دارالسرور 'Abode of delight or enjoyment or gladness' first attracts the attention of the numismatist on the Burhan pūr coins of Bahadur Shah Shah Alam I but the epithet was really given to the town by Shah Jahan That Emperor had more than once chosen it for his residence when sent by his father to pacify and restore Mughal authority in the Dakhan and it was again his headquarters when he proceeded to the south in person to quell the rebellion of Khan Jahan Lodi The author of the *Amal i Salih* or *Shāhjahān nama* informs us that the Emperor made his official entry mounted on an elephant on the 22nd of Isfandarmaz of the second year (1039 A H) at an auspicious moment carefully selected by the astrologers He then proceeds thus —

و آن حظۀ پاک از ورود مسعود آبروی عالم آب و خاک آمده ارمون
 و دروم و فیض حضور آن حصرب دارالسرور خطاب اوب *

Bibl Ind Text 370 II 1 3

And that pure locality (*lit* district) became the pride (*lit* light of the countenance) of the world of land and water on account of his happy arrival, and obtained the title of *Dāru s Surur* from the blessing of the steps and the beneficence of the presence of His Majesty¹

Shah Jahan had moreover built here a palace for himself in the days when he was prince and the beauties of the gardens and fountains and hunting grounds of a suburb called

¹ Khāfi Khan has a similar statement of which the source was probably the *Shahjahān nama i Deh saleh* of Mirzā Amīna which he more than once refers to as his authority for the period (Text I 248)

و اول ماه حمادی الاحوی داخل برهانپور گردیده آن شهر را دارالسرور
موسوم کردند *

(Bibl Ind Text, I 424 II 20-21)

¹ And the Emperor [Shāh Jahān] entered Burhanpur in the beginning of Jamādī the second [1039 A H] and [ordered] that city to be called *Daru-s surūr*

Karāra which had been mainly laid out in accordance with his taste and instructions are frequently enlarged upon by the Mughal historians (*Amal-i-Sālih*, 395, *Bādīshāhnāma*, I, 131 2, I, ii, 134, 206, 'Khāfi Khān,' I, 520, 538)

It is not perhaps generally known that Bahadur Shāh Shah 'Ālam, I, had first seen the light of day at Burhānpūr, (*Bādīshāhnāma*, II, 343, Beale, *Miṭāhu-i-Tawārīkh*, 297, Irvine, Manucci, 'Storia di Mogor,' IV 245 n), and he may be not unreasonably supposed to have entertained some partiality for the town on that account. However that might be it is certain that he encamped there after defeating Kām Baksh.

Khāfi Khān informs us that the imperial tents were pitched in the environs of the *Dāru-i-Surur-i-Burhānpur* in Rajab [1121 A H], and that the Emperor had hopes of spending some time in pleasure and enjoyment, and hunting and roaming about in the *pleasances and waterfalls of the delightful abode of Karāra*, before devoting himself to the civil administration. But the Rajpūt troubles compelled him to leave his luxurious quarters in the beginning of Sha'abān [1121 A H] Bibl Ind Text, II 650.

دارالسرور occurs twice in the *Maṭīr-i-Ālamgīrī* and more than a dozen times in Khāfi Khān. The historian Badāoni speaks of the دارالسرور پیداور and also of دارالسرور وندپور. The last collocation is found in the '*Tabaqāt Akbarī*' as well as in the *Bādīshāhnāma* of 'Abdul Hamīd Lahorī.

During the days in which the Mughal Empire was no more than a name, this honorific epithet appears on the silver coins of a different town—Saharanpūr. These issues are most probably of Marāṭhī origin. The three rupees in the Panjab Museum are of the 36th, 39th and 42nd years of Shāh 'Ālam II (1209, 1212 and 1215 A H). The copper coins in the same collection are of the 39th, 40th and 44th years. The copper coins registered in the I M C are of the 33rd and 42nd years (1205 and 1215 A H). In his note on the mint, Mr H N Wright says that the district of which Saharanpūr was the principal town "had been acquired by Najīb Khān Rohilla and remained in his family for two generations" (I M C III,

¹ Burhānpur is now one of the largest and best-built cities in the Deccan. The Moghal remains are the Lāl Killa, or red fort, built by Akbar. Though much ruined, it has halls embellished with white marble gardens, pleasure grounds and other relics of imperial magnificence. Other Moghal remains are the *Ahu Khāna* or deer park on the south of the Tāptī and many small tombs and mosques. The Lāl Bāg two miles north of the town, one of the old Musalmān pleasure-places is kept in good order and used as a public garden. Under the Moghals, Burhānpur was plentifully supplied with water by a system of very skilful works. Eight sets of water works can still be traced in the neighbourhood. 'Bombay Gazetteer,' Vol XII (Khāndesh), 589-591.

Introd lxxv) But the coins under discussion belong to a somewhat later period. Najib Khān's grandson who was no other than the infamous Ghulam Qadir, was "mutilated and killed by Sindhiā in 1788, the country then fell into the hands of the Marāthās, and remained in their possession until the British conquest" in 1803-4, though their hold on it "was very precarious owing to the perpetual ruds made by the Sikhs" ('Imp Gaz' XXI 370)¹

"During the Augustan age of the Mughal Empire, Saha raupūr was a favourite resort of the court and the nobles who were attracted alike by the coolness of its climate and the facilities which it offered for sport. The famous Empress Nūr Mahal had a palace in the village which still perpetuates her memory by the name of Nūrnagar and under Shah Jahan the royal hunting seat of Badshah Mahal was erected by Ali Mardin Khan the projector of the Eastern Jumna Canal' (*Ibid*, XXI, 369). There is still excellent sport to be had in the district. It is also noted for the production of excellent fruit of European varieties and the botanical gardens in the city are among the finest in the country (*Ibid*, 368).

دارالسلام 'House of Peace' is in Arabic and Persian literature associated from very early times with the name of Baghdad. Mr Amir 'Ali informs us that the epithet ' was derived from a prophecy made by the astronomer royal Noubakht that none of the caliphs would die within the walls of the city, and the strange fulfilment of this prognostication in the case of thirty seven Caliphs" ('Life and Teachings of Mohammed,' ed 1899, p 543). It is not easy to say why it was chosen for the distinctive mint title of Dograon (986 A H). There can be no doubt of Dograon having been, at the time, a place of considerable commercial importance, and it could lay claim even then to a very respectable antiquity. In his informing article on the subject Major Vost conjectures that Dograon must have been founded in the thirteenth century. "As we are told" he writes "that Nāṣir u d dīn [Mahmūd] during his brilliant administration of this district made his power felt even in the hills and rendered Bahraich prosperous in the extreme it is not improbable that it was under his auspices that this town was established" (J S A B 1895, p 71). The fact of the matter is that we possess very good evidence of its being much older. The great Arab polyhistor Alberūnī writes (c 1030 A C) in the famous chapter of the *Tahqīq u l Hind* containing the 'Itinera

¹ 'On the reduction of Meerut, Rana Khan (Sindhia's general) led his army to Sehaunpore which place, on hearing the fate of Ghulam Qadir, submitted to the Marhatta authority, who from that time have remained undisturbed masters of the whole province. Franklin, 'History of the Reign of Shaw Aulum' ed 1798 p 184

ries of the distances between the several kingdoms' of the Hindūs ' Marching from Kanoj towards the east, you come to Barī, 10 farsakh, *Dugum* 45 farsakh, the empire of (Shilahat 10 farsakh, the town Bihat, 12 farsakh. Farther on, the country to the right is called Tilwat [Tirhut]. Opposite Tilwat the country to the left is the realm of Naipal ' (Sichau's Translation, I, 201) See also Elliot and Dowson I 56 57

But this does not explain why it was called *Dāru s salām* and there is no trace of the epithet in the historical literature

The prefix has been by some authorities, read as دارالسلام, but there is this to be said against the reading, that on most of the clearer specimens, only three *alifs* are discernible and not four. An immense proportion of the Sarkar of Bahraich was, in Akbar's days, dense forest ' with scattered settlements of Rajpūt clans here and there. It stretched far up into the Nepal Terāi and much of it was only nominally under Muslim rule ' (J Beames, ' On the Geography of India in the Reign of Akbar, Subah Avadh,' J A S B 1884, p 224) Bahraich, Dogion and the other towns where Muslim garrisons were permanently quartered, and where the imperial authority had been firmly established were thus دارالسلام as opposed to the hinterland—into which Islam had not yet effectively penetrated, and where the infidels continued to hold their own (دارالحرب) ² But then the epithet appears on the coins only about 986 A H, when Akbar's faith in Islam itself had been seriously shaken, and he was hardly likely to parade it on his coins. Perhaps the initial *alif* of دارالسلام was cut off and the epithet altered to دارالسلام ' House of Peace, Tranquility or Universal Toleration ' (صالح کل) for that very reason

Some copper coins of Humayūn bear the inscription دارالصلوة دارالحرب. The first half of the epithet stands in

¹ " *Dāru l Islām*, Abode of Islām, is a country where the ordinances of Islām are established and which is under the rule of a Muslim sovereign. Its inhabitants are Muslims and also non Muslims who have submitted to Muslim control, and who under certain restrictions and without the possibility of full citizenship are guaranteed their lives and property by the Muslim state ' Houtsma ' Encyclopaedia of Islām,' etc

So Badāonī writes that Sulaimān Karārānī the Ruler of Bengal had ' captured that mine of heathenism ' Katak Banāras and made Jagan nāth a *Dāru l Islām*. Bibl Ind Text II, 163. Lowe Tr II, 167

² So Badāonī speaks of the دارالحرب of Goranda and Konthal mer ' Text 228, 11. Lowe Trans II, 233. The people of Assam are called كندارالحرب by Khāfī Khān Text II 133 135. Sharabi دارالحرب Ibid II, 391 19, and Deccan it is دارالحرب Ibid II 539. See also II, 255 and 71, 2, 8

need of no explanation, but it is not easy to say why Jaunpūr is styled *حظہ مندر* 'blessed district'. I can only suggest that the reference is to the men of piety and learning who have found their last resting place in that city. Jaunpūr was during the rule of the Sharqi dynasty, one of the greatest and most magnificent cities in India. We are informed that even after the decline of its political importance, it retained its reputation as a seat of Muhammadan learning which had gained for it the title of "Shiraz of India" (Imp Gaz XIV 83). Some of the finest specimens of 'Pathan architecture are to be found in Jaunpūr which is strewn with the ruins of old Mosques and the mausoleums of famous theologians and doctors of the Law. Mystics or devotees, martyrs and confessors of Islam. According to Muslim ideas 'the soul in which a saint reposes is holy' (Blochmann Proceedings A S B 1874 p 160). Babur takes care to inform us that

Ghazni has many blessed tombs (Memoirs Trans A S Beveridge p 218). The author of the Provincial History of Gujrat, called *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi* devotes a long chapter to the "tombs [مزار] of the great men of the Faith who repose in the towns of Ahmadabad, Pattan Nahrwala, Broach etc (Bombay Lith, Part II 15-85). It may be fairly conjectured that the honorific *مندری* has reference to the numerous places of sepulture (مزار or مزارگاہ) which are described at length in the *Jaunpurnāma* of Iqbal Khairuddin Muhammad (Elliot and Dowson VIII, 237).

I may also add that the compiler of the *Maāsiru l-Umarā* speaks of the town in one place as دارالحکومت دہلی—a collocation which at once puts one in mind of دارالحکومت احمد (Op Cit I 179, l 11).

دارالظفر 'Abode of victory or triumph' is found by itself or in juxtaposition with Bijapūr in all the historians of the period after the conquest by Aurangzeb. The author of the *Maāsir-i-Ālamgiri* expressly tells us that "Ruhallā Khan received in the 30th year" orders to take charge of the administration and government of Bijapūr which [now] became the equal of the principal subas by the title of *Dāru z-zafar*.

روح اللہ خان مہممت نظم و نسق دہلی پور کہ دلب دارالظفر یا صوبعات

عہدہ مہمتر شدہ فرمان پدید گردید *

Bib Ind Text, 282, ll 8-9

I do not know if it has struck others but it has occurred to me that the epithet is really a sort of pun on the old name. Bijapūr is really *Vijayapura* and would mean 'City of victory' in Sanskrit. *Dāru z-zafar* signifies exactly the same in Arabic.

and was, perhaps, deliberately coined for the purpose of proclaiming the victory of not only the *arms* of Islām, but also of the *language* of Islam over that of the Hindūs

Orientalists do not think so meanly of verbal ingenuities and conceits of this sort as Europeans of the 20th century and there was a time when they were not uncommon in the literature of the most cultured Western nations Persian and Arabic prose and poetry are full of them and a felicitous pun, acrostic or chronogram rarely fails to command admiration even now in the literary circles of the East In the past, they have secured for their authors the companionship of great princes and sometimes honours, titles and great offices

One of the many mint titles of Āgra is درعدل, 'Abode of justice,' and the Emperor Humāyūn deserves the credit such as it is of having invented it There is nothing peculiar or characteristic in the epithet itself Even tyrants do not openly profess to be unjust, and every city in a well governed kingdom is or at least ought to be, the 'abode of justice' Humāyūn was a shiftless and ineffective ruler, but he was at the same time inordinately vain and almost devoured by self esteem It seems as if the appellation was designed to commemorate some act or innovation of which he was proud There is in the *Albarnāma* of Abū'l Fazl, a description of a somewhat theatrical device for publicly demonstrating his love of justice which may have some bearing on the point In the course of a chapter specially written for the purpose of giving an account of Humāyūn's 'Remarkable Inventions and Regulations, that writer says 'Another of his inventions was the drum of justice [طبل عدل] If the claim of any one related to some dispute he beat the drum once If his grievance consisted in the non receipt of stipend or wages he struck twice If his goods and chattels (*māl u jihāl*) had been seized by oppression or had been stolen, he complained by beating the drum thrice If he had a claim of blood against any one he beat the drum loudly four times' Beveridge, *Albarnamah*, Trans I 651 (Text I, 361)

The thing is mentioned also by the contemporary author, Khwāndmīr who was in Humāyūn's court at the time and has left behind a work entitled *Qānūn-i Humāyuni* (Ibīl, 641 note and 645-50 notes) Erskine too has referred to the matter, and it may be permissible to quote his remarks as they are not devoid of interest

'The drum of justice was another of his institutions borrowed from ancient tradition A huge drum being placed near the imperial tent or pavilion any one who suffered from injustice might claim redress by striking it according to certain rules and the Emperor himself attended to the appeal In early times, when law was very imperfectly and arbitrarily administered, and where complaints did not easily reach the ear

of the despot such an institution rude as it is or indeed any other professing to forward the means of redress was commendable and might be useful. But its revival in a more advanced age betrays an extreme want of legislative skill and it must be confessed that in this as in many other of Humayun's regulations that have been noticed there is a great want of plain practical sense a pedantic application of inapplicable learning and too great an appearance of playing at kings. (History of Baber and Humayun II 533-4)

I may add that the drum of justice is associated in Oriental tradition with the name of the Sassanian Emperor *Khusrū Anūshirvān* (Chosroes)

Jahangir takes great credit to himself in the *Tuzuk* for having revived in a slightly altered form the institution of his grandfather. After my accession the first order that I gave he writes was for the fastening up of the Chain of Justice so that if those engaged in the administration should delay or practise hypocrisy in the matter of those seeking justice the oppressed might come to this chain and shake it so that its noise might attract attention. Its fashion was this. I ordered them to make a chain of pure gold 30 gaz in length and containing sixty bells. One end of it they made fast to the battlements of the *Siāh Burj* of the fort at Agra and the other to a stone post fixed on the bank of the river. (*Tuzuk-i-Jahāngirī* Rogers and Beveridge Trans I 7) Mr Beveridge notes Du Jarric who got his information from missionary reports seems to imply that the chain was of silver and says that Jahangir was following the idea of an old Persian King. It is mentioned in the *Siyar al-Muta'akkirīn* (Reprint I 230) that Muhammad Shah in 1721 revived this and hung a long chain with a bell attached to it from the octagon tower which looked towards the river. (*Ibid*)

Sir H. Elliot confidently declares that Jahangir's chain does not appear to have been ever shaken and probably was never meant for anything but parade. The practice was a mere imitation of what was attributed to one of the early Chinese Emperors *Yu-tu*. Modern Universal History Vol VII p 206. And Rājā Anangpal had already done the same at Delhi. See extract from Mir Khusrū's *Anūl-Sipūr* supra Vol III p 560. Elliot and Dowson VI 262.

¹ Jahangir's bell of justice is described also by Captain Hawkins (Hawkins Voyages Hakluyt Society's Edition 1878 p 434) Man delso who was in India in 1638 and paid a visit to Agra has a similar account from which it would seem that the institution was kept up by Shah Jahan. (Travels into the East Indies Eng Trans of John Daves 2nd ed 1669 p 36) Manucci says that when Shah Jahan directed the empire officials walked so uprightly that in spite of the daily beating of the *baglam* to call into his presence anyone wanting to complain of having received an injustice months and months would pass

I have not found the epithet in juxtaposition with the name of Āgra in the histories.

قوس 'Abode of Victory,' is found on Aurangzeb's coins of Ujjain about 1073 A.H. Khāfi Khān has a statement on the subject which leaves little room for doubt as to the origin of the epithet. He tells us that soon after the defeat of Dūr's generals, Jaswant Singh and Qasim Khān, at Dharmāt pūr (seven kos from Ujjain) Aurangzeb bestowed upon ' Khwāja Kalān Khwāfi—the author's uncle—the substantive appointment of Diwān of Ujjain, *to which he now gave the name of Dārul Fath*, and the acting charge of the Subadār [of the province of Mālwa] on behalf (or in place) of the Prince [Murād Baksh]. "

But neither title reappears on the Dehli mintages of any of their successors. In the historical literature however در لکى دہلی occurs not only in Nizamu d din Ahmad Badaoni and Abul Iazl but in some of the later works e.g. *The Iqbalnāma* : *Jahāngirī Bādishāhnāma* etc.

The epithet on a copper coin of Fathpur dated 979 A H (see P M C Introd xc) was read as دارالصر by Rodgers. Mr Nelson Wright has pronounced the reading to be not convincing. The last word appears to him to be لصر. I venture to offer for what it is worth the suggestion that it is حصر, with perhaps دارالک prefixed to it.

حصرت دہلی is found once in the *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*. In his account of the 14th year of the reign (976-7 A H) Nizamu d din tells us that the Emperor resolved to make *Harat-i Fatipur* his capital and gave orders for the construction of a strong fort round the town.

حصرت دہلی را پای تخت قرار داد و لکے سنگس و دور شهر و مردود *

Lakhnu Lithograph 288 II 14 15

It is quite possible that the old epithet of the imperial town of Dehli was transferred at this time to the new metropolis. The last word of this epithet may perhaps be صرت (victory). It is very difficult to say what precedes it as so little of the latter has come on the coin.

در لکے—House of Victory (?) The tentative reading of the epithet on an Ajmer dam dated 979 A H is در لکے. The coin was first published by Rodgers (Ind Ant 1890 p 223 Pl II 29). He read the word in the second line of the obverse as در لکے but confessed his inability to make out the meaning of *mansur* and the letters above that word.

در لکے is Mr Nelson Wright's suggestion (I M C III No 308) but he is not sure of having correctly deciphered the title (Introd xxv) and does not attempt to explain its significance. Mr Whitehead also declares that the epithet has not been satisfactorily read (P M C Introd xxix).

¹ I ought perhaps to say that these words are susceptible of a very different interpretation. The sentence may be translated also —

His Majesty (حصرت) fixed on Fathpur as his capital and gave orders for the construction of a strong fort round the town.

In this connection, the fact that Jodhpūr which "first appears as a Mughal mint on rupees struck in the name of Ahmad Shāh is associated with the title *Dāru l Mansur* 'abode of victory'" (P M C lxxvii) is perhaps not devoid of interest. It is not easy to say why the Rathors selected *درا المنصور* as the distinctive appellation of their capital or what peculiar affinity existed between it and 'Victory'. Indeed I am not quite sure that the epithet is not susceptible of another interpretation.

مدصور, according to Steingass, signifies, 'aided defended protected (by God), triumphant victorious'. Thus *دارا المنصور* may also mean 'House or abode (or city) under Divine protection,' and it is scarcely necessary to say that, in that sense, it would be just the designation which we should expect to be chosen for Ajmer by Akbar. It may be also perhaps worthwhile to recall that Ajmer had belonged to the great Rathor prince Maldeo before it came into the possession of Akbar. It was jealously retained by the Mughals up to 1721 "when Ajit Singh son of Raja Jaswant Singh of Marwar took advantage of the decline of the Mughal empire, killed the imperial governor, and seized Ajmer. Muhammad Shah recovered the city, but ten years later he appointed Abhai Singh, the son of Ajit Singh, to be Viceroy of Ajmer and Ahmadabad, and from 1731 to 1750 the Rathor princes of Marwar ruled over Ajmer. A struggle for the succession led to the calling in of the Marathas, to whom Bijai Singh, the successful competitor, made over the fort and district of Ajmer as *mund latī* or 'blood money' for the murder of Jai Appa Sindhia, their general." From this time until its cession to the British in 1818, Ajmer was held by Sindhia except for about three years 1787-90 A C (Imp Gaz 'V 142). See also Tod, Rajasthan Calcutta Reprint, 'Annals of Marwar' Vol II Chap XIII, pp 950-965).

The earliest coin of Jodhpūr in the Panjab Museum is dated 1165 A H, 5 R (1752 A C). Can it be that the Rathors were familiar with the epithet on account of their connection with Ajmer and that they transferred it to Jodhpūr? Unfortunately, there is no evidence (except that of the still doubtful reading of the title on this Dam) of Ajmer having been generally known as *Dāru l mansur*.

The epithets *درا المنصور* and *درا المنصور* have been discussed by Mr A Master in Num Sup XVI, Art. 124 and I have nothing to add. Attention, however may be invited to the following passage in which the historian Firishta bears his testimony to Ahmadabad's title to be called the "Beauty or Ornament of Cities"

'The houses of Ahmudabad are in general built of brick and mortar and the roofs tiled. There are three hundred and sixty different mohullas each mohulla having a wall surrounding it. The principal streets are sufficiently wide to admit of ten carriages abreast. It is hardly necessary to add that this is on the whole *the handsomest city in Hindoostan and perhaps in the world*. Briggs Translation IV 14. The last sentence is thus expressed in the original

دیگر خصوصیات احمد آباد اگر گفته شود که در دعای هندستان آمده در

لکھنؤ عظم و آراستگی شهری موجود نشده مدالعه ندوده باشد *

(Lakhnau Lithograph II 183 II 18 19)

A European contemporary William Finch thus describes the city about 1611 A C

Amadabade or Amdavar is a goodly City and scituate on a faire River inclosed with strong walls and faire gates with many beautifull Turrets * * * * *The buildings comparable to any Cite in Asia or Africa* the streets large and well paved the Trade great (for almost every ten dayes goe from hence two hundred Coaches richly laden with Merchandise for Cambaya) the Merchants rich the Artificers excellent for Carving Paintings Inlayd Worles imbroydery with Gold and Silver Purchas His Pilgrimes' MacLehose's Reprint 1905 IV 63

The double epithet شهر معظم دار has been deciphered on some silver coins dated 981 A H which are most probably of the Ahmadabad Mint. The title شهر معظم has been read says Mr Whitehead on some copper coins struck by Muzaffir III of Gujarat in the years 977 and 978 but does not occur on any Mughal coin (P M C Introd xxxv)

It may be perhaps worthwhile to invite attention to the fact that this title is frequently coupled with the name of the town in the *Mirāt i Sikandar* a valuable history of Gujarat written about 1611 A C that is to say, in the reign of Jahangir. Shaikh Sikandar the author does not expressly say that it was bestowed upon it by Ahmad Shāh I but it occurs more than once in his description of the foundation of the city by that Sultan. The phrase شهر معظم also arrests attention in the verses composed in honour of the occasion by a contemporary poet named Halwī Shirāzī

به الهام عبدی بحکم اله • چندین آمد اندر دل پادشاه

که در آن رقص مروج هوا • کد دره شهر معظم بنا

Mirāt i Sikandar, Bombay lith 1831, p 25 II 56. The honorific is prefixed to the name of Ahmadabad in the *Mirāt* i 'Ahmadī also

Abū l Fazl's description of the city as it was even in his day is not undeserving of quotation "It is," he says, "a noble city in a high state of prosperity. For the pleasantness of its climate and its display of the choicest productions of the whole globe, it is almost unrivalled. It has two forts outside of which are 360 quarters of a special kind which are called *Porah*, in each of which all requisites of a city are to be found. At the present time, only 84 of these are flourishing. The city contains 1000 stone mosques each having two minarets and rare inscriptions." Jarrett, Trans 'Āin' II, 240

Champāner is styled شهر مكرم August or illustrious city, on some copper coins of Humāyūn dated 942 A H. The epithet is frequently met with, in conjunction with the name of the town, on the silver coins of Mahmūd Begada of Gujarāt from 895 to 904 A H. That ruler "raised a noble city at the base of the hill, bringing his ministers and court from Ahmadābād, made it his capital and styled it Mahmūdābād (sic) Champāner" (Imp Gaz ' X, 135). We have seen that Ahmadābād rejoiced in the designation شهر معظم Champāner or Muhammadābād, the rival capital, was now entitled شهر مكرم. Both these appendages are really "borrowed feathers." In Persian and Arabic literature, the commonest epithet of Makka is معظمه, that of the companion city of Medina, مكرمه. The Gujarāt Sultāns appear to have transferred these honours to their favourite foundations. The prefix مكرم occurs in Abū Turab Wali's 'History of Gujarāt'.

اردوی طبر قریب The Lāhor Museum possesses a Shāh rukht of Bābur having the simple mint name اردو 'Camp' but the honorific *Zafarqarīn* is found in conjunction with it for the first time only on the mintages of his grandson. The earliest coins are dated 984 A H, and there are also a few square rupees and copper coins without a date. Excepting these, all Akbar's issues from the 'Camp associated with Victory' until the thirty fifth year of the reign purport to be of 1000 Hijri, and the date on all of them is not expressed as usual in Persian words or numerals, but by the Arabic vocable الف. This fact has given rise to numerous speculations, and Mr Lane Poole thinks it possible that "the name Urdu Zafar karīn may possess some mystical import," and may 'bear some such signification, in the mystical phraseology of the Shi'ah, as 'Camp of the approaching triumph of the Faith'." (B M C In). Mr Whitehead does not go so far, but declares that "the phrase was coined by Akbar." A study of Persian

historical literature shows that neither of these surmises is well-founded. Phrases having the same import as *Urdū*: *Zafarnāma* occur very frequently in several standard histories which were written long before the birth of Akbar. In the 'Zafarnāma' of Sharfu-d-dīn 'Alī Yazdī, a contemporaneous glorification of Tīmūr (written in 1424 A C, *Vide* E D III 478), I have noted the following synonymous expressions

اردوی اعلیٰ 'Zafarnāma,' Bibl Ind Edition, I, 342, 406, 413, 419, II, 164, 208, 215, 336, 349, 643

اردوی طغر مگان *Ibid*, II, 426

اردوی گنہاں پوی II 90, 315, 318, 324, 346, 353, 354, 358, 373, 375, 378, 399, 459, 498, 512, 515, 556, 561, 570

اردوی ہمایون II, 258, 282, 335, 381, 504, 550, II, 10, 154, 227, 244, 377, 437, 491, 523, 567

رایت طغر قرص II, 52, 87, 480

معسکر طغر آستان II, 63

معسکر طغر پداہ I, 78, 140, 197, 199, 419, 552, II, 30, 42, 45, 47, 49, 57, 58, 87, 92, 171, 264

معسکر طغر قرص I, 529, II, 32, 60, 129, 150, 221, 266, 291, 313, 345, 378, 380, 398, 399, 421, 464, 468

معسکر طغر مآب I, 324, II, 96, 127, 540

معسکر ہمایون I, 83, 197, 261, 296, 335, 339, 376, 465, II, 59, 62, 73, 82, 174, 349

موکب طغر قرص I, 253, 311, 360, 568; II, 12, 65, 77, 82, 134, 186, 191, 223, 238, 348, 359, 372, 464, 500, 505, 516, 574, 638

Similar locutions occur frequently in the 'Rauzat u Safā' of Mirkhwānd and the 'Habibu s Siyar' of Khwandmir, as will appear from the following —

اردوی اعلیٰ 'Rauzat u Safā' (History of Tīmūr and his Descendants), Bombay Lithograph, VI, 23, 68, 84

اردوی حبان پوی 'Rauzat,' *Ibid*, 86, 114

اردوی کبہاں پوی 'Habibu s siyar' (Bombay Lithograph, History of Tīmūr, III, iii, 39, 298)

اردوی طغر نشان 'Rauzat,' *Ib*, 204, 'Habib,' *Ib*, 31

اردوی نصرت قرص 'Rauzat,' *Ibid*, 87

اردوی نصرت نشان 'Habib,' *Ib*, 32, 324

اردوی همایون 'Rauzat.,' *Ib.*, 47, 68, 76, 116; 'Habib.,' 20, 42, 47, 109.

مختیم اقبال 'Rauzat.,' *Ib.*, 88, 97.

معسکر اقبال مآل 'Habib.,' *Ib.*, 36

معسکر ظفر اثر 'Habib.,' *Ib.*, 22, 58, 269.

معسکر ظفر پناه 'Rauzat.,' *Ib.*, 86.

معسکر ظفر قرین 'Rauzat.,' VII, 20; 'Habib.,' III, iii 50

معسکر فیروزی اثر 'Rauzat.,' *Ib.*, 110

معسکر همایون 'Habib.,' *Ib.*, 47, 50, 56, 57, 59

مکعب ظفر قرین 'Rauzat.,' *Ib.*, 104; 'Habib.,' *Ib.*, 37

مکعب همایون 'Rauzat.,' *Ib.*, 87, 89, 103, 205; 'Habib.,' *Ib.*, 20, 25, 41, 72, 116

A glance at the passages referred to must convince every one that the phrase cannot possibly have anything 'mystical' about it. It may or may not be thought easy to say what was intended to be conveyed by the word لف, but it is quite certain that neither Akbar nor Abūl Fazl was responsible for coining the expression. I have found it in the *Tārīkh-i-Firūz-shāhī* of Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif, a contemporary history of Sulṭān Firūz Shāh Tughlaq. In his account of the "mistake made by Khwāja-i-Jahān Ahmad Ayāz in setting up the son of the late Sulṭān Muhammad Shāh," the writer says:—

دفل است که چون خواجه جهان اخبار دولت سلطان شدید بر غلط خود
تاسف بسیار خورد و در هر دو لشکر اخبار مختلف مذکور میشد که خواجه
جهان بر آن قوار داده که چون لشکر سلطان بدعلی رسد امرا که در اردوی
ظفر قرین اند انواع آنها را در پله معتدق نهادند خواهد انداخت *

Bibl. Ind. Edition, 53-4.

Unfortunately the passage is differently worded in some manuscripts, which have لشکر instead of ظفر قرین, and it would appear from Dowson's translation that his copy also had لشکر (Elliot and Dowson, III, 280). It is possible that the two words were interpolated by some copyist, but no such doubts can attach to the following quotation from Khwāndmīr's account of Bābur in the 'Habibu-s-Siyar.'

در آن منزل امیر سلطان احمد قراول که پدر کوچ بیک و بعد از واقعه
میرزا بایندر را برادران و کوچ و متعلقان از قرائین متوجه اردوی ظفر قرین
گشته بود نزد سالت بومی استفاد یافت *

Bombay Lithograph III in 295 four lines from foot

'In that place (*lit* stage in travelling) Amir Sultan Husain Qarawal, the father of Quchi Beg who had after the murder (*lit* accident calamity) of Baisanqar left Qaratigin with his brothers family and dependants and turned his face towards "the Camp associated with Victory" acquired the honour of kissing the carpet [of Babur]'

This passage leaves no room for doubt that the phrase itself has nothing peculiar or mystical about it and that it is much older than Akbar or Albar's religious innovations. The Mongols of the Golden Horde and of Persia had struck coins at اردو الحسد and اردو تارار and اردو المعظم. Ottoman mintages of اردو هيماون are also known (Codrington *Musalman Numismatics* 136).

Timur himself سیر (Sir) Clements R. Markham was of the race of Turkish wanderers. His countrymen lived in tents loved the wandering lives of warlike shepherds better than the luxury and ease of cities and even in the countries which they had conquered preferred an encampment in the open plains to a residence in the most splendid palaces. (Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timur' *Introduct p viii*)¹

The Imperial dwelling, or residence thus came to be called اردو (or معسكر) even when it was not under tents but in a marble palace and then all sorts of complimentary epithets like اردو هيماون and اردو ظفر ورس معلی اعلى were affixed to it. The Mongols of the Golden Horde were so called merely because Batü the grandson of Jenghiz (Changiz) Khan established himself in his magnificent tent (Sir Orda Golden Camp) at Sarai on the Volga.

The Urdu mintages of the Mongols are well known and Sharfuddin the biographer of Timur informs us that the income from the دار امرب اردو اعلى the Mint of the Exalted Camp was six hundred thousand *Dinār Kabūkī* soon after the sack of Damascus by that conqueror (*Zafarnāma* Bibl Ind Text II 336 ll 89). There is little or no difference between

¹ The following extract from the Voyage to East India of Edward Terry Sir Thomas Roe's chaplain shows that this taste for camp life was inherited by Timur's descendants the Indian Mughals and throws useful light on the real meaning of such expressions as *Muskar* and *Iqbal* and *Urd* and *Zafargarān*.

All the great men there live a great part of the year in which the months are more temperate (as from the middle of September to the middle of April) in tents pavilions or moveable habitations which according to their fancies they remove from place to place changing the air as often as they please. *Op Cit* Edit 1777 p 170

ابلی and 'روی و عرقی' and there can be little doubt that in both cases the reference is to what Abūl Fazl calls the *مراکز حصر*, the mint establishment which accompanied the monarch on his progresses and expeditions.

'Of happy foundation' is found inscribed for the first time on the Haidarābād coins of Shāh 'Alam I. There can be no doubt that the new title was invented by Bahādur Shāh himself. Khāfi Khān explicitly says as much.

حکم موجود کہ حیدر آباد را بعد از تاسیس شهر خاد مکی دارالحکام

می نوشتند مرچاد دیار حیدر آباد می نوشتند باشد.

Text, II, 646 ll 1-5

"He [said the Emperor] gave orders that Haidarābād which had been after its conquest in the days of Khuldimakīn [the after death title of Aurangzeb] written *Dārul-Jihād* should *forthwith* be styled *Farkhunda bunyād* : Haidarābād."

The alteration is not perhaps difficult to account for. The battle in which Kīmabakhsh had been defeated and killed in Zil Qa'ada 1120 A.H. had been fought within three kos of Haidarābād that is to say, in the immediate vicinity of the city (Khāfi Khān II 621). That battle had removed the last of his rivals, and the place had been truly *of good omen* to him. Shāh 'Alam Bahādur had, it must be remembered none of the zeal or bigotry of his father. The epithet *Dārul-Jihād* must have seemed to him needlessly offensive and provocative of the hostility of his Hindū subjects.¹ Besides, it was now nearly twenty years since the capital of the Qutbshahi rulers had become a part of the Empire. The infidel customs and other innovations which its irreligious or heretical sovereigns had introduced "had been long since rooted out. The two most important cities in the Southern Subas were Aurangābād and Haidarābād. His father had given the former the distinctive appellation, *Khujista bunyād* in grateful remembrance of the fact of that city having witnessed, as it were, the beginning of his fortunes. Haidarābād had, in like manner proved to be auspicious to himself, and he must have naturally felt inclined to devise some title differing in form from and at the same time having the same import as the designation of the rival

¹ Mr. Jane Poole has done justice to this side of the Emperor's character. "He was then (i.e. at his accession) a man of sixty-four, naturally of a conciliatory and merciful disposition, the blood he drew from his Hindu mother made him benignant to his Indian subjects and should have recommended him to his kin men, the refractory Rājputs. His philosophical studies indeed laid him open to the charge of being too much of a Hindu for the approbation of honest Muslims." (B.M.C. Introd. xxxiii)

There is nothing honorific about them, and every one of them may, with perfect propriety, be applied to and is actually found in conjunction with a score at least of Indian toponyms

مستقرالخلافت 'Resting-place of Empire' attracts notice as the distinctive title of Akbarābād on the coins, only about the 30th year of Aurangzeb's reign, but the epithet is often used for Āgra, or actually associated with the name of the town in the contemporary chronicles of the reigns of Shāh Jahān, Jahāngir and even Akbar

At some time in the first year of his reign, Bahādur Shāh, Shāh Ālam I, appears to have introduced a change Akbarābād was henceforth to be called مستقرالملک and its own appellation مستقرالخلافت was to be transferred to Ajmer. This was probably done when the Emperor was encamped at or in the near neighbourhood of that town on account of the troubles in Rājputāna.

Ajit Singh of Jodhpūr had "after the death of Aurangzeb," writes Khāfi Khān, "again showed his disobedience and rebellion by oppressing Musalmāns, forbidding the killing of cows preventing the summons to prayer, razing the mosques which had been built after the destruction of the idol-temples in the late reign, and repairing and building anew idol-temples. He warmly supported and assisted the army of the Rānā of Udipūr, and was closely allied with Rāja Jaisingh, whose son-in-law he was. He had carried his disaffection so far that he had not attended at Court since the accession. On the 8th [7th in text] Sha'abān [1st year], the Emperor marched to punish this rebel and his tribe, by way of Amber the native land of Jaisingh" Elliot and Dowson, VII. 404-5. The camp is expressly said to have been between Ajmer and Chitor when the month of Ramazān arrived.¹ Text, II, 606, ll. 2-3. The Emperor was at Ajmer itself soon afterwards, and paid the customary imperial visit to the shrine of the 'great Khwāja' *Ibid.*, 608, ll. 18-20

He appears to have stayed there for some time, and left only when the hostile proceedings of Kām Bakhsh and the near approach of the rainy season rendered it necessary to march forthwith to the Dakhan *Ibid.*, 616, ll. 4-5. It may, I think, be reasonably conjectured that the earliest coins of

¹ Some interesting 'Mughal Farmāns, Parwānahs and Sanads have been recently published in facsimile with text and translations by the Reverend H. Felix. One of these documents is addressed to "the present and future collectors of the Jizya in the Sūbas of Mustaqirru-l-Mulk and Dārul-Khilāfat and is dated the 14th of the blessed Ramazān in the first year of the exalted accession" [1119 A H] In two other papers also the صورة مستقرالملک اکبرآباد is expressly mentioned. *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*. Vol. V (1915), pp. 32, 33, 35.

مسند الخلافت احمد were struck when the imperial head quarters were at or in the vicinity of the town. The recrudescence of the Rajput troubles compelled him to leave Burhanpūr in Sha'abān 1121 A H and he was again at Ajmer for some months in the next year. Then the insurrection of the Sikhs drove him to the Panjab and his camp was pitched at Lahor in Jumādī I 1122 A H where it remained till his death in Muharram 1124 A H.

مسند الملک continued to be the epithet of Akbarabad in the reign of Jahandar and the first four years of Farrukhsiyar. Some time in the 5th year of the latter another change took place. Its old epithet مسند الخلافت was restored to Akbarabad and Ajmer was deprived of it and ordered to be called دارالعتبر as before. مسند الملک itself was transferred to Azimabad (Patna). But there was for some time a certain amount of confusion and on the coins of the 3rd 4th and 5th years Akbarabad and Azimabad are both styled مسند الملک (P M C Nos 2163 6 and 2230 33).

‘Resting place of sovereignty’ مسند الملک. We have seen that when Ajmer was entitled مسند الخلافت, Akbarabad came to be called مسند الملک. When their old titles were restored to Akbarabad and Ajmer مسند الملک remained inappropriate and was available for transference to some other town. The imperial choice descended upon Azimabad (Patna) and the reason of the same is not difficult to divine.

Khafī Khān informs us that when Azimushshan was summoned to court some time before the death of Aurangzeb his son Farrukhsiyar was left behind as his deputy in Bengal. The latter remained there in that capacity during almost the entire reign of Shāh Alam I. In the fifth year he was ordered to hand over the administration of the Province to Izzudaula Khan, Ikhān Bahadur and proceed to Court. Arriving in Patna he made a halt and put forward his want of means and the approach of the rainy season as excuses for delay.

دس من مصی درویشان ریاضی دار نانغای محمد ربيع نام حکم کہ
ار علم بدختم درویش و امر داشت محمد فرج سدر را از مرده نصیب شدن
نصب در دمان سر زمین مشر صاحب و سلطه بدش آمدن خود صاحبند این
معنی و ناده باعث توقف و مکث او در آن صلح گردید *

Bibl Ind Text II 708 II 5 10

At this conjuncture several Dervishes acquainted with the mathematical sciences together with a physician

named Muhammad Rafī, who also possessed a considerable knowledge of astrology, imparted to Farrukhsiyar the glad tidings of his being destined to [ascend] the throne *in that very spot* ['Azīmabād Patna], and they made this the means of their own advancement. This information induced him to stay and delay longer in that *zillā*."

Once more he writes

و در میان امام حدر رحلت بهادر شاه نادرشاه این جہاں فانی بروص
حارثی رسید و محمد فتح سیر بعد از اسماعیل این حدر بدون تحقیق از فصل
مقدمہ میان برادران حطہ نام عظیم الشان خواندہ سکہ باسم پدر دہ برای
رساندن خود بعد عظیم الشان را ہمرایان مصلحت نمود. بعضی درویشان دنیا
طلب و محمد رفع مہم مایع آمدہ گفتند کہ حرکت تو ازین مکان صحت
نشان ندون انکہ خود در اینجا صاحب سکہ و حطہ شوی صلاح دولت نیست *

Ibid, II 710, ll 13-19

'About the same time, the news of the departure of the Emperor Bahadur Shah from this transitory world to the Garden of Eternity arrived. Muhammad Farrukhsiyar had the *khutba* read in the name of 'Azīmushshān and come struck with his father's titles [immediately] on the receipt of these tidings, without ascertaining the result of the contest between the brothers. He then sought the advice of his associates about [the wisdom of] of going to the assistance of Azīmushshān. Some worldly Dervishes and Muhammad Rafī the astrologer, forbade it and said 'It is not advisable for you (*lit* not in the best interests of your good fortune or Empire) to move at all from *this spot of auspicious character* until you have yourself been proclaimed (*lit* become) the Lord of the *khutba* and the *sikka*.'

Subsequently the historian tells us that on learning of the death of his father, he had the *Khutba* read and come struck in his own name at 'Azīmabād in the beginning of Rabi'ul awwal corresponding to the second decade of Irfardin 1123 AH (*Ibid*, II, 711, ll 10-13. See also Irvine 'Later Mughals' J A S B 1896, pp 171-2. The correct year is 1124 AH.)

In a word the prophecy of the 'worldly Dervishes and Muhammad Rafī the astrologer' had somehow come to be true. Farrukhsiyar was crowned at Patna in the *tāgh* or garden known as Afzal Khāns (Irvine *loc cit* 172) and ultimately did become Emperor. The city had been thus unmistakably associated with the rise of his fortune. Here his power had first taken root and it had been the first dwelling place of his kingdom. The epithet finds no place in the historians.

PART II

In the preceding pages I have tabulated the descriptive or honorific epithets which arrest attention on the coins of the Mughal Emperors of India and attempted to throw some light on the origin of the most characteristic and remarkable of those appellations. We have now to inquire if similar titles are associated with the names of the mint towns in the authoritative annals of the dynasty. In other words we have to ascertain how far the numismatic evidence is in agreement or conflict with the historical. It is scarcely necessary to say that for the purposes of this investigation we can rely only on the contemporary chronicles of the Indian Mughals which have been published.

I have already observed that the number of the prefixes which figure on the mintages of the first two Emperors is very limited and that they make their appearance only on the issue in copper. We naturally turn for light to Babur's famous *Memoirs* but they are really written in Turki and to judge from Mrs Beveridge's excellent translation the imperial autobiographer rarely makes use of these flourishes. The only exceptions would seem to be in reference to Delhi and Jaunpur to both of which the designation Capital (د دار لای) is once or twice prefixed (A S Beveridge *op cit* 481 521).

There is little or nothing to be learnt on the subject from Stewart's translation of the 'Memoirs' of Humayun's ex-bearer Jauhar. We have therefore to make use of the accounts of Nizamu d din Ahmad and Abul Fazl though strictly speaking they were not contemporaries. For the reign of Akbar however in which these epithets first come into general vogue the *Tabaqāt i Akbari* of Nizamu d din the *Muntakhabu l Tauarikh* of Badayuni the *Albarnama* of Abul Fazl and the *Tarikh i Gujarat* of Abu Turab Wali furnish ample materials for comparison. The coins of Jahangir exhibit but two prefixes and a solitary suffix but it is clear from the unimpeachable testimony of his own *Tuzuk* and the *Iqbāl-nama i Jalangiri* of Mu'atamad Khan (written 1040 A H) that these honorific designations still held their ground in literature and official correspondence. A long list of the titles which were current in the reign of Shah Jahan can be put together from the *Bādshāh-nāma* of Abdul Hamid Lahori. The *Ālam-jirnama* of Muhammad Kazim the *Ma'āsir i Ālamgiri* of Muhammad Saqi Mustaid Khan and the second volume of the *Muntakhabu l Lubāb* of Khwafi Khan furnish the same sort of information for the half century during which the destinies of Hindustan were entrusted by Providence to Aurangzeb. The last four hundred pages of that volume are occupied with the history of Aurangzeb's successors up to Muhammad Shah. The contemporary chronicles of the last

three puppets of the House of Timūr are still in manuscript but the period itself is not of any great interest or importance from the point of view under consideration.

A list of all the Honorific Epithets associated with the names of towns in these historical works is given below with references to the page and volume, so as to make it easy for anyone who can read Persian to verify them.¹

It may be perhaps necessary to add that all the references are to the Bibliotheca Indica editions except in two cases. The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* has been available only in the Lakhnau lithograph and the *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī* in the 'Aligarh text of Sayyad Aḥmad Khān.

Wāqī'āt-i-Bāburī.

دارالملک Jaunpūr, Dehli.

Tabaqāt-i-Akbari.

Bābur.

دارالسلطنت (Jaunpūr), دارالامان (Āgra, Kābul); دارالسلطنت (Āgra); ظفرقرین (Dehli and Jaunpūr); دارالملک (Urdū), Akbar.

دارالخلافت (Āgra, Fathpūr); خطہ مبارک (Ajmer); حضرت (Fathpūr, Lāhor); دارالسلطنت (Ahmadābād, Fathpūr, Lāhor); دارالسلطنت (Fathpūr); دارالملک (Dehli), دارالملک حضرت (Tānda, Dehli); ظفرقرین (Urdū); مکہ مشرفہ (Ahmadābād); شہر معظم.

Badāonī.

دارالحرب (Goganda and Konbhalmer); حضرت (Ajmer, Dehli); دارالخلافت (Āgra); دارالسلطنت (Peshāwar, Fathpūr); دارالملک (Tānda, Dehli); ظفرقرین (Urdū); مکہ معظمہ.

Akbarnāma.

Bābur.

دارالسلطنت (Āgra); دارالخلافت (Āgra); حضرت (Dehli); دارالملک (Āgra, Dehli).

¹ I ought perhaps to say that I have not thought it worthwhile to swell these pages with references to the hundreds of passages in which such epithets as

حصن - حصار - چکله - تعلقه - پرگده - بندر - بلده - اولکے - قصده - صلح - موہدہ - شہر - سرکار - ساحت - ولایت - موضع - ملک - دیار - خطہ - معمورہ - عرصہ

etc., are found in juxtaposition with the names of places

Humayūn

در لعلی (Dehli Kabul) در السلطنت (Āgra) دار الحکومت
(Dehli Kabul) ظفر قری (Urdū)

Akbar

Ajmer Jaunpur (Ajmer) حظه دلکشای (Ajmer) حضرت دگالہ دلکواہ
ر لالہ (Ajmer) حظه و نص بخش (Ajmer) حظه و نص ساس (Dehli)
(Ajmer) در لعلی (Kabul) دار لعلی (Fathpūr Kabul)
(Dehli Fathpur) دار السلطنت (Āgra Fathpur) در لعلی
(Agra Tanda Dehli) در لعلی (Kabul) دار لعلی (Lahor)
ظفر قری (Ajmer) شهر و نص بہر (Kabul) در لعلی (Lahor)
(Urdū) عرصہ دلکشای (Bangala Bihar Kabul Kashmir Lahor)
عرب آباد (Pattan Nahrwala) عرصہ دلکشای شهر (Hindūstan)
(Chitor) قلعه و نص ساس (Kabul) عرصہ سواہی (Fathpūr Kabul)
(Bangala) ملک دلکشای مکہ معظمہ معسکر و نص دلکشای (Kashmir)

Abu Turab Walī (*Tarikh i Cujarāt*)

(Fath) در لعلی (Ahmadabad) دار الحکومت (Dehli) حضرت
(Urdū) ظفر قری (Muhammadabad i e Chanpāner) شهر مکر (Fathpūr)
مکہ معظمہ مکہ مشرق

Tuzuk i Jalāngiri

در لعلی (Kashmir) حظه حب طبر (Kashmir) حظه دلکشای
(Āgra Dehli) در السلطنت (Āgra Dehli) در لعلی (Ajmer Dehli)
گلر و نص بہر (Urdū) ظفر قری (Dehli) دار لعلی (Lahor)
معسکر و نص (for Āgra) مسدود الحکومت (Kashmir)

Iqbāl-nama Jahangiri

ہشت نظر (Kabul) بلاد خارج (Burhanpur Mandū) بلاد مددہ
در لعلی (Kashmir) حظه دلپذیر (Kashmir) حب نظر (Kashmir)
در السلطنت (Ajmer Dehli) دار الحکومت (Ajmer)
گلر و نص بہر (Urdū) ظفر قری (Dehli) دار لعلی (Lahor)
معسکر و نص (Kashmir)

Bādīshahnāma

حظه دلکشای (Kashmir) حظه دلپذیر (Kashmir) حظه و نص
در لعلی (Ajmer) دار لعلی (Ajmer) حظه و نص ساس (Ajmer)
(Kashmir) در لعلی (Albarabad Āgra Shahjahanabad)
(Ajmer) در لعلی (Fathpūr) دار لعلی (Ajmer) در لعلی

دارالسلطنت (Lāhor)؛ دارالعلم (Shīrāz)؛ دارالملک (Dehli, Kābul)؛
مدینه مکرّمه؛ مدینه طیبہ؛ کشمیر جنت نظیر (Ajmer)؛ شہر کرامت بہر
ہندوستان؛ مکہ معظمہ؛ معسکر اقبال (Akbarābād)؛ مستقر الخلافت
بہشت نشان.

‘Ālamgīrnāma.

بلد فیض بنیاد (Ajmer, Burhanpūr, Multān)؛
بلد مبارکہ (Aurangābād)؛ بلد فیض بنیاد (Aurangābād)؛ بلد ناخرہ
(Burhānpūr)؛ حصن فلک اساس (Daultābād)؛ حصن سپہر بنیاد (‘
(Aurangābād)؛ خطہ دلکشی (Aurangābād)؛ خطہ دولت بنیاد (Aurangābād)؛
(Multān)؛ دارالامان (Aurangābād)؛ خطہ فیض بنیاد (Aurangābād)؛
(Lāhor)؛ دارالسلطنت (Shāhjahānābād)؛ دار الخلافت
(Multān)؛ شہر کرامت بہر، دولت آباد فیض بنیاد (Kābul)؛
(Daulatābād, Shāhjahānābād, Gwālīār)؛ بنیاد
(Gwālīār)؛ کشمیر دلپذیر؛ کشمیر جنت نظیر؛ کشمیر بہشت نظیر
(Akbarābād)؛ مستقر الخلافت؛ مکہ معظمہ؛ بہشت نشان
ہندوستان؛ فیض مکان.

Maāsir-i-‘Ālamgīrī.

دارالامان (Aurangābād)؛ حُجستہ بنیاد (Sūrat)؛ بندر مبارک
(Shāhjahānābād)؛ دار الخلافت (Haidarābād)؛ دارالجمہاد (Multān)؛
(Lāhor)؛ دارالسلطنت (Burhānpūr)؛ دارالسرور (Ajmer)؛ دارالخیر
مدینہ مشرقہ؛ کشمیر جنت نظیر (Kābul)؛ دارالملک (Bijāpūr)؛ دار الظفر
ہندوستان؛ مکہ معظمہ (Akbarābād)؛ مستقر الخلافت؛ مدینہ منورہ
بہشت نشان.

Khāfi Khān (Vol. II).

دارالجمہاد (Aurangābād)؛ حُجستہ بنیاد (Sūrat)؛ بندر مبارک
(Shāhjahānābād)؛ دار الخلافت (Haidarābād)؛ (Fathpūr)؛
(Bijāpūr)؛ دارالظفر (Lāhor)؛ دارالسلطنت (Ajmer)؛ دارالخیر
(Balkh)؛ قبۃ الاسلام (Haidarābād)؛ فرخندہ بنیاد (Ujjain)؛ دارالفتح
ہندوستان؛ بہشت نشان؛ مشہد مقدس (Akbarābād)؛ مستقر الخلافت
مکہ متبرکہ؛ مکہ معظمہ.

Shāh ‘Ālam Nāma. (Incomplete).

(Ghulām ‘Āli Khān).

مستقر (Lāhor)؛ دارالسلطنت (Shāhjahānābād)؛ دار الخلافت
(Akbarābād)؛ معسکر اقبال.

اردوی ظفر قرین ‘Tab. Akb.’ (Bābur), 182, 183, 184, 186.

„ „ (Humāyūn), 197.

„ „ (Akbar), 253, 265, 284.

'Bad' (Akbar), II, 115

'Ak̄b Nām' (Humāyūn), I, 327.

" " (Akbar), II, 62, 324, III
105

'Abū Turāb Wālī,' 72

'Tūz Jah' 31, 169 171, 177, 245, 288,
291, 356

'Iqb Nām' 136

اورنگ آباد قلعہ بنیاد 'Ālam Nām' 84, 925

ملکہ آراء 'Mirāt-i Ahmadi,' Bombay Lithograph
A H 1306, Vol II, 1

ملکہ طیبہ احمدیہ 'Ālam Nām' 119

ملکہ طیبہ درہان پور 'Iqb Nām,' 99

'Ālam. Nām,' 1027, 1051

ملکہ طیبہ ملتان 'Ālam Nām' 210, 217

ملکہ طیبہ مدور 'Iqb Nām' 100

ملکہ فخریہ اورنگ آباد 'Ālam Nām,' 1020

ملکہ فخریہ کابل 'Iqb Nām,' 249

ملکہ قلعہ بنیاد اورنگ آباد 'Ālam Nām,' 1084

ملکہ مبارک درہان پور 'Ālam Nām,' 48, 50, 56

ملکہ مبارک صورت 'Maās 'Ālam,' 331 482

'Kh Kh' II, 249

ملکہ دلخواہ 'Ak̄b Nām,' III, 168

ملکہ نظیر کشمیر 'Iqb Nām,' 213

ملکہ نظیر کشمیر 'Iqb Nām,' 127.

ملکہ مہر بنیاد دولت آباد 'Ālam Nām,' 190.

ملکہ قلعہ اساس رہتاس 'Ālam Nām,' 455

ملکہ حضرت احمدیہ 'Bad,' II, 134

'Ak̄b Nām,' II, 154

ملکہ حضرت دہلی 'Ak̄b Nām.' (Bābur), I, 98

'Bad' II, 62, 254

'Abū Turab,' 97

ملکہ حضرت فتحپور (?) 'Tab Ak̄b,' 288

ملکہ حسنہ بنیاد 'Maās. Ālam,' 235, 237, 243, 330, 336,
344, 347, 383, 393, 396, 397, 439,
441, 461, 470, 473, 483, 493, 496,
511, 515, 523

'Kh. Kh.,' II, 5, 10, 113, 119, 178,
198, 200, 205, 207, 247, 248, 270

274, 280, 315, 377, 413, 442, 475

527, 549, 572, 581, 582, 583, 605,

626, 648, 649, 728, 742, 743, 752,

777, 778, 790, 794, 796, 797, 857,
871, 885, 896, 936, 942, 950, 951,
952, 953, 960.

خطہ بی نظیر کشمیر 'Bād Nām,' I, ii, 4.

خطہ دلپذیر کشمیر 'Iqb. Nām,' 213, 224, 290.

'Bād. Nām.,' I, ii, 48.

II, 125.

'Ālam Nām.,' 814, 878

خطہ دلکشای اجہیر 'Akb. Nām,' III, 80, 110, 166, 191.

'Bād Nām.' I, i, 134.

خطہ دلکشای اورنگ ناد 'Ālam. Nām.,' 40, 41.

خطہ دلکشای حوانپور 'Akb. Nām.,' III, 105, 281

خطہ دلکشای دہلی 'Akb. Nām.,' II, 122.

خطہ دلکشای کشمیر 'Tūz. Jah.' 344, 351

خطہ دولت بنیاد اورنگ آباد 'Ālam Nām,' 389.

خطہ فیض اسامی اجہیر 'Akb. Nām,' III, 44, 110, 164, 168,
185, 217.

'Bād Nām.,' I, i, 476.

„ „ I, ii, 233.

خطہ فیض بنیاد اورنگ آباد 'Ālam. Nām,' 36, 44, 578, 887, 910,
1035, 1084

خط فیض بخش اجہیر 'Akb. Nām.' III, 212, 317

خطہ کشمیر حدت نظیر 'Tūz. Jah.,' 351.

خطہ مبارک اجہیر 'Tab Akb.,' 338.

دار اقبال فتحپور 'Akb. Nām.,' III, 66, 176

دار اقبال کابل 'Akb. Nām.,' II, 54.

دارالامان آگرہ 'Tab. Akb' (Bābur), 188.

دارالامان کابل 'Tab. Akb. (Bābur),' 179.

دارالامان ملتان 'Ālam. Nām.,' 211, 608.

'Maās. 'Ālam.,' 149, 382.

دار الامس کابل 'Akb. Nām.,' II, 17.

دارالبرکت اجہیر 'Akb. Nām.,' II, 160.

'Tūz. Jah.,' 338, 373.

'Iqb. Nām,' 71, 73, 205, 304.

'Bād. Nām,' II, 346.

دارالبرکت دہلی 'Tūz. Jah' 281.

دارالچہاد حیدر آباد 'Maās. 'Ālam,' 302, 307, 490, 494, 496,
497.

'Kh. Kh,' II, 358, 369, 371

دارالحرب گوگدہ و گوبہل میر

دارالخلافت احمد آباد 'Abū Turāb,' 66.

- دارالخلافت اکبر آباد ' Iqb Nām , ' 2, 5, 9, 14, 17, 32, 114, 117, 176, 251, 305
- ' Bād. Nām , ' I, 1, 79 113, 150, 156 157, 165, 177, 181, 194, 216, 233 240, 252, 269, 272, 306, 338, 362 366, 369, 390, 391, 397, 403, 421, 422, 426 453 474 475, 477
- ' Bād Nām , ' I 11, 3, 7, 70, 71, 76, 90 105, 123, 224, 233, 235, 246, 251, 265
- ' Bād Nām ' II 8, 10, 19, 63, 103, 124, 146, 215, 222, 230, 241, 285, 302 317, 330, 339, 343, 346, 348, 372 407, 415, 418 427, 603, 606, 613, 685
- دارالخلافت آگرہ ' Akb Nām ' (Babur), I, 102, 103, 104 105, 111, 113, 114, 118
- ' Akb Nām ' (Humāyūn), I, 121, 129, 144, 145, 146, 149, 153, 154, 156, 157, 160, 161, 162, 166, 170, 351, 360, 361
- دارالخلافت آگرہ ' Bād.' (Akbar) II, 44, 59, 136
- ' Tab Akb , ' 249, 250, 251, 254, 255, 256, 257, 261, 263, 265, 272, 276, 277, 279, 281, 282, 285, 286, 287, 288, 299, 315, 320, 322, 340
- ' (Akbar) Akb Nām , ' II, 14, 45, 60, 76, 77, 78, 80, 89, 94, 96, 100, 101, 107, 121, 122, 123, 130, 132, 140, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 152 154, 157, 158, 160, 163, 166, 194, 195, 200, 202, 203, 217, 230, 231, 232 235, 246, 251, 260, 268, 269 272, 276, 279, 280, 284, 288, 289, 290, 296, 300, 315, 329, 331, 339, 344, 349 350, 366
- Ibid* , III, 21, 23, 33, 73, 83, 93, 111, 116, 144, 177, 203, 231, 309, 408 511, 578, 592, 604, 605, 646, 670, 721, 744, 745, 748, 753, 762, 763, 772, 773, 789 793, 795, 801.
- دارالخلافت آگرہ ' Tūz Jah , ' 1, 33, 35, 41, 43, 64, 97, 100, 101, 113, 122, 123, 168 175, 176, 199, 241, 259, 277, 278, 283, 297, 305, 320, 322, 325 326, 329, 337, 351, 352, 353, 354, 380
- ' Iqb Nām , ' 32, 117, 127, 160, 175, 187, 197, 198, 199, 240, 274

'Bād. Nām.,' I, i, 62, 69, 70, 71, 86,
87, 97, 114, 116, 125.

دارالخلافه آگره و فتحپور Tab Akb 310, 340

دارالخلافه دهلي Tūz. Jah., 17, 332.

'Iqb. Nām.,' 130.

دارالخلافه شاه جهان آباد 'Bād. Nām.,' II, 710 (XX R).

'Ālam. Nām.,' 27, 81, 123, 124, 125,
129, 142, 145, 164, 173, 189, 201,
211, 216, 221, 304, 335, 343, 347,
438, 465, 481, 608, 610, 625, 759,
845, 846, 849, 939, 961, 962, 972,
973, 977, 1067.

'Māas. 'Ālam.,' 2, 7, 76, 112, 132, 177,

'Kh. Kh.,' II, 5, 33, 44, 576, 602, 715,
757, 761, 797, 837

'Shāh 'Ālam' Nāma, 32, 70, 101, 120,
137.

دارالخلافه فتحپور 'Tab. Akb.,' 291, 300, 302, 304, 315,
333, 334, 337, 343, 344, 349, 351
354.

'Akb. Nām.,' II, 344, 370.

" " III, 39, 82, 85, 107, 111,
164, 183, 202, 227, 248, 309, 372,
373, 376, 415, 421, 426, 436, 447,
491, 493.

'Kh. Kh.' (Muḥammad Shāh) II, 910.

دارالخلافه الدهور 'Tab. Akb.,' 370, 373, 378, 380

دارالخلافه کشمير 'Bād. Nām.,' II, 201.

دارالخلافه احمد نير 'Bād. Nām.,' I, i, 165, 174.

'Maās. 'Ālam.,' 172, 180, 190, 173.

'Kh. Kh.,' II, 262, 661.

دارالسرور برهانپور 'Amal-Sālib,' 370.

'Maās. 'Ālam.,' 212, 429.

'Kh. Kh.,' II, II, 213, 248, 278, 279,
555, 572, 582, 618, 650, 651, 666
751, 853, 865.

دارالسرور پيشاور 'Bād.,' II, 385.

دارالسرور فتحپور 'Tab. Akb.,' 202, 344.

'Bād.,' II, 229.

'Abū Turāb,' 76, 90, 100.

'Rīd. Nām.,' I, i, 69.

دارالسرور خونپور 'Tab. Akb.' (Bābur), 190.

دارالسلطنت احمد نير 'Rīd. Nām.,' II, 343.

دارالسلطنت احمد آباد 'Tab. Akb.' (Akbar), 294, 300, 310.

- دارالسلطنت آگرہ 'Tab Akb' (Babur), 191
 'Akb Nām' (Babur), I 98, 99
 'Tūz Jah' 123
 دارالسلطنت دہلی 'Akb Nam' (Humāyūn), I, 350, 360
 'Akb Nām' (Akbar), II, 42
 " " " III, 248
 دارالسلطنت کابل 'Akb Nam' (Humāyūn), I 242 251,
 256, 271
 دارالسلطنت لاہور 'Tab Akb' (Akbar) 246 276, 277, 330
 'Akb Nām' (Akbar), II, 64, 364
 " " " III, 447, 493, 494, 572,
 648, 649, 734, 759, 787, 795
 'Tūz Jah', 325, 343, 351, 355
 'Iqb Nam', 7, 13, 21 30, 32, 194, 195,
 229, 246, 278
 'Bād Nam', I, 1, 16, 20, 69, 77, 79,
 97 113, 158, 159 177, 180, 193,
 216, 223, 233, 252, 304, 397, 419,
 425, 433, 448
 'Bad Nam', I, 11, 9, 48 190, 207
 'Bad Nam', II, 38, 63, 109, 115, 123,
 127, 141, 146, 156, 158, 163, 179
 181, 187, 195, 198, 208, 213, 214,
 219, 237, 243, 259, 308, 317, 339
 369, 407, 413, 418, 421, 424, 426,
 427, 430 470, 500, 504, 579, 584,
 594, 595, 603, 605, 608, 613, 638,
 681, 682, 710
 'Ālam Nam', 143, 146, 177, 187, 197,
 201, 211, 214, 217, 221, 341, 438,
 608, 611, 615, 630, 738, 764, 766
 812, 815, 821, 835, 838, 842 846,
 849, 855, 979, 985, 1031, 1058,
 1067, 1068, 1084
 'Māas 'Ālam', 10, 42, 47, 60, 84, 137,
 144, 148, 166, 177, 188 360, 383,
 423, 482, 513
 'Kh Kh', 31, 256 574 660, 663 679,
 707, 76', 861
 'Shah 'Ālam Nama', 25, 29
 دارالظفر ممبایور 'Māas 'Ālam', 282, 283, 299, 307, 310,
 317, 319, 333, 373, 494, 498, 520
 'Kh Kh', II, 647, 648
 دارالعلم شہر 'Bād Nam', I, 1, 176, 257
 دارالعیس کابل 'Akb Nam', II, 95
 دارالفتح اوجیس 'Kh Kh', 19, 20, 616, 661, 693, 694
 800, 949

دارالملک آگرہ ' Akb Nām , ' III, 177.

دارالملک تاندہ ' Tab Akb , ' 321, 322, 323 327, 330

' Bad , ' II, 197.

' Akb Nām , ' III, 109, 291, 299, 420
439, 440, 460

دارالملک حویپور ' Tab. Akb ' (Bābur), 191, Waq Bīb

دارالملک حصرت دہلی ' Tab Akb ' (Akbar), 322

دارالملک دہلی ' Tab Akb ' (Bābur), 187, Wāq Bīb

' Akb Nām ' (Bābur), I, 98

" " (Humāyūn), I, 124, 149
156, 351, 356

' Tab Akb ' (Akbar), 261, 279, 286,
322, 339

' Bad , ' II, 5 182, 184

' Akb Nām , ' (Akbar), II, 14, 17, 20
26, 31, 42, 44, 47, 64, 66, 67, 69
73, 76, 94, 95, 96, 107, 110 111
122, 201, 276 288, 334

Ibid , III, 228, 249, 341, 372 376
467, 748

' Tūz Jah ' 281, 324, 337, 376

' Iqb Nām , ' 32, 201

' Bād Nām , ' I, 1, 43, 65, 255, 305, 352,
367, 398 424, 426

' Bād Nām , ' I, 11, 4, 6, 7, 71, 72, 73,
76, 87, 280

' Bād Nam ' II, 63, 96, 111, 112, 115,
158, 168, 181, 215, 218, 242, 244
309, 320, 339, 361 378, 409, 425,
474, 504, 710

دارالملک کابل ' Akb Nām ' (Humāyūn), I, 291, 292,
298, 301, 306, 316, 321, 329, 334.

' Akb Nām ' (Akbar), II, 54

' Bād Nām , ' I, 1, 62, 63

" " II, 27, 38, 339, 500, 585,
586, 634, 637, 638, 639, 642, 668
671, 678

' Ālam Nam , ' 190, 625, 628, 635, 647,
661, 758, 834, 864, 878, 913, 937,
964, 973, 975, 983, 986, 1057, 1060,
1084

' Maāq ' Ālam , ' 71, 117, 176, 394.

دارالملک لاہور ' Akb Nām , ' II, 55, 115

" " III, 247, 344, 537, 543,
570, 601, 649, 655, 660, 670, 698,
733, 746

دیرالدشاه کابل 'Akbb Nam,' II, 55

دولت آباد مدنی 'Ālam Nam,' 416

بلد زنی املاد See under رن املاد

رن املاد an epithet of Ahmadabad 'Mirat i Ahmadi' Bombay Lithograph, A H 1306, II 4

شهر مدنی بخش احمدی 'Akbb Nam' III, 65

شهر کرامت نهر احمدی 'Bad Nam' I, II 224

شهر کرامت نهر ملتان 'Ālam Nam,' 209

شهر معظم احمد آباد Tab Akbb (Gujarat Chapter) 450

• 'Mirat i Sikandar' (Bombay Lith 1831 A C) 24 28 29 123, 130 227, 356 and

'Mirat i Ahmadi' (Bombay Lith 1306 A H), Pt II 133

شهر مکرم محمد آباد }
(که عمارت ارچانپادیر است) } 'Abū Turāb' 19

عرصة دلکشای نگاله 'Akbb Nam' III 341

عرصة دلکشای بهار 'Akbb Nam,' III 335

عرصة دلکشای کابل 'Akbb Nam,' III 368

عرصة دلکشای کشمیر 'Akbb Nam' III, 389, 525 537, 548 648

عرصة دلکشای لاهور 'Akbb Nam' II, 59

عرصة دلکشای همدوسان 'Akbb Nam' II, 45 III 145

عرصة دلکشای شهر پتن

(که در سابق به بهر والاه
شهر داشت) } 'Akbb Nam' III 6

عشرت آباد و دکنپور 'Akbb Nam,' III 203

عشرت آباد کابل 'Akbb Nam,' II 180

عشرت سرای کابل 'Akbb Nam,' II, 183

ورحدده نداد حیدر آباد Kh Kh' II, 646 647, 961 972

وند الاسلام بلخ 'Kh Kh', II 79

قلعه رعب اساس چینور 'Akbb Nam,' II, 334

قلعه سپهر نداد دولت آباد 'Ālam Nam,' 43 575

قلعه سپهر نداد شاهجهان آباد 'Ālam, Nam,' 138

قلعه سپهر نداد گوالنار 'Ālam Nam,' 603

قلعه محکم اساس گوالنار 'Ālam Nam,' 291

کشمیر بهشت نظیر 'Ālam Nam,' 826, 1064

کشمیر حدب نظیر 'Akbb Nam' III, 552

کشمیر حدت نظر 'Bād Nām,' II, 417, 425.

'Ālam Nām,' 564, 813, 820

'Maas 'Ālam,' 165

کشمیر دلپذیر 'Ālam Nām,' 768.

گلدان همیشه بهار کشمیر 'Tūz Jah,' 267, 276

'Iqb Nām,' 240

مدینه طبرستان 'Bād Nām,' I, II, 281

مدینه مکه 'Bād Nām,' II, 406

مدینه مدینه 'Māas 'Ālam,' 28, 143

مدینه مدینه 'Māas 'Ālam,' 251, 364

که دارالخلافت آگره } Tab Akb, 250

مسقط خلافت بود }

که دارالخلافت آگره } 'Akab Nām,' II, 217

مسقط اورنگ خلافت شد }

آگره که مسقط الخلافت است 'Tūz Jah,' 351

مسقط الخلافت اکبر آباد 'Bād Nām,' II, 710

'Ālam Nām,' 24, 30, 48, 49, 80, 82, 87, 108, 120, 123, 136, 137, 156, 157, 167, 178, 180, 191, 192, 193, 216, 221, 225, 229, 237, 239, 241, 284, 291, 292, 301, 303, 332, 339, 343, 346, 423, 424, 433, 438, 454, 474, 479, 481, 568, 592, 611, 620, 631, 660, 662, 664, 743, 759, 762, 823, 838, 842, 858, 871, 873, 883, 918, 926, 927, 977, 1084

'Māas 'Ālam,' 4, 6, 92, 98, 112, 120, 246, 374, 392

'Kh Kh.,' II, 5, 53, 62, 199, 443, 575, 578, 603, 700, 707, 718, 843, 884, 898

'Shāh Ālam Nām,' 120

مشهد مقدس 'Kh Kh.,' 975

مسقط اقبال 'Akab Nām,' II, 56, 60, 199, 284, 318, 329

'Ibid,' III, 11, 97, 243, 279, 346, 370

'Tūz Jah,' 207, 250, 317, 323, 355, 356, 359, 360, 376

'Iqb Nām,' 71, 143, 170, 203

Bād Nām,' I, I, 327, 411, 521, I, II, 9, 17, 20, 71, 73, 117, 121, II, 22, 111, 143, 190, 257, 320, 413.

'Shāh Ālam Nām,' 115, 125

مکه مشرکه 'Kh Kh.,' II, 455, 559, 963

- مکه مشرقه 'Tab, Akb' 331
 'Abū Turab,' 100
 مکه معظمه 'Bad,' 11, 28 36, 39, 57, 59, 85, 187
 204, 213, 267, 285, 287, 300, 311
 334
 Akb Nam,' II, 12, 189, 198
 'Abū Turab,' 95 96, 99
 'Bad Nām,' I ii, 281
 II, 406
 'Ālam Nam' 743, 882, 977
 'Maaq' 'Ālam' 28, 49, 108, 130, 140
 143, 214, 271, 272 285, 304
 'Kh Kh' II, 413
 ملک دلکسای بدگانه 'Akb Nam' III 259
 برکت آباد کشمیر 'Ālam Nam,' 835
 هندوستان بهشت نشان 'Bad Nam' I i 47 62 68, 114, 237
 478, 542
 " I ii 56
 II, 5 7 11 126 157
 'Ālam Nam,' 565
 'Maaq' 'Ālam' 91
 'Kh Kh,' 40, 971
 هندوستان مدنی مکان 'Ālam Nam,' 605, 628

A glance at this long list of References will be sufficient to show that the historical evidence is in fair accord with the Numismatic. Leaving out non descript or colourless appellations like شهر سوکار دارالصرح خط-تیره بدر بلده etc and their compounds, we can reckon in all about thirty really distinctive titles on the Coins. Of these, about eighteen are found in the histories. Of the dozen of which there is no trace in the chronicles, about six—دولسر درالبرکات ناگور-دارالامان حمون—سپارنپور دولفرس بنارس - دارالمنصور حودهپور- دارالسلام مندسور سهارنپور belong to the period of disruption and anarchy of which no really satisfactory or exhaustive Persian history has been published. Of the six which remain, one بلده فاحرہ برهانپور is found only on a single coin, two others were invented by the weak and vain Humayūn, and their vogue is restricted to about six years in all. The absence of دوکون دارالسلام may be satisfactorily explained by the fact that Dogaon itself is but once mentioned in the fifteen hundred pages of the 'Albarnama' and that the name occurs but twice in the almost equally voluminous Āīn-i-Akbarī. There is no reference to مسافرالملک in the chronicles, but I have called attention to it.

existence in the official documents of the period. It is not perhaps difficult to understand why the changes introduced by Shah Alam I in reference to the honorary designations of Akbar abad and Ajmer are not reflected in the history of Khafi Khan. In the first place, the new designations were in use for a very short period. In the second the title bestowed on Ajmer during a temporary emergency, was, under other conditions, neither applicable to nor deserved by it. The assignment of *عسکر الملک* to 'Azimabad Patna by Farrukhsiyar was due only to the fortuitous circumstance of his having been crowned there, and even in his own reign the new title was not consistently applied. There is therefore nothing to be wondered at in Khafi Khan having not thought it worth while to introduce confusion into his own pages by prefixing to the names of these towns ephemeral designations which were capriciously altered with such bewildering frequency.

We have seen that on the coins of the earlier Emperors the same epithet is indiscriminately prefixed to the names of several towns, and that three or four diverse titles are borne by the same locality. An examination of the above list of References makes it clear that this was in accordance with the theory and practice of those times. Ahmadabad, Agra, Delhi, Fathpur and Lahor are all called *دارالحکومت* in the Histories of Akbar's reign. Four of these towns are at the same time, styled *دارالسلطنت*. Kabul again has the identical appellation and is also entitled *عشرت و عشرت آباد دارالعشا دارالامان دارالملک* *سرای*. But Agra too is *دارالملک* so is Delhi and this last is further honoured with the designation *دارالمرکب*. The same thing is true of Ajmer, Kashmir and several other places. There can be little doubt that many of these high sounding prefixes are mere flourishes, tags or jingles coined by the authors to show off their powers of 'fine writing'. But some of them are not without their interest especially for the student of the Historical Geography of India, and it is not impossible that a few of them were not unknown to and recognised in the State archives, and that they may be discovered hereafter on the coins.

S H HODIVĀLA

The College, Junāgadh

217 THE LAQAB 'SAHIBQIRAN-I ŠANĪ'

The titular adjunct *Sāhib Qirān : Šānī*, which occurs on the coins of Shah Jahān and several of his successors has been very fully dealt with from the numismatic side by Dr Taylor in Num Sup XIV (pp 574-579). M Drouin informs us that Tamerlane assumed this title on account of 'a remarkable

Bibl Ind Text, p 228, seven lines from foot

"And it was settled that the patronymic (کنیت) of that sovereign should be Abū l Muzaffar and his auspicious surname (لقب) was to be Sūhib Qirān the Second because the infidel destroying sword of that Solomon like Padīshah had driven away the demons of strife and disorder from the face of the earth, and there was not only a likeness and a resemblance between his praiseworthy qualities and ways and those of His Majesty the Great Sūhib Qirān, but the *Bayyinat* of the word *Sāhib Qirān* viz 365, were found to be exactly equal to the numerical value of the letters of *Shāh Jahān* ¹

In other words, the real reason for Shah Jahan's assumption of the title was not astrological or horoscopic, but cabalistic, and had its origin in those fanciful notions of the occult properties of numbers which still form an important part of the magic and thaumaturgy of the East

The *Abjad* value of the letters of شاه جهان was found equal to the *Bayyinat* of صاحب قرآن, and the Emperor took this providential coincidence as an infallible prognostic of his own reign proving as long and glorious as that of his ancestor and felt perfectly justified in reviving the title in the *Khuṭba* and on the coins after a lapse of more than two centuries *

Now the *Abjad* value of شاه جهان is 365 Thus ش = 300
ا = 1, ه = 5, ح = 3, ز = 5, ل = 1 ن = 50, 300 + 1 + 5 + 3 + 5 + 1 + 50 = 365

But what are the بیدات of صاحب قرآن?

There are in the books on the علم حفر twelve different modes of disjoining (تکسیر), permuting and combining the thirty letters of the Arabic alphabet for purposes of divination ² One of these twelve rules or methods is employed as

¹ The corresponding passage in the *Bāḥshāhnāma* of 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhūrī is so similar that its translation would be a work of supererogation. It is therefore given below only in the original

و بالهام لاریبی و اوصاف عینی قیمدا و تکرکا لقب دیگر صاحب قرآن نانی
احیار فرمودند الله الحمد که کارهای حضرت شاهشاهی را که در انام پادشاه
رادیگی بروی کار آمده باشند و وارده اسرار جهانبانی * * * حضرت امیر تیمور
صاحب قرآن انار الله بر شاه که پیش از جلوس سر بر رده مشابعت و محتاسب
تمام است و مساوات بیدات صاحب قرآن که سیصد و شصت و پنج است
وار بر شاه جهان شاهد صدق این مقوله است *

Bibl Ind Text, I, i, 93 ll 4 12

² These rules are really derived from the Jewish Kabbalah "According to the Kabbalah all these esoteric doctrines are contained in the Hebrew Scriptures. The uninitiated cannot perceive them but they are

planetary conjunction." which took place during his reign, and that the event was turned to account by the court astrologers in the way of paying another "adulatory tribute to their imperial patron." (*Loc. cit.* p. 575)¹.

After his death, the title appears to have been by unanimous consent, given to him as a distinctive appellation,² and none of his numerous descendants during two hundred years ventured to assume it. The question then is, what led Shāh Jahān to revive it in his person at the moment of his own accession? I am not aware of any trustworthy authority for holding that the auspicious conjunction of Jupiter and Venus had actually taken place in or about 1037 A.H. (1627 A.C.). Nor will it do to say that Shāh Jahān was content to have it applied to himself in the derivative or secondary sense of 'Emperor,' 'King of Kings' or 'Kaiser.'

What then was the reason? The true explanation of the imperial motives is given in the contemporary Chronicle, called 'Amal-i-Šāliḥ' or 'Shāhjahānnāma.' Speaking of the arrangements made in regard to the *khutba* and the *sikka* (the imperial style and titles to be used in official records and on coins), the writer says:—

و کذبت آن سرور ابوالمظفر و لقب فرخنده شهاب الدین محمد صاحب
قران ثانی از آن مقرر شده که تیغ جهاد آن بادشاه سلیمان د-نگاه دیو فتنه
و وساد از روی زمین رانده و باوجود مشابعت و مناسبت اوضاع و اطوار
پسندیده آن نوگزیده حضرت صاحب قران اعظم بیذات لفظ صاحب قران
که سه صد و شصت و پنج است را حروف شاه جهان مساوی آمده *

¹ Timūr's own account in the 'Malfūzāt-i Timūri' is not unworthy of attention and is quoted below: "A celebrated astrologer waited on me and delivered a plan of my horoscope, stating that at the time of my birth the planets were in so favourable and auspicious conjunction as certainly to predict the stability and duration of my good fortune and sovereignty; that I should be superior to all the monarchs of the age; that whoever were my enemies should be subdued, and whoever were my friends should be prosperous; that I should be the protector of religion, the destroyer of idols, the father of my people, that my descendants should reign for many generations, and that they should be prosperous as long as they continued to support the Muhammadan religion, but if they should deviate therefrom, their dominion would soon be annihilated. Stewart's Translation (1830), p. 13. The horoscope of Timūr as it was cast by the astrologers of his grandson, Ulugh Beg, is given by Hyde, 'Syntagma Dissertationis,' II, 466. See Gibbon, 'Decline and Fall,' ed. Smith, VIII, 41 note.

² So the Emperor Jahāngīr makes the following announcement for the benefit of his readers: "In these Memoirs, whenever *Shāhī-qirānī* is written it refers to Amīr Timūr Gūrgān; and whenever *Firdūs-makānī* is mentioned, to Bābar Pādshāh; when *Jannat-āshyānī* is used to Humāyūn Pādshāh; and when '*Arsh-āshyānī*' is employed, to my revered father, Jalālud-din Muhammad Akbar Pādshāh Ghāzī." 'Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī,' Rogers and Beveridge, Trans. I, 5.

Bibl. Ind. Text, p. 228, seven lines from foot.

"And it was settled that the patronymic (کنیت) of that sovereign should be Abū-l-Muzaffar and his auspicious surname (لقب) was to be Šāhib Qirān the Second, because the infidel-destroying sword of that Solomon-like Pādishāh had driven away the demons of strife and disorder from the face of the earth, and there was not only a likeness and a resemblance between his praiseworthy qualities and ways, and those of His Majesty the Great Šāhib Qirān, but the *Baiyināt* of the word *Šāhib Qirān*, viz. 365, were found to be exactly equal to the numerical value of the letters of *Shāh Jahān*."¹

In other words, the real reason for Shāh Jahān's assumption of the title was not astrological or 'horoscopic,' but cabalistic, and had its origin in those fanciful notions of the occult properties of numbers which still form an important part of the magic and thaumaturgy of the East.

The *Abjad* value of the letters of شاه جهان was found equal to the *Baiyināt* of صاحب قران, and the Emperor took this providential coincidence as an infallible prognostic of his own reign proving as long and glorious as that of his ancestor, and felt perfectly justified in reviving the title in the *Khuṭba* and on the coins after a lapse of more than two centuries.*

Now the *Abjad* value of شاه جهان is 365. Thus, ش = 300, ا = 1, ه = 5, ج = 3, ن = 5, ق = 1, ر = 50; 300 + 1 + 5 + 3 + 5 + 1 + 50 = 365.

But what are the بیئات of صاحب قران?

There are in the books on the علم حفر twelve different modes of disjoining (تکثیر), permuting and combining the thirty letters of the Arabic-alphabet for purposes of divination.¹ One of these twelve rules or methods is employed as

¹ The corresponding passage in the *Bādi-shāhnūma* of 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhūrī is so similar that its translation would be a work of supererogation. It is therefore given below only in the original.

و بالهام لاریبی و افاض غیبی تیمنا و تبرکا لقب دیگر صاحب قران ثانی
اختیار فرمودند که الحمد که کارهای حضرت شاهشاهی را که در ایام پادشاه
زادگی بروی کار آمده باشند قوازدند افسر جهانبانی * * * حضرت امیر تیمور
صاحب قران نام الله برهانده که پیش از جلوس سر بر زده مشابعت و عجانست
تمام است و مساوت بیئات صاحب قران که سیصد و شصت و پنج است
وزیر شاه جهان شامد صدق این مقوله است *

Bibl. Ind. Text, I, i, 99, ll. 4-12.

² These rules are really derived from the Jewish Kabbalah. "According to the Kabbalah all these esoteric doctrines are contained in the Hebrew Scriptures. The uninitiated cannot perceive them; but they are

follows. The letters are pronounced by their names (e.g. alif, ba, ta, sa, jun etc.) and divided into *Zabar* and *Bayināt* or *Baniyāt*. The initial letter of the name of each of the signs viz. ا - ب - ث, is the *Zabar* and is cast out. The value of the remainder only the *Bayināt* in the *Abjad* system of notation is taken into account.

Thus صاحب دران is made up of

د ن and ا ل ف ر ا ب ا ح ا ل ف ص ا د

Eliminating the initials

ن and ا ر ق د ب ح ا ص

and taking the *Abjad* value of the remainder we have

$$ا = 1 + 4 \quad ل = 30 + 80 \quad = 1 \quad ا = 1 \quad ق = 1 + 80 \quad ا = 1 \quad ل = 30 + 80 \quad و = 6 + 50$$

$$i.e. 5 + 110 + 1 + 1 + 81 + 1 + 110 + 56 = 365$$

Briefly the Emperor assumed the title because in this numerical coincidence the deep sighted saw a sign and enquirers got a hint from above of his reign being destined to be as glorious as that of Timur. The reason if it deserves to be so called may appear to us very fantastic but there can be little doubt as to the powerful appeal thus made to the imagination of even the most cultured persons in those times. Abūl Fāzī for instance lays great stress on the fact of his elder brother Faizī having discovered that the numerical value of the name اکبر was equal to the *Abjad* value of the *Bayināt* of آفتاب (Sun).

Among the excellencies of the name [اکبر] which is full of wonders there is one which my honoured elder brother

plainly revealed to the spiritually minded who discern the profound import of this theosophy beneath the surface of the letters and words of Holy Writ.

To obtain these heavenly mysteries definite hermeneutical rules are employed of which the following are the most important. (1) The words of several verses are placed over each other and the letters are formed into new words by reading them vertically. (2) The words of the text are ranged in squares in such a manner as to read either vertically or boustrophedon. (3) The words are joined together and redivided. (4) The initials and final letters of several words are formed into separate words. (5) Every letter of a word is reduced to its numerical value and the word is explained by another of the same quantity. (6) Every letter of a word is taken to be the initial or abbreviation of a word. (7) The twenty two letters of the alphabet are divided into two halves one half is placed above the other and the two letters which thus become associated are interchanged. By this permutation Aleph the first letter of the alphabet becomes Lamed the twelfth letter Beth becomes Mem and so on. This cipher alphabet is called *Albam* from the first interchangeable pairs. (8) The commutation of the twenty two letters is effected by the last letter of the alphabet taking the place of the first the last but one the place of the second and so forth. This cipher is called *Atbash*. (O. D. G. Nashurgh in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 11th ed. Art. Kabbalah).

Abū-l-Faiz, Faizi, has brought out in various admirable things, namely, that by the mysterious connections of letters, which are lofty vocables and which—whether separately or in combination—display their influences, it appears that the indicatory letters *Baīyināt-i-hurūf* of the word *āflāb* (Sun) make the number 223 and thus correspond to the numerical value of the letters of the word *Albar*." ('Akbar-nāmah,' Beveridge's Trans I, 65, Text, I, 22.) Elsewhere he informs us that when the value of the letters in the name of *Allah* was found to be equal to the number of *Manṣabs* ¹ "the deep sighted read in it glad tidings for the present illustrious reign and considered it a most auspicious omen." (Blochmann. 'Āin,' Trans I, 237).

S. H. HODIVĀLĀ

218. BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SĀSĀNIAN NUMISMATICS.

The honour of first unveiling the mysteries hidden for many centuries in the Sāsānian inscriptions on rocks and coins belongs to Sylvestre de Sacy, one of the most eminent oriental scholars who ever lived. His 'Mémoires sur diverses antiquités de la Perse' (Paris, 1793) mark a notable epoch in the study of the monuments and coins of ancient Persia. The work in question contains five memoirs. Dr. Hyde, the celebrated author of 'Historia religionis veterum Persarum' (1700), had already made an attempt at explaining the Greek text of the inscriptions at Naksh-i Rostam, but had failed signally. He had read ΑΡΤΑΞΕΛΕΩΝ as ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, and consequently referred the whole inscription to Alexander (see 1st edition, pp. 519-520). De Sacy showed that this reading was incorrect, and that the king mentioned in the inscription was Ardashir (*Artakshatr*), the founder of the Sāsānian dynasty. After having restored the Greek text in a critical manner, he made it the starting point for deciphering one of the two texts in oriental characters, as he believed their contents to be identical. He was successful beyond expectation in his attempt, and thus laid a solid foundation for all future decipherments.

In his third memoir, he applied the results thus obtained (which however explained only a few names and titles) to the elucidation of the legends on some of the Sāsānian coins, as he found the characters and most of the words were identical with those at Naksh-i Rostam. He thus obtained the complete titles of some of the early Sāsānian kings. He read on them also correctly the names of Ardashir (*Artakshatr*), Shāpūr (*Shāhpūhrī*), Bahrām (*Varahrān*) and Hormazd (*Āharmazdī*); but his other readings of names were doubtful or erroneous.

¹ The *manṣabs* or gradations of rank were theoretically, 66 in number. The numerical value of the letters of *Alī* (1+30+30+5) is 66.

In a subsequent *Memoire sur le monumens et les inscriptions de Kirmanschah ou Bisoutoun et sur divers autres monumens Sassanids* (1815) in the *Memoires de l'Institut Royal de France* classed histoire Vol II pp 162 242 he corrected some of his previous mistakes. The results published by him in his various memoirs have formed the basis on which all subsequent investigations have been founded.

The first to apply these results to further researches was Sir W Ouseley in his *Observations on some medals and gems bearing inscriptions in the Pahlavi or ancient Persian character* (London 1801). By means of De Sacy's discoveries he was able to read the legends on about 23 silver coins in the Hunterian Museum containing names already known but the only addition he made to our knowledge of Pahlavi was by reading for the first time the name of Khusrau (*Ah sura*) on certain coins.

In 1811 Visconti in his *Iconographie grecque* (Vol III pl 51) published several coins of the early Sassanian kings which he deciphered by aid of the discovery of De Sacy.

T C Tychsen of Göttingen in 1783 published some Sassanian coins without providing their reading and later on wrote some articles on them (*Commentationes II de numis veterum Persarum* in *Comment Soc Reg Scient Götting* Vols I IV 1808 13) but he made no advance whatever all he could do was to apply the results obtained by De Sacy and Visconti (*Mem Soc Götting* 2nd series Vol II 1811 13) and venture on a few guesses.

Mionnet in his *Description de medailles antiques* (Vol V 1811 and Supplement Vol VIII 1837) profiting by the works of his predecessors gave the meaning of the legends on coins of some kings from Ardāshīr I to Shapur III.

In 1822 Fraehn published at Mittau an essay on the coins of the type of Khusrau II with legends in Pahlavi and in his two memoirs (*Journal Asiatique* June 1824 Vol III and March 1825 Vol IV) he demonstrated that these pieces did not appertain to the Sassanian dynasty but were issued by the first Khalifs in conformity with the enunciation of Makrizi. He gave at the same time the detailed description of the pieces among which was a drachm struck by Hejaj bin Yusuf (of which the illustration is found in Vol IV p 338). The reading proposed was contested by De Sacy. The honour of having opened the way of the Arab branch of Pahlavi numismatics belongs to Fraehn. He deciphered all but the Pahlavi legend and it was Olshausen who in 1843 read this legend *sanat hasht hafsal* (year 78).

The same journal (*Journal Asiatique* 1823 Vol II pp 143 150) contains the observations of E Risk the celebrated Danish scholar then in India on the Zand and Pahlavi alphabets. He seems to have ignored the works of De Sacy as they

are not mentioned at all. This article was communicated to De Sacy who had it printed.

In the same year Marsden in his 'Numismata Orientalia,' Vol. II, devoted some pages to the coins he possessed of the Sāsānian kings, Firōz I, Kobād I and Khusrau I.

For a long time no other scholar directed his attention to this subject. In 1840, Longpérier published a comprehensive work on the Sāsānian coins, entitled 'Essai sur les médailles des rois perses de la dynastie sassanide' (Paris), just half a century after the memoir of De Sacy. It contained the description and figures of a large number of coins struck by the Sāsānian rulers, from Ardashīr I to Yezdegerd III, that is, from the rise to the fall of the Sāsānian dynasty (A.C. 224-651). Some names hitherto undeciphered on coins, but readable without difficulty, were read by him for the first time, such as Kobād (*Karāt*); that of Yezdegerd had already been hinted at by Tyehsen; but some of his reading of names were wrong, such as Shehryar and Azermidokht. Excepting names, no fresh addition to our knowledge of Pahlavī was made by Longpérier, who had scarcely anything to guide him save the readings of De Sacy and Sir W. Ouseley. His work, however, as a collection of all the then available material, was a considerable advance in Pahlavī numismatics, and exhibits very clearly the difference, in form, of the Pahlavī characters of the earlier and later centuries of the Sāsānian rule. The author justly remarked, that there is but little difference between the characters on the later coins and those used in the MSS. His work was meritorious for the times, although it contained several errors, which were pointed out by Krafft in 1846 and by Ed. Thomas ('Numismatic Chronicle,' 1852), but they themselves in turn committed several mistakes in their rectifications.

H. H. Wilson in his 'Ariana Antiqua' (1841) published some Sāsānian coins with their description.

A decided advance in our knowledge of the inscriptional Pahlavī was made by J. Olshausen, a disciple of De Sacy at Paris from 1820 to 1823, in his pamphlet on the Pahlavī legends which are found on the coins of the later Sāsānian kings, on the earlier coins of the Khalifs, on the coins of the Ispehbeds of Tabaristān, and on the Indo-Persian coins of east-Ērān. The pamphlet is in German, and its title is: 'Die Pehlewi-Legenden auf den Münzen der letzten Sāsāniden, auf den ältesten Münzen arabischer Chalifen, auf den Münzen der Ispehbeds von Taberistān und auf den indo-persischen Münzen des östlichen Irān, zum erstenmale gelesen und erklärt von Dr. Justus Olshausen, Kopenhagen, 1843.' He may justly lay claim to have deciphered, for the first time, the legends on the classes of coins just mentioned; and he discovered names, numerals written in words, and other terms, which had not been read by any of his predecessors. On a certain class of

In a subsequent *Memoire sur le monumens et les inscriptions de Kirmanschah ou Bisoutoun et sur divers autres monumens Sassanids* (1815) in the *Memoires de l'Institut Royal de France* classed histoire Vol II pp 162 242 he corrected some of his previous mistakes. The results published by him in his various memoirs have formed the basis on which all subsequent investigations have been founded.

The first to apply these results to further researches was Sir W Ouseley in his *Observations on some medals and gems bearing inscriptions in the Pahlavi or ancient Persian character* (London 1801). By means of De Sacy's discoveries he was able to read the legends on about 23 silver coins in the Hunterian Museum containing names already known but the only addition he made to our knowledge of Pahlavi was by reading for the first time the name of Khusrav (*Khusru*) on certain coins.

In 1811 Visconti in his *Iconographie grecque* (Vol III pl 51) published several coins of the early Sassanian kings which he deciphered by aid of the discovery of De Sacy.

T C Tychsen of Gottingen in 1789 published some Sassanian coins without providing their reading and later on wrote some articles on them (*Commentationes IV de numis veterum Persarum* in *Comment Soc Reg Scient Götting* Vols I IV 1808 13) but he made no advance whatever all he could do was to apply the results obtained by De Sacy and Visconti (*Mem Soc Götting* 2nd series Vol II 1811 13) and venture on a few guesses.

Mionnet in his *Description de medailles antiques* (Vol V 1811 and Supplement Vol VIII 1837) profiting by the works of his predecessors gave the meaning of the legends on coins of some kings from Ardashir I to Shapur III.

In 1823 Fraehn published at Mittau an essay on the coins of the type of Khusrav II with legends in Pahlavi and in his two memoirs (*Journal Asiatique* June 1824 Vol III and March 1825 Vol IV) he demonstrated that these pieces did not appertain to the Sassanian dynasty but were issued by the first Khalifs in conformity with the enunciation of Makrizi. He gave at the same time the detailed description of the pieces among which was a drachm struck by Hefaj bin Yusuf (of which the illustration is found in Vol IV p 338). The reading proposed was contested by De Sacy. The honour of having opened the way of the Arab branch of Pahlavi numismatics belongs to Fraehn. He deciphered all but the Pahlavi legend and it was Olsbhausen who in 1843 read this legend *sanat 1aslt 1astāt* (year 78).

The same journal (*Journal Asiatique* 1823 Vol II pp 143 150) contains the observations of E Rask the celebrated Danish scholar then in India on the Zand and Pahlavi alphabets. He seems to have ignored the works of De Sacy as they

are not mentioned at all. This article was communicated to De Sacy who had it printed.

In the same year Marsden in his 'Numismata Orientalia,' Vol. II, devoted some pages to the coins he possessed of the Sāsānian kings, Firōz I, Kōbād I and Khusrau I.

For a long time no other scholar directed his attention to this subject. In 1840, Longpérier published a comprehensive work on the Sāsānian coins, entitled 'Essai sur les médailles des rois perses de la dynastie sassanide' (Paris), just half a century after the memoir of De Sacy. It contained the description and figures of a large number of coins struck by the Sāsānian rulers, from Ardashīr I to Yezdegerd III, that is, from the rise to the fall of the Sāsānian dynasty (A.C. 224-651). Some names hitherto undeciphered on coins, but readable without difficulty, were read by him for the first time, such as Kōbād (*Kavāt*); that of Yezdegerd had already been hinted at by Tychsen; but some of his readings of names were wrong, such as *Shēhryar* and *Azermidokht*. Excepting names, no fresh addition to our knowledge of Pahlavī was made by Longpérier, who had scarcely anything to guide him save the readings of De Sacy and Sir W. Ouseley. His work, however, as a collection of all the then available material, was a considerable advance in Pahlavi numismatics, and exhibits very clearly the difference, in form, of the Pahlavī characters of the earlier and later centuries of the Sāsānian rule. The author justly remarked, that there is but little difference between the characters on the later coins and those used in the MSS. His work was meritorious for the times, although it contained several errors, which were pointed out by Krafft in 1846 and by Ed. Thomas ('Numismatic Chronicle,' 1852), but they themselves in turn committed several mistakes in their rectifications.

H. H. Wilson in his 'Ariana Antiqua' (1841) published some Sāsānian coins with their description.

A decided advance in our knowledge of the inscriptional Pahlavī was made by J. Olshausen, a disciple of De Sacy at Paris from 1820 to 1823, in his pamphlet on the Pahlavī legends which are found on the coins of the later Sāsānian kings, on the earlier coins of the Khalīfs, on the coins of the Isphēbeds of Tabaristān, and on the Indo-Persian coins of east-Ērān. The pamphlet is in German, and its title is: 'Die Pehlewi-Legenden auf den Münzen der letzten Sāsāniden, auf den ältesten Münzen arabischer Chalifen, auf den Münzen der Isphēbeds von Tabaristān und auf den indo-persischen Münzen des östlichen Irān, zum erstenmale gelesen und erklärt von Dr. Justus Olshausen, Kopenhagen, 1843.' He may justly lay claim to have deciphered, for the first time, the legends on the classes of coins just mentioned; and he discovered names, numerals written in words, and other terms, which had not been read by any of his predecessors. On a certain class of

coins he read the name *Tap ristān* (the country of Tabaristān) together with some other proper names and numerals. Some of the coins had only Pahlavi legends while others have legends both in Pahlavi and Kufic characters some of the proper names are Arabic others are Persian. He deciphered the term *af ut* which is of such frequent occurrence on the later Sasanian coins. He also read on the earlier Arab coins the names of the governors.

The decipherment of the legends on Sasanian coins now began to receive more attention from oriental scholars. B Dorn devoted to the subject several papers which were published in the *Bulletin de la classe historique philologique de l'Académie Impériale des sciences de St Pétersbourg* (Vol I 1844 pp 107 110 207 272 and 274-94). He made no fresh discoveries of any importance but read the names which were already known from the works of De Sacy and Longperier on all the Pahlavi coins accessible to him. He still retained the erroneous reading *BH* for *bagi* which had been proposed by De Sacy. Our knowledge of Pahlavi numismatics has however, gained considerably by his description of coins which had not been accessible to any other Pahlavi scholar.

From this time till 1881 he published in the same journal in the *Mélanges Asiatiques* and in the *JDMG* (1864) a series of articles on Sasanian numismatics explaining a number of points some of which still remained doubtful particularly those arising from the legends on the reverse.

A Krafitt published in 1844 a valuable review of Olshausen's pamphlet in the *Wiener Jahrbücher für Literatur* (Vol 106 *Anzeigebblatt* pp 133). The German title of this review is *Ueber Herrn Professor Olshausen's Entzifferung der Pehlewi Legenden auf Münzen*. He gave some information regarding the native rulers of Tabaristan and the subsequent Arab governors of the province and the different dynasties to which they belonged and especially endeavoured to settle their chronology by aid of the coins on which numbers referring to an era are found placing the commencement of this era in A C 645. He likewise deciphered the legends on the Pahlavi coins of the Vienna collection.

The result of the works of Olshausen and Krafitt was to fix in a definite manner the method of reading the Pahlavi of the Arab epoch such as is figured on the numerous coins which were struck during the first two centuries of the Hijra.

The importance of the discovery of Olshausen did not escape Fr Soret an orientalist of Geneva. In a letter addressed to the German savant dated the 24th of December 1846 he expressed his admiration and at the same time published new pieces of his own which he deciphered by aid of the indications of Olshausen.

In 1846 Savelief published some remarks on the coins of Tabaristān with Pahlavi legends

It appears that the discoveries of Olshausen, whose pamphlet had been translated into English by Wilson ('Numismatic Chronicle for 1848,' Vol IX) induced E. Thomas, of the Bengal Civil Service, to investigate the Pahlavi coins of the earlier Arab rulers. He published a very comprehensive essay on this subject, in the 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1850' (Vol XII, pp 253-347). As the material at his disposal was more extensive than that used by Olshausen, he was able (aided by the latter's discoveries) to make a further advance in the decipherment of the legends on the later Pahlavi coins. He described, (a) the coins of 'the purely imitative imitative coinage of the Arabs, from A H 18 to 43', during which period the Arab conquerors used the coins of the later Sassanid kings, or struck coins with similar dies, bearing Pahlavi legends merely with the addition of the words *بسم الله*, (b) the coins of the Arab governors of the first century of the Hijra era, down to Hejaj bin Yusuf (A H 81). He also showed that these later coins bore the names of the mint cities on the right side of their reverse, and he tried to identify some of these names. Whether this was an independent discovery of Thomas or whether it was suggested by the remarks of Mordtmann to the same effect, does not clearly appear, suffice it to say, that Mordtmann's note on the subject appeared in 1848 ('Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,' Vol II, p 112) whereas Thomas's essay was read in June 1849. He likewise added a valuable note 'regarding the unidentified characters composing the legends on certain classes of Sassanian coins'. Some of these coins which are depicted in Wilson's 'Arian Antiqua,' had from their singularity (as they also bear Indian characters), already attracted attention, but the honour of having first more minutely examined them belongs certainly to Thomas. He traced some of these coins more fully in a separate note to his edition of Prinsep's 'Essays on Indian Antiquities,' 1858 (Vol II pp 107-116), and in the same edition, he has made several other scattered remarks on Pahlavi coins (Vol I, pp 12-15, 32-35, 62-72, 93-96 and 120-126). He also contributed a series of articles to the 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society' (1868 and 1872) and the 'Numismatic Chronicle' (1850, 1852, 1872 and 1873) as a basis for a more extended 'Essay on Sassanian Coins' at that time in preparation for the *International Edition* of Wirsden's *Numismata Orientalia*, but unfortunately it never came out.

In all his writings, Thomas shows himself to be a skilful palaeographer, who could identify characters which are difficult to read, but in his philological explanations he is not very successful.

Whilst attempts were made to investigate the language of

the Pahlavi books by Muller Westergaard and Spiegel, the legends on coins were by no means neglected

The most important and complete works on Sasanian numismatics and the Pahlavi coinage of the Arab governors of Persia are those of Dr A D Mordtmann of Constantinople All his memoirs appeared in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* The first two are of the years 1848 and 1850 in the form of letters to Olshausen The German savant proposed for the first time to explain by the names of towns certain legends which are found on the reverse of the coins and thus he determined thirty mints In 1854 he published a most comprehensive and valuable essay on the coins with Pahlavi legends entitled *Erklärung der Münzen mit Pehlevi Legendem* in the *ZDMG* Vol VIII pp 1 194 He divided them into four classes (a) Sasanian coins (A C 224 651) (b) the older Muhammadan pieces coined by the Arab governors (down to A C 700) with legends in Pahlavi and Kufic characters (c) coins of the rulers of Tabaristan (down to A C 800) (d) coins of the eastern provinces of Persia which exhibit Devanagari and other characters which are unintelligible besides the Pahlavi The material at his disposal was the most extensive that had been available to any scholar for he states that he had been able to examine about 2 000 Pahlavi coins ranging from the time of Ardashir Bābegan down to the latest coins with Pahlavi legends struck under the Arab rule His researches extended however, only to the first three classes of coins the fourth or so called Indo Sasanian class which is most difficult to handle he does not appear to have examined

The legends on the coins are divided by him into eight classes which follow one another almost in chronological order Here it need only be observed that at first the name of the king with all his titles appeared on the obverse while on the reverse the name was repeated with the addition of some other word This repetition alone enabled De Sacy to decipher the legends on the earlier Sasanian coins, as the same names and titles appear in almost the same form In the course of time (from Bahram IV A C 398 399) the titles were shortened and frequently only *malkān malkā* king of kings was used On those of Feroz I (A C 459 484) even this title was omitted and merely the name was given with some benedictive for mula such as *azut* and this custom was continued till the end of the Sasanian rule

From a palaeographic point of view that is as regards the shapes of the Pahlavi characters he divided the coins into three periods (a) those whose alphabet is identical with that used in the rock inscriptions (from Ardashir I to Narses A C 224 303) (b) those whose letters are intermediate in form between the lapidary alphabet and that of the books (A C 303

600); (c) those whose alphabet is identical with that of the books (A C 600 800)

Notwithstanding the extent of his material Mordtman did not rest satisfied with his researches, but, deeply interested in the subject he sought for and examined 3,000 more coins in addition to the 2,000 previously mentioned. His further investigations, the aim of which was to complete and rectify his former efforts, were published in two subsequent articles, in the 'Journal of the German Oriental Society (Z D M G)' for 1858 and 1865 (Vol XII pp 1 56 and Vol XIX, pp 373-496). He also wrote an essay in which he explained the Pahlavi inscription on seals, entitled 'Studien über geschnittene Steine mit Pehlvi Inschriften,' in the 'Z D M G,' Vol XVIII, of 1864, pp 1-47, see also Vol XXIX of 1875 and Vol XXXI of 1877.

His results, so far as they went beyond those obtained by De Sacy and Olshausen were contested especially by B Dorn ('*Mélanges Asiatiques*,' St Petersburg, Vol III, of 1858 59, pp 149-165, 426 459, 460 475 and 502-531), Bartholomaei ('*Mélanges Asiatiques*,' Vol III, pp 139-165 and 349 372, and '*Bulletin historico philologique*,' Vol XIV, pp 371-378) and Khanykov (in a letter to B Dorn), who seem to represent the Russian branch of Pahlavi numismatists. They specially objected to his explanation of certain words and abbreviations on the reverse of the later coins, as the names of the mint cities, also to the treatment of the Kobad and Khusrau coins, etc. But although the observations of Dorn contain much valuable matter, and even some real corrections of Mordtmann's readings, the latter is right as regards the mint cities. His opponents are undecided how to read the words and signs which he so interprets. They suppose that they may be the names of the die cutters, or signs indicating the value of the coin or honorific epithets, but all these opinions seem groundless, and have been very ably refuted by Mordtmann ('Z D M G,' Vol XIX, pp 373 413).

Notwithstanding the objections raised against his treatment of Pahlavi numismatics, no impartial scholar can deny that Mordtmann has greatly advanced our knowledge of this branch of antiquarian research and justice must be done to him for his persistent efforts in unravelling the reading of the mints. His judgment is sound, his oriental scholarship and acquaintance with the Byzantine, Arab, Persian and Armenian historians (who are the chief sources of information regarding the Sāsānian kings) is very considerable and his zeal is indefatigable.

Stickel in the second part of his '*Handbuch zur morgenländischen Münzkunde*' (1870) and in the 'Z D M G' (1870, p 636) devoted several pages to the Arabo Pahlavi coins and to some uncertain coins struck in Sogdiana during the Sasanian period.

The best collection of plates of Sāsānian coins is that pub

lished by B Dorn (St Petersburg 1873) entitled 'Collection de Monnaies Sassanides de feu le Lieutenant Général J de Bartholomaei' but unfortunately no text accompanies the 32 plates. The soldier savant had proposed to edit his collection of Sasanian coins and announced in concert with Dorn the preparation of a *Tresaurus numorum Sasanidicorum* but owing to diverse causes this work unfortunately could not be undertaken and Bartholomaei died in 1870 leaving only the engraved plates which furnish us with very valuable and important information from the point of view of history palaeography philology and art. The historian has under his eyes a successive and almost complete list of the Sasanian kings even Papak the father of Ardāshīr the founder of the Sasanian dynasty is not missed. The different epochs of the Pahlavi alphabet can be followed for more than four centuries (A C 224 651). The philologist will profit by reading the legend which contain the attributes of the kings and other Pahlavi words as well as the Pahlavi numbers from one to forty eight. The artist also will find much of considerable interest. These plates will always serve as a guide and will be an indispensable manual for those who are interested in Sasanian numismatics.

Mordtmann having replied (in the *ZDMG* for 1858 and 1865) to several criticisms made by Dorn Bartholomaei Noldeke and Salemann on certain readings of dates and proper names resumed the question of the mints in a subsequent paper published in the *ZDMG* Vol XXXIII for 1879 pp 113 136. In the same volume (pp 82 112) he also gave a complete treatise on the numismatic history of the Arab governors of Persia with the determination of four eras of Yazdegerd of Khusrāu of the Hijra and of Tabaristan employed on their coins.

In his posthumous memoir in the *ZDMG* 1880 Vol XXXIV pp 1 162 which is wholly devoted to the royal Sasanian coins the earlier essays have been brought up to date.

According to Drouin the essays of Mordtmann combined with the plates of Bartholomaei should be used still as the basis of all Sasanian studies.

The first published catalogue of Sasanian coins is that by A de Markoff (1889) describing about 500 coins of the Sasanian series in the cabinet of the *Institut des Langues Orientales* at St Petersburg.

Sir A Cunningham has published some rare Sasanian coins in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1893 p 178 pl XIII.

Several papers have been contributed by E Drouin on Sasanian numismatics of which the three important ones are *Observations sur les monnaies a legendes en pehlvi* in the *Revue Archéologique* for 1884 and 1885 *Histoire de l'Épi*

graphie Sassanide (Aperçu sommaire, mémoire lu à la section Iranienne du Congrès des Orientalistes tenu à Paris en Septembre 1897)', and 'Les Légendes des Monnaies Sassanides in the *Revue Archéologique* 1898'. The first treats of Pahlavi numismatics generally and the second gives a bibliography of the publications on Sasanian matters, including the coins. This bibliography is almost similar to that given by A. de Markoff in his catalogue of Sasanian coins above mentioned. In his third paper Drouin gives the amended readings of all the Sasanian coin legends.

E. J. Ripson has described a few Sasanian coins collected in Sistan by G. P. Tate of the Sistan Boundary Commission in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1904, pp. 673-86 and 1 pl.

The only other catalogue of Sasanian coins, describing about 73 coins in the Indian Museum at Calcutta is by Vincent Smith (*Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta* 1906 Vol. I, pp. 217-229 and pl. XXIV).

The most notable addition in recent years to our knowledge in this branch of Sasanian antiquarian research is the essay by J. de Morgan, entitled *Contribution à l'étude des ateliers monétaires sous la dynastie des Rois Sassanides de Perse* (*Revue Numismatique*, 1913). This essay deals entirely with the Sasanian mints. De Morgan has thrown fresh and interesting light not only on the known mints but also on several hitherto unknown mint monograms. It is a comprehensive work full of all the latest researches and reveals a rare and vast knowledge of places personally visited and examined. In fine it is a scientific exposition not only of the many ambiguous readings of the mint monograms but also of most of the identifications laid down hypothetically by earlier authors.

A few notes by myself on some rare Sasanian coins will be found in the 'Numismatic Supplements' XXVIII and XXIX to the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' Vol. XIII of 1917 and A.S. XXX to the *J.A.S.B.* Vol. XIV of 1918.

Dr G. F. Hill, the Keeper of coins and medals in the British Museum, informs me that J. de Morgan has in an advanced stage of preparation a complete account of the whole subject of the Sasanian coinage. The casts of all Sasanian coins in the British Museum had already been supplied to him. His MS. and plates are almost ready for publication, and his material is likely to be more complete than any at the command of previous students.

He also informs me that W. H. Valentine has in preparation (and far advanced) a brief general guide to Sasanian coins.

Mr. Nelson Wright informs me that De Morgan is not likely to complete his work for an indefinite period.

In the preparation of these notes and bibliography the following works have been of great assistance —


Haug's Essay on Pahlavi'

De Markoff's Catalogue des monnaies Sassanides' and

Drouin's Histoire de l'épigraphie Sassanide

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- J de Bartholomaei* Conjectures sur quelques médailles Sassanides postérieures au roi Tirouze
St Petersburg 1847 8°
- J de Bartholomaei* Classement de médailles au type Sassanides du point de vue de l'art
St Petersburg 1847 8°
- J de Bartholomaei* Lettres numismatiques et archéologiques relatives à la Transcaucasie
St Pétersbourg 1859 4 With 4 plates
- J de Bartholomaei* Extrait d'une lettre à M Dorn datée de Lenkoran 12 Mai 1857 contenant des observations numismatiques concernant les règnes de Kavad et de Khosrou I
Mel Asiat t III (1859) pp 138 148
- J de Bartholomaei* Extraits des lettres à M Dorn datées de Lenkoran 30 Juin et 6 Juillet et de Tiflis, 11 Aout 1857 a propos d'une lettre de M Khanykov, datée de Tebriz 3 (17) Juin 1857
Mel Asiat t III (1859) pp 149 165
- J de Bartholomaei* Extraits des lettres à M Dorn datées de Tiflis 5 9 12 16 et 26 Mai 1858 contenant des observations sur la numismatique Sassanide avec des remarques de M Dorn
Mel Asiat t III (1859) pp 349 372
- J de Bartholomaei* Collection de monnaies Sassanides de feu le Lieutenant General J de Bartholomaei représentée d'après les pièces les plus remarquables Publiée par B Dorn St Petersburg 1873 4° 10 pp with 32 plates and a portrait Second edition St Pétersbourg 1875 4° 14 pp with 32 plates and a portrait
- C Bayley* Sassanian Coins
Calcutta 1874 8°
(Extract from the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1874)
- O Blau* Istandara de Meschon. Ein Beitrag zur Münztopographie der Sassaniden
Num Zeitschr Wien Vol IX (1877) pp 273 283

- B Dorn* 'Versuch einer Erklärung von drei Münzen mit Sassaniden Gepräge'
 St Petersburg 1842 8° 14 pp with 1 pl
 (Extract from the *Bullet de la classe histor philol de l'Acad Imp des sciences de St Petersburg* t I, col 33 43)
- B Dorn* 'Ueber einige bisher ungekannte Münzen des dritten Sassaniden Königes Hormisdas I'
Bullet de la classe des sc histor philol etc de l'Acad Imp des sc de St Petersburg t I (1844)
 col 273 294 with II plates
- B Dorn* 'Die neueste Bereicherung des asiatischen Münzcabinettes der Kaiserl Akademie der Wissensch II Sassaniden'
Bullet de la cl des sc hist philol etc, t I (1844)
 col 107 110
- B Dorn* 'Die letzte Schenkung von morgenländischen Münzen an das asiatische Museum II Nicht muhammedanische, d i Parsen Münzen'
Bullet de la cl des sc hist philol etc t I (1844)
 col 270 272
- B Dorn* 'Bemerkungen zur Sassaniden Münzkunde'
Bullet de la cl des sc hist philol etc t V (1845)
 col 225 234
- B Dorn* 'Die Pehlew Münzen des asiatischen Museums der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften III Die Münzen der Ispehbede, Chahfen, und deren Statthalter'
Mémoires de l'Acad Imp des sc de St Pétersbourg t II (1850) pp 249 263
- B Dorn* 'Noch einige Nachweisungen über Pehlew Münzen'
Mémoires de l'Acad Imp des sc de St Pétersbourg t II (1853), pp 387 398
- B Dorn* 'Ueber die letzten dem asiatischen Museum zugekommenen Pehlew Münzen'
Mémoires de l'Acad Imp des sc de St Pétersbourg t II (1856) pp 608 611
- B Dorn* 'Noch einige Worte über ein auf Pehlew Münzen vorkommendes sogenanntes Münzzeichen oder Monogram 
- Mémoires de l'Acad Imp des sc de St Pétersbourg*
- t III (1859) pp 286 315
- B Dorn* 'Neue Ansichten in der Pehlew Münzkunde'
Mémoires de l'Acad Imp des sc de St Pétersbourg t III (1859) pp 426 459
- B Dorn* 'Nachträge zu den neuen Ansichten in der Pehlew Münzkunde'
Mémoires de l'Acad Imp des sc de St Pétersbourg t III (1859) pp 460 475

- B Dorn* Forschungen in der Pehlew Münzkunde I '
Mél Asiat t III (1859) pp 613 630
- B Dorn* Forschungen in der Pehlew Münzkunde II '
Mél Asiat t IV (1863) pp 22 24
- B Dorn* Bemerkungen über A Nordtmann's Erklärung der
Munzen mit Pehlevi Legenden
Z D M G XVI (1867) pp 161 168
- B Dorn* Zwei dem asyrischen Museum zugekommene Mün-
zenwerbungen
Mél Asiat t VI (1873) pp 141 144
- B Dorn* Seiben aus dem Nachlass des Gen lieut von Bar-
tholomaei dem asyrischen Museum zugekommene
Munzen
Mél Asiat t VI (1873) pp 678 680
- B Dorn* Einige Bemerkungen zur Sassaniden Münzkunde
Mél Asiat t VIII (1881) pp 197 201
- B Dorn* Sechsendachtzig Silbermunzen mit Pehlew y Inschrif-
ten
Mél Asiat t VIII (1881) pp 269 280
- L Drouin* Observations sur les monnaies à légendes en pehlvi
et pehlvi-arabe
Paris 1886 8° pp 98 with 4 plates
(Extract from the Revue Archeologique 1884 and
1885)
- E Drouin* Notice sur quelques monnaies bilingues Sassanides
Revue Numismatique VIII 3 1890 pp 358
365
- E Drouin* Monnaie de Boran reine Sassanide
Rev Num 1893 pp 167 175
- E Drouin* Une medaille d or de Kobad
Bulletin Numismatique Vol II 1893 pp
61 65
- E Drouin* Monnaies Sassanides medites
Rev Num XIII 1895 pp 45 64
- E Drouin* Sur quelques monnaies en bronze de l époque Sas-
sanide
Journal Asiatique V ser 9 1895 pp 165 168
- E Drouin* Les legendes des monnaies Sassanides
Paris 1898 8° pp 57
(Extract from the Revue Archeologique 1898 pp
62 202)
- E Drouin* Les symbols astrologiques sur les monnaies de la
Perse
Gazette belge de Numismatique Bruxelles
1901 pp 8

- Ch M. Fraehn* 'Die Chosroën Münzen der früheren Arabischen
Chalifen'
Mitau, 1822 4°
(Extract from the Jahresverhandl d Kurländ Ge
sellsch, t II, pp 401 416)
- Ch M. Fraehn* 'Supplément au mémoire sur les monnaies
arabes au coin des Chosroes et chalifes avant l'an
75 de l'hégire'
Journ Asiat (1824), t IV, p 331
- Ch M. Fraehn* 'Ueber eine Münze des Sassaniden Narses'
St Petersburger Zeitung, 1829 No 6
- A. de Longpérier* 'Essai sur les médailles des rois Perses de la
dynastie Sassanide'
Paris, 1840 4° IV pp 88 with 12 plates
- J K(arabacek ?)* 'Beschreibung einer Sammlung von Sassani
denmünzen'
Wiener num Monatshefte, t I (1865), pp
25 35, 52 69 with 2 pl
- A Kraft* 'Ueber Herrn Professor Olshausen's Entzifferung
der Pehlewî-Legenden auf Münzen'
Wiener Jahrb, t CVI, Anzeigebblatt für
Wissensch u Kunst (1844), pp 1 33 with
1 pl
- *Malmusi* 'Monete die Sasanidi'
Modène, 1887
- A de Markoff* 'Catalogue des monnaies Arsacides Subarsa
cides, Sassanides, etc'
Collection^s Scientifiques de l' Institut des
Langues Orientales Tom V, St Péters
bourg, 1889 8° pp 136 with 2 plates
- *Mommser* 'Ueber das Gewicht der Sassaniden Münzen'
Z D M G, VIII (1854) pp 571-572
- A. D. Mordtmann* 'Auszüge aus Briefen an Prof Olshausen'
Z D M G, II (1848) pp 108 116
- A D Mordtmann* 'Schreiben an Prof Olshausen'
Z D M G, IV (1850), pp 83 96, 505 509
- A D Mordtmann* 'Erklärung der Münzen mit Pehlewî-Legen
den'
Leipzig, 1854 8° pp 266 and 10 plates
Also Z D M G, VIII (1854), pp 1 209 and 10
plates
- A D Mordtmann* 'Erklärung der Münzen mit Pehlewî-Legen
den Theil II'
Leipzig 1858 8 with 1 pl
Also Z D M G XII (1858), pp 1 57 with 1
pl and 4 tables

- A D Mordtmann* Erklärung der Münzen mit Pehlewī Legenden
Z D M G XIX (1867), pp 373 496 and
Nachtrag p 679
- A D Mordtmann* 'Sassaniden Münzen'
Grotes Münzstudien V pp 1 8
- A D Mordtmann* 'Numismatik der Sassaniden'
Beilage zur Allgemeine Zeitung 1873 No
308
- A D Mordtmann* Zur Pehlewī Münzkunde IV
Z D M G XXVIII (1879) pp 82 142
- A D Mordtmann* 'Zur Pehlewī Münzkunde V'
Z D M G XXIX (1880) pp 1 162 with 1
plate
- J de Morgan* Contribution à l'étude des ateliers monétaires
sous la dynastie des Pois Sassanides de Perse
Revue Numismatique 1913 pp 15 41 17
189 333 362 486 523
- Th Noldeke* Zur Erklärung der Sassaniden Münzen
Z D M G XXXI (1877) pp 147 151
- Th Noldeke* Zur Pehlewī Sprache und Münzkunde
Z D M G XXXIII (1879), pp 687 693
- H Nutzel* Sassanid Münzstempel
J P K Beiblatt 31 II pp 48 50 [gen']
- H Nutzel* Amtliche Berichte aus den kōnigl Kunstsammlung
December 1912 col 41 46 8 fig
In this article are described the Sassanian gold coins
recently acquired by the Berlin Museum
- J Olshausen* Die Pehlewī Legenden auf den Münzen der letzten
Sasaniden auf den ältesten Münzen arabischer
Chalifen, auf den Münzen der Ispehbeds von Taberistan
und auf indo persischen Münzen des östlichen
Iran zum erstenmale gelesen und erklärt
Kopenhagen 1843 8°
This work was translated into English by Wilson
see Numismatic Chronicle IX (1848) pp 60 92,
121 146 See also Quatremere in the Journ des
Savants 1840 pp 406 413
- Sir W Ouseley* Observations on some Medals and Gems bearing
inscriptions in the Pahlawī or ancient Persian
character
London 1801 4°
- Petermann* Ueber die in dem Kgl Museum befindlichen
Sassaniden Münzen
Monatsbericht der Berliner Akad der
Wissensch 1857 pp 445 448

- E J Rapson* 'Notes on ancient coins collected in Seistan by Mr G P Tate of the Seistan Boundary Commission (VII Sassanian Dynasty)'
J R A S, 1904, pp 673 686 and 1 pl
- S de Sacy* 'Memoirs sur diverses antiquités de la Perse, et sur les medailles des rois de la dynastie des Sassanides suivis de l'histoire de cette dynastie, trad du persan de Mirchond'
Paris, 1793, 4°
- C Salemann* 'Ueber eine pehlevisch arabische Münze'
Travaux de la III^{es} sess du congr intern des orient à St Petersburg 1876, p 511
- V A Smith* 'Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta Including the Cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol I, part 3, Sassanian Coins pp 217 229 and 1 pl,
Oxford, 1906
- F Soret* 'Lettre a M J Olshausen sur quelques medailles nouvelles au type Sassanide'
Geneve 1847 8° With 1 pl
- E Thomas* 'Sassanian Coins'
Num Chron XII (1850), pp 68 77, and XV (1852), pp 65 66, 180 187
- E Thomas* 'Notes introductory to Sassanian Mint Monograms and Gems'
J R A S, XIII (1852), pp 373 428 with 3 pl
- E Thomas* 'Numismatic and other antiquarian illustrations of the rule of the Sassanians in Persia A D 226 to 652 (or The Sassanians in Persia)
London 1873 8° 43, 16 34 pp and 7 pl
Extract from the Num Chron, Vol XII (1872), pp 33-59, 105-119, 271-286, and Vol XIII (1873) pp 220-253
- Th Ch Tychsen* 'Commentationes IV de numis veterum Persarum'
Comment Reg Soc Scient Goetting 1808
13 4°
- Th Ch Tychsen* 'De nummis veterum Persarum Commentatio tertia, qua regum Sassanidarum nummi illustrantur'
Gottingae, 1812 4° With 2 pl
- H H Wilson* 'Ariana Antiqua'
London, 1841 4° pp 452 with 22 pl
- * * * * * 'Seltene sassanid Münzen Mit Abb'
Gutenberglaube, 1908 p 1092 sq

- (1 Goldmunze d. Sassaniden kōnigs Varanes III, 2 Goldmunze d. kōnigin Purandocht D. Aufschriften beider sind in Pehlowi)

This paper is mentioned in the *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft* XXVI (1908), Perser E. Wilhelm p. I 33, no. 111 but the names of the author and the journal are not given

It appears from the *Orientalisch Literatur Zeitung* II pp. 48 and 257 that a gold coin of Bahram III was presented to the Royal Museum of Berlin in 1907. Perhaps it is the same as described above

TURDOONJI D. J. PARCEI

25th June 1919

219 MINT TOWNS OF THE DEHLI SULTANS

In imitation of the admirable example set by the compilers of the catalogues of Mughal coins in the Calcutta and Lahore Museums I have extracted the following notes from a mass of material collected for private reference in the hope that they may be of use to others and encourage collectors to assist in the completion of a list which does not pretend to be exhaustive in any way. Much has yet to be learned regarding the provincial mints of the earlier rulers and the list of Sūfī mints is still far from complete. Save in a few cases which are supported by historical references I have ignored purely conjectural references. Many mints have been suggested which are not in the list but they yet need definite proof, and possibly their omission may incite the propounders of these suggestions to establish their theories by irrefutable evidence.

Ābu

This is believed to be a copper mint of Sher Shāh, who obtained possession of the celebrated hill fortress through the agency of Khawās Khan. It had belonged formerly to Raja Mal Deo of Jodhpur. The mint was long unrecognized owing to the similarity of the name to Alwar but the coins of the two places differ slightly in detail those attributed to Ābu being peculiar at all events in the issues of 951 in having the date both on the area and on the margin of the obverse. There is no reason to believe that this mint continued to work after the death of Sher Shah in 952.

Āgra

A small copper coin attributed to Alāmalah was struck at some town whose name might be read as Āgra but no mention of this place occurs in history until its foundation, or possibly

its restoration by Sikandar Lodi who made Agra his capital and abandoned Dehli. The name does not appear on the coins of Sikandar Lodi or his successor but both Babar and Humayun made Agra a mint for silver and copper. From the capture of the city by Sher Shah in 947 the numismatic importance of the place increased. Sher Shah, Islam Shah and Muhammad Adil struck silver rupees here though the name appears on the copper coinage only of the first of these monarchs. Issues of Ibrahim and Sikandar both of whom held Agra for a time have not been discovered.

Alwar

A mint for copper coin was established at Alwar by Sher Shah 950 being the earliest known date. The mint was maintained by Islam Shah who also struck rupees here.

Awadh

This the ancient Ajodhya was first discovered by Mr Nelson Wright to have been a Sūri mint. The coins issued from Awadh are not represented in any public collection and are of copper only. Dams and half dams were issued by Islam Shah and a doubtful reading gives a dam of Sher Shah also.

Bhānpur

The modern Bhānpūra takes its name from a hill fortress in the Indore State near the right bank of the Chambal. A few rare rupees of Sher Shah bear a name read by Thomas as Bhānpūr but no reference to the place is to be found in the historians. If the reading is correct a mint must have been established here in 950 by Sher Shah as a post on the road from Rantambhor to Ujjain but though the name has not been determined with sufficient certainty no more satisfactory reading has yet been suggested.

Biāna

The old stronghold of Biana became a mint for copper under Sher Shah and the dams here struck are of a characteristic type. In the reign of Islam Shah the mint produced rupees of two types but his copper coins have not yet been recognized with certainty.

Bilādu l Hind

This term signifying merely the cities of India appears on a few coins of Altamsh and his immediate successors. It indicates no mint but as it is combined with Lakhnauti in a coin of Nasir u din Mahmūd it may be presumed that it was

applied generically to the country of Hindustan and included Bengal

Bul Hīn līa (2)

Numerous copper coins both dīms and half dīms of Islam Shāh of a very distinctive and unusual type, bear a mint name which has long been a subject of speculation. Dr Hoernl suggested Ludhiana but this is clearly untenable for the second portion of the name is obviously *لہ*. The first portion provided there are no letters omitted from the beginning is *ب* or more probably *بھ*. The design of the coin is so different from that of any other issue by the same Sultan that it may well be regarded as provincial.

The most probable suggestion is that the Handia of these coins is the modern Handia in the Hoshangabad district. Handia has the remains of an old fort built in the days of Sher Shah and commands one of the most frequented passages of the Narbada on the main route from Ujjain to Burhanpur. It is described as an ancient Hindu town founded by Rāj Bhoja Deva Pānvar and Sher Shah gave it with Sewas as *jagir* to Shuja al-Khan who subsequently held Ujjain, Mandu and Sarangpur. At a later date Handia was transferred to the *jagir* of Bihar Khan Sarwari and in the days of Humayun the *jagirdar* was Mehtar Zimbur who was driven out and compelled to take refuge at Ujjain by Sikandar Khan and other insurgents.

The place reappears frequently in later history and was the seat of a *sanjdar* so long as it remained in the possession of the Mughals while under the Marathas it was the headquarters of an *āmīl*.

It is clear that the town was of importance and in the days of the Sūrī Sultans it constituted the southernmost fortress of the empire.

The name is given as Handia by the author of the *Muntakhab al-Iubab* and it is unnecessary to lay too much stress on the quantity of the initial syllable.

The name Bul or Būd presents a greater difficulty but possibly this may be an abbreviation of the full name Handia Bulang Shah the place being named after a saint whose tomb is still honoured.

The identification is not certain by any means but at least it is as plausible as any other which has been put forward hitherto.

Chunar

The ancient stronghold of Chunar came at an early date into the hands of Sher Shāh but no coins of this mint earlier than 949 have yet come to light. Silver and copper were minted here by Sher Shah, Islam Shah and Muhammad Adil.

Dārū l Islam

This mint appears first on the coins of Alau d dīn Muhammad and thereafter occurs till the middle of the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq. It is generally regarded as a synonym for Hazrat Dehli but coins of both mints appear regularly in the same years and there is often a marked difference in their design and in the style of execution. The earliest coins known which bear this name are of 702 and it is suggested that the establishment of a second mint at Dehli dates from the time when Alau d dīn Muhammad removed his capital from Old Dehli to his new city of Siri which was entitled Dārū l Khilāfat. The College founded by Altamsh at the back of the Jamī Masjid of Old Dehli and restored by Alau d dīn is frequently called Dārū l Islam and it is quite probable that the valuable right of striking coin was left to the religious foundation after the removal of the Court from that immediate neighbourhood.

Daulatabad see *Deogir*

Dehli

The capital city of the Sultans was naturally their chief place of mintage and Dehli with the epithets of Hazrat o Dārū l mull which appear to have been used indiscriminately at all events from the days of Muhammad bin Tughlaq onwards appears on the coins of all the kings from Altamsh to Sikandar Lodi. The latter moved his capital to Agra and after 908 the name of the capital vanishes from the coinage until it was restored by Humayun. Sher Shah struck coins at Shergadh or Hazrat Dehli the place of mintage being his fort of Shergadh begun by Humayun and completed by himself. Rare coins of the first year of Islam Shah bear the name of Dehli but thereafter none are known till the return of Humayun unless as has been suggested the Shahgadh of Islam Shah and Muhammad Adil refers to the imperial capital.

Hazrat Dehli or Dehli Dārū l mull refer to Old Dehli till the days of Alau d dīn Muhammad and his foundation of Siri. Possibly the royal mint was moved to Tughlaqabad for the short time during which that fortress was occupied but thereafter it remained at Siri or Firuzabad according to the inclination of the ruler until the days of the Suris.

See also Dārū l Islam and Jahanpanah

Deogir

Qila Deogir first appears as a mint of the Dehli Sultans in the reign of Alau d dīn Muhammad. It is doubtful if any coins were struck here before 714 although the fort was taken in 709. Issues of gold and silver are known of Alau d dīn

Muhammad and Ghiyas d dīn Tughlaq It is probable that the gold coins of Qutbu d dīn Mubarak struck at Qutbābād in 718 and 719 are really coins of Deogir the name of Qutbābād commemorating the recapture and rebuilding of the fortress by that monarch Deogir was a mint of Muhammad bin Tughlaq and his gold dīnārs give the place the title of *دہ دہ لاسلام اعدی حصہ د وگدر*

The place was also named Daulatabad by Muhammad bin Tughlaq who undertook the disastrous experiment of transferring his capital thither from Dehli in 740 The change was shortlived for in the following year Dehli again became the recognized seat of government It is curious to find the name of Daulatabad employed on the posthumous gold and silver coins of Ghiyas d dīn Tughlaq struck in 725 and 726 as in the three succeeding years the name of the mint reverts to Deogir while on the brass tokens of 130 and the following years we find Daulatabad this name making infrequent reappearance thereafter

Dhār

The mountain stronghold of Dhar in the country of Malwa received abundant attention from the Sultans of Dehli but no mint was established there till the days of Muhammad bin Tughlaq who struck large numbers of brass *tankas* at Darra Dhār the pass of Dhar sometimes misspelt Dīhar on these coins The place was occupied by the Sūris but no mint appears to have been established there

Fakhrābād

This is the suggested reading of a mint which appears on a solitary copper coin of Ghiyas d dīn Balban published by Mr Whitehead The position of the place is not known and it must be included among the questions which still await elucidation with regard to the mint towns of this Sultan

Fathābād

This name first appears as a mint on the coins of Jalālu d dīn Muhammad Sultan of Bengal from 817-835

Coins were struck here as early as 948 by Sher Shāh and it continued to issue rupees throughout his reign No later rupees are known and it would seem that the mint was closed by Islam Shah

The place is now known as Farīdpūr and gives its name to a district in Bengal

Gaur

A mysterious rupee of Shamsu d dīn Altamsh bears a mint which resembles *گور* and this has been read as *ba Gaur* A gold coin published by Thouas has the words *مرتب گور* and a

similar interpretation has been given. An alternative reading is Nagor, but this place is invariably written Nagor. The problem has not been solved, but in any case Gaur is unlikely as we are told that the name was changed from Gaur to Lakhnauti before the days of Altamsh. A close examination of the rupee in the Indian Museum convinces me that the mint is Lakhnauti, but the gold coin, as reproduced by Thomas cannot be so read.

Gwāliar

The renowned fortress of Gwāliar became, apparently for the first time, a place of mintage in the reign of Sher Shah, into whose possession it passed in 947. Thereafter the mint was used very largely by that Sultān and his successors, Islām Shāh and Muhammad 'Ādil, both silver and copper coins being issued in profusion. The copper coins of Islām Shāh, however, are rare, and the two types of *dāms* struck by Muhammad 'Ādil are not common.

Hissār

The town and fortress of Hissār was founded by Fīroz Shah but the place does not appear as a mint till the days of the Sūrī dynasty. It was the birth place of Sher Shāh and possibly on this account it rose to greater prominence when that great monarch incorporated it in his wide dominions. Only copper issued from this mint and, as far as is known, it ceased working at the end of his reign, no coins of Islām Shāh having yet come to light.

In the catalogue of the White King collection reference is made to a billon coin of this mint issued by Muhammad bin Tughlaq, but the coin is not illustrated and the reading needs confirmation.

Jahānpanāh

The portion of the triple town of Dehli known as Jahān panāh, which occupies the space between Old Dehli and Sirī was founded by Muhammad bin Tughlaq. The name never appears on coins, however, till the days of Sher Shāh. Thomas at first considered the word to be a mere title of the Sultān, but subsequently he changed his mind and regarded it as the name of the mint abruptly inserted. His view has been adopted by subsequent authorities, including Mr Nelson Wright, who regard it as the name of the Dehli mint, presumably by analogy from the fact that the new city built by Humayūn, and completed by Sher Shah under the name of Shergādh 'urf Hazrat Dehli, was styled by the former monarch Dīnpanāh.

Now no historical reference can be found to Dehli under the name of Jahānpanāh during the reign of Sher Shah. On the contrary we have coins bearing this word and dated in

946 while those of 947 are very numerous Sher Shah did not gain possession of Dehli till the end of 947 and he is not likely to have struck coins bearing that mint name before it was included in his dominions. Again with very few exceptions such as the Sharifabad coins of the earlier type the mint is always prefaced by the word *zarb* and this never occurs before Jahānpurāh. Further the rupees of Ujjain bear the words *zarb Ujjain* on the obverse margin whereas on the reverse the honorific title of the sovereign is Abū l Muẓaffar Jahānpurāh a fact which shows conclusively that Jahānpurāh in this instance cannot be anything but an honorific epithet. Contemporary histories show that the Sūrī Sultans and Akbar were commonly addressed by this term and this in conjunction with the other evidence adduced tends to show that in the case of Mr Thomas second thoughts were unfortunate and that definite authority for the inclusion of Jahānpurāh among the mints of the Pathans is still lacking.

Jaunpur

We are told in the *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī* that Fīroz Shāh founded a new fort and city at Jaunpur by the name of Zafarabad and that he installed his son Fāth Khān as viceroy of the eastern portions of his dominions with the right to coin. The issues bearing the name of this prince are clearly of a provincial type as pointed out by Thomas but while it is almost certain that they were struck at Jaunpur, there is no mention of the place of mintage in the description. The Sharqī dynasty similarly omitted the name of their capital in the abundant issues of coins from their mint and the name does not appear till the conquest of Jaunpūr by Bāhlol Lodī who struck small coins with the mint given as *Shahr Jaunpūr*. After him came the luckless Bābak but Sikandar Lodī did not continue the practice. Jaunpur was a mint of Pābāi and Humayūn and was adorned with the title of *Khizāna mutabarrak*. The place fell at an early date into the hands of Sher Shāh but none of his known coins bear this name. Copper was struck there however by Muḥammad Adil who retained Jaunpur till shortly before his death.

Thusa

The small town of Thusa is situated opposite the fort of Allahabad on the north bank of the Ganges. It figures as a mint on a rare rupee of Muḥammad Adil and on some similar gold piece which are not above suspicion.

Kalpi

The old Muḥammadan stronghold of Kalpi on the Jumna did not attain the dignity of a mint city until the days of

Sher Shah who from 948 onwards struck both silver and copper coin there. His example was followed by Islam Shah and Muhammad Adil but the silver coins of the latter are very scarce. The mint was retained by Akbar who e Kālpā coins bear a very close resemblance to those of the Sūri type.

Lāhor

This great city appears to have possessed a mint only in the days of Altamsh and afterwards at the extreme end of the Pathan period when rupees were struck here by Sikandar Sur before his overthrow by the forces of Humayūn. The latter had established a mint here during the first part of his reign but Sher Shah appears to have neglected the place altogether confining his attention to the great chain of forts extending along the frontier from the hills to Multan.

Lakhnau

The present capital of Oudh is an ancient city but it did not rise to much importance till the days of Sher Shah who established there a mint for copper coins. These are not particularly common and none have yet been found of Islam Shah or his successor.

Lakhnauti

The famous city of Gaur under the name of Lakhnauti written Laknauti till the days of Ghiyasuddin Balban was the Muhammadan capital of Bengal from the time of Qutbuddin Aibak who entrusted the eastern province to Muhammad Bakhtiar Khilji. This chieftain is said to have destroyed Nudder and to have made Laknauti his headquarters striking coin in his own name.

Shamsuddin Altamsh in 622 secured Lakhnauti for himself and struck coin there. Among his successors rupees from this mint are known of Razia, Nasiruddin Mahmūd and Balban. The last changed the name on the coins from Laknauti to Khitā Lakhnauti the alteration occurring in 667. After the death of Balban a separate kingdom of Bengal was formed and Lakhnauti ceases to appear on the coinage of the Delhi Sultans till its recovery by Muhammad bin Tughlaq. This monarch struck gold silver and brass at Shahr Lakhnauti from 727 till 735 after which date the Bengal ruler appears to have regained his independence. The mint on the brass issues of 791 is styled Iqīm Lakhnauti.

See also Caur

Malot

The frontier fortress of Malot near Rawalpindi was built by Tatar Khan Yusufkhel in the days of Bahlol Lodi and was included by Sher Shah in his chain of permanent works which were afterward strengthened and extended by his son. Both

Sher Shah and Islam Shah maintained a mint for copper coins at Walot and a few silver issues of the former are known

Mulk i Tilang

This reading has been much disputed but is now accepted as the place at which a rare type of gold coin bearing the name of Ghiasu d din Tughlaq was struck. These coins were the product of the expedition led by his son Fakhru d din Juna better known as Muhammad bin Tughlaq. As no town is specified it is presumed that the issue occurred during the first siege of Warangal afterwards styled Sultanpur (q v) by its conqueror. The name reappears in 725H on the posthumous gold and silver coins of Tughlaq.

Multan

Copper coins attributed to Altamsh but bearing no name of the ruler were struck at Multan. Thereafter the place disappears from the coinage till the days of the Mughal Empire.

Nagor see Gaur

Narnol

This town had from the first a close connection with the Suri dynasty as Ibrahim Khan the grandfather of Sher Shah died here after having held a *jāgir* in that neighbourhood for many years. Possibly owing to this connection but more probably on account of the copper mines in the vicinity Sher Shah established a mint here which produced copper coins in great abundance. His successor Islam Shah also minted rupees at Narnol and this example was followed by Muhammad Adil at all events in the first two years of his reign. The commonest type of dam issued by the latter Sultan came from this mint and the execution corresponds very closely with that of the coins here produced by his predecessor but the name very rarely appears in the inscription and even then is little more than fragmentary.

Patna

The location of a mint at Patna before the days of the Mughals is at least doubtful. It has been suggested that the mint name on a coin of Fath Khān the son of Ibroz Shah can be read Shahr Patna but this is mere conjecture and further it is questionable whether Patna was a city of any importance at that period. Its rise dates from the foundation of the fort by Sher Shah in 948 for which see Rasūlpur.

Qanauj

See Sherghadhuri Qanauj and Shahghadh.

Qutbābād.

The mint of Qila' Qutbābād appears only on gold coins of Qutbu-d-din Mubārak and in no case before 718. Hitherto it has been supposed that this was merely a name given to Delhi but as the capital styled in the earlier issues of that king Hazrat Delhi or Dāru-l-Mulk Delhi became in 718 Hazrat Dāru-l-Khilāfat, it is more reasonable to look elsewhere. In 718 Qutbu-d-din proceeded southwards in consequence of insurrections. We are told that he recaptured and restored the fort of Deogir, in which he erected a great mosque. It would be only in keeping with the character of this vainglorious monarch to assume that he gave his own name to the town bearing a Hindu appellation which had for a time the honour of sheltering the self-styled *Khalifa* of Islām.

Rāṣṭn.

The fortress of Rāṣṭn in Mālwa was captured by Sher Shāh in 950, this exploit being accompanied by a shameful massacre of the garrison after capitulation on terms. A mint was established here for silver and copper, and this was maintained by Islām Shāh, after whose death the place was lost to the Delhi kingdom and incorporated in Mālwa by Bāz Bahādur.

Rantambhor.

The celebrated fortress of Rantambhor was captured by Shamsu d-din Altamsh, and thereafter it appears frequently in the annals of the Delhi Sultāns. It did not however, take its place among the mint cities of the empire till its capture by Sher Shāh in 949. It was then assigned in *jāgīr* to his eldest son, 'Adil Khān, but its history as a mint appears to have been brief. The rupees of Rantambhor are very scarce and no copper coin has yet been published. Coins of Islām Shāh from this mint have never been reported.

Rasūlpūr 'urf?

A rare rupee of Sher Shāh was struck at Rasūlpūr a place which is unmentioned in the histories, and unfortunately cannot be determined by the alternative name as this has never been read with certainty. Mr. Nelson Wright suggests Patna, and this is at least a possible reading. We know that Sher Shāh built the fort of Patna, which in consequence became one of the largest cities in the province and by its rise caused the ruin of the old town of Bihār. This occurred in 948. There is a Rasūlpūr less than twenty miles upstream from the modern town of Patna, known as Rasūlpūr Maner. The situation of this place agrees better with the account given in the

Tārīkh-i-Dauli than Patna as it now stands so that probably the fort of Sher Shah was considerably above the town of Patna and nearer the present cantonment of Danapur if not actually situated there

Rohas

See Shergadh. It is very doubtful whether Sher Shah who undoubtedly stored his treasure in this fortress struck any coin here. One dam of 951 might be read as issued from the Rohas mint but the reading is most uncertain and in view of the close proximity of Shergadh the theory must be abandoned until definite proof is forthcoming.

Sahat-i-Sind

This curious appellation appears on rare billon coins of Hiron Shah and commemorates the period when he and his army were lost in the desert of Sind during the futile expeditions against Tatta. The coins are undated and constitute merely a camp mintage.

Sambhal

The ancient Hindu town of Sambhal in Rohilkhand had long been the headquarters of a province but no coins were struck there till Sher Shah established a mint for copper probably in 950. Both dams and half dams of this ruler are known but only one of Islam Shah has yet come to light although Sambhal formed his temporary capital for a considerable period. Ibrahim Sur also made Sambhal his headquarters during his struggle for supremacy but none of his rare coins record this mint.

Satgion

Satgion or Satganw appears as a mint for the first time in the days of Muhammad bin Tughlaq who issued therefrom gold silver and brass coins from 727 to 735. The place is sometimes called Arsat Satganw but there is no reason for differentiating between the district and the town.

The mint was maintained at intervals by the Sultans of Bengal and was revived by Sher Shah as far as can be ascertained in 950. Two types of rupee struck by Islam Shah are known, and the mint was working till the end of his reign.

Shahgadh

The position of this place is not known. It has been suggested that it is either Dehli or Shergadh (q v). The mint is represented by dams and half dams of Islam Shah from 958 and of Muhammad Adil. There is a Shahgadh in the Bareilly district which tradition ascribes to Islam Shah but it is very doubtful whether this small fort ever attained the importance of a mint.

A more probable suggestion is that the name of Shergadh urf Qanauj was changed to Shahgadh by Islam Shah between 956 and 958 the altered appellation being retained by Akbar whose coins bear the name of Qanauj urf Shahgadh

Shahjābād

This was a Bengal mint established in 946 by Sher Shah almost at the commencement of his reign. Its existence at this early date is interesting as showing the extent of his dominions at the time when he defeated Humayūn and further is indicating the manner in which he completed the conquest of Bengal proper after securing all the country from Pohtas to the sea.

The mint was maintained by Islam Shah but appears to have ceased operations after 954.

Shergadh

Coins were struck at many places bearing this name in the reign of Sher Shah but generally the locality is designated clearly by some addition such as Shergadh urf Hazrat Dehli Shergadh urf Qanauj and so on. Shergadh plain and simple or Qila Shergadh implies the Shergadh *par excellence* the fortress which was regarded rightly as the foundation of the imperial structure erected by that remarkable soldier and statesman.

The story of the acquisition by Sher Shah of the fort of Rohtas made so great an impression on the minds of the historians that they generally formed the conclusion—a conclusion adopted by no less an authority than Edward Thomas—that Rohtas was renamed Shergadh. The impression is strengthened by the statement in the *Tarikh-i Sher Shahi* that Rohtas was garrisoned by 10 000 matchlock men and that treasures without number or reckoning were kept in the fort. This may have been the case but Rohtas was not Shergadh and it is very doubtful whether Rohtas possessed a mint.

The fort of Shergadh is well known as a Protected Monument. It is in the Shahabad district about halfway between Bhabua and Rohtas and is described somewhat inadequately; it is true in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey Eastern Circle for 1902. There it is stated that Sher Shah built the fort as being more advantageously situated than Rohtas. Abbas Khan the author of the history quoted states that Sher Khan as he then was built a fortress as a refuge in the hills of Nahrkunda or Bahrkunda as it is written variously and gave it the name of Shergadh. The difference between Rohtas and Shergadh was well known to Abu l Fazl who states that first Rohtas and then Shergadh surrendered to Akbar in the 21st year of his reign.

Silver coins of Sher Shah were issued at least as early as 945 from the mint of Shergadh. In the last two years of the reign the type is different from any other rupees of this Sultan as the name of Sher Shah is preceded by the title *المملوك على* *الرحمان* and the mint is given as Qila Shergadh. Mr Rogers published a small copper coin with the date 911 but this reading seems somewhat doubtful though it is certain that Sher Shah first assumed the royal title at this place.

Islam Shah issued both silver and copper coins from the Shergadh mint but as the Sūrī kingdom became more strongly established the place only slightly less remote than Rohtas seems to have lost its political and numismatic importance its retention being doubtless due to sentimental considerations.

It is just possible that Islam Shah changed the name to Shergadh as we find coins of that mint up to 961 when Delhi (q v) had been lost but soon after the fortresses passed with Rohtas into other hands and when conquered by Akbar both belonged to the Hindī Rāj of Ganjauti.

Shergadh urf Balar

The stronghold of Balar or Bhaklat on the Indus was conquered by Altamsh but in later days was generally held by some independent or quasi-dependent chieftain. Abbas Khan the author of the *Tārīkh-i Sher Shahī* states that Haibat Khan after suppressing the Biluch rebellion in 919 founded a city in the country of Multān which he named Shergadh. This was known as Shergadh urf Shuqq-i-Bakar and a mint was instituted there. Rupees of Sher Shah from 950 onwards are known as well as gold and silver coins of Islam Shah while the British Museum possesses a fine rupee of Muhammad Adil from this mint.

Shergadh urf Harat Delhi

See Delhi

Shergadh urf Qanauj

The ancient city of Qanauj was undoubtedly used as a mint in the days of Muhammad bin Sam for the production of the gold coins struck after the model adopted by the Gaharwar Rijas of that place but the mint name is not given and Qanauj does not appear on any coin till the days of Islam Shah whose dāms of this issue are well known.

A rare rupee of Altamsh struck at Biladul Hind has an imperfect legend on the reverse containing the words *خراج صنع* *كول*. It is suggested that the cities of Ind 'may be here specified and that the provincial capitals of Qanauj and Koil (Aligarh) are designated.

The name Shergadh derived its origin from a fort built by Sher Shāh near the old city and occupied by a permanent garrison. It does not appear however that a mint was established till the following reign the earliest recorded coin being of 905.

See however Shāhgadh

Shergadh urf

Two types of dam struck by Sher Shah bear the mint name of Qila Shergadh urf (?). The alias is written *شیر* but the identification is difficult as the word in some cases appears *شیر* and in others *شیر*. It is not likely to be the original Shergadh for these coins do not appear before 900 by which time the Shergadh in the Shahabad district had become too well known to need any explanatory description. There were many places called Shergadh and the choice is varied. One lies due west of Jodhpur and another was on the North West Frontier also known as little Rohtas. Both had permanent garrisons and either might have been a place of mintage though the latter was unnecessary owing to the proximity of Malot. The problem awaits solution but it is possible that the fort in Bihar took its alias from an adjoining village of Bewal.

Sultanpur (I)

This name was given by Muhammad bin Tughlaq to the town of Warangal in the Muslims dominions. Gold coins both the heavy *dinars* of his early years and light pieces of 140 grains after 733 were struck there but the place did not remain long under the control of Delhi and its numismatic interest disappears before the end of this reign.

Sultanpur (II)

A single silver coin of Ghori-ud-din Balban and a solitary copper specimen bear the name of *Khita Sultanpūr* as their place of mintage. It seems certain that this town lay in the Panjab and it probably derived its name from the assumption of royalty by the former viceroy who so long had held that province under his sway. Consequently it is safe to assume that the mint took its name from the town of Sultanpūr which is situated on the east bank of the Beas in the southern extremity of the Kapurthala State. This was the recognized crossing on the route from Delhi to Lahor and the place is mentioned frequently by the historians from the day of Balban onwards.

Sunārgāon

This was exclusively a Bengal mint and the sole reason for its inclusion in this list is the existence of gold and silver

coins the latter published by Thomas which were struck at this place in 728 by Ghiyasuddin Bahadur Shah of Bengal under the explicit suzerainty of Muhammad bin Tughlaq

Tilanj see *Mulk i Tilang*

Tirlut see *Tughlaq* or

Tughlaq or *ur* *Tirlut*

This appellation appears solely on coins of Muhammad bin Tughlaq who seems to have commemorated his conquests in the East by giving Tirlut his own name. A solitary gold coin with this designation is known but it appears also on the rare brass *talas* struck in the days of the forced currency recorded dates being 730 and 731.

The White King Catalogue contains a reference to a coin of Fath Khan and Firoz which is supposed to have been struck at Iqlim Tughlaipu but this reading must be regarded as conjectural till verified by other specimens. It is probable that the suggestion arose from the now established fact that Fath Khan struck coins with the mint name Iqlimu sh Sharq the place of issue being probably Jaunpur.

Ujjain

The ancient city of Ujjain celebrated in tradition as the capital of Vikramaditya figures largely in the history of the Delhi Sultans but no mint appears to have been established there till its conquest by Sher Shah in 949. Rupees of two types issued in that year and others are known of later date but apparently no copper coin was struck and the mint seems to have ceased work when Islam Shah came to the throne.

H NEVILL

290 THE COINS OF MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLAQ

The work of filling in the interstices left by Mr Thomas in his Catalogue of Pathan Coins has of late made such steady progress that the time would seem to have come to collect the scattered notices of new coins brought to light during the past twenty years and to prepare a comprehensive catalogue of the period. Under present conditions the private collector who desires to know how far his own coins add to the general knowledge has to devote to his object an amount of research for which he is little able to spare time through journals and proceedings to which he possibly may not have easy access.

So wrote Mr H Nelson Wright just nineteen years ago in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* but although since

that article¹ was written many scattered notices of interesting coins of the Muhammadan Sultans of Dehli have appeared in various journals, no attempt has been made by any numismatist to draw up and publish lists of the coins issued by any of the kings of the dynasties which comprised the era of Muhammadan rule in India. It is with a view to assisting others interested in this branch of Indian numismatics that I publish this list of the coins of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq—a list which was originally drawn up for my own information, but one which I have reason to believe will be of service to others.

So far as possible in denoting coins I have recorded specimens published in the catalogues of the various museums of India. Catalogues of all collections in Indian Museums have however not yet been published and besides museum collections there are several private collections in existence which contain interesting and often unique coins. These have as far as possible been recorded in the list but owing to the War I have been unable to draw upon the store of interesting coins contained in the fine collection of Mr. H. Nelson Wright than whom I know of no one more qualified and capable of evolving a complete compendium of the coins of the Muhammadan Sultans of Dehli, a work which is much to be desired and one which taking into view the work which has lately been done on other branches of Indian numismatics is long overdue.

The list of the mintages of Muhammad bin Tughlaq published herewith is I am sure by no means complete. If however the publication results in the correction of any inherent inaccuracies and in the bringing to light of coins not contained in the list then I will feel that the publication of this catalogue has been useful.

A list of the references and abbreviations employed has been included as also a set of translations of the coin legends. For the translations I am indebted to those published by Mr. Nelson Wright in his 'Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta' and to renderings of Thomas in his 'Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli'. The publication of a complete set of plates of the coins described would have been a desirable feature but, in view of the expense involved and the difficulties in the way of obtaining casts of many unique coins the idea must be abandoned. As far as possible the publications in which the various coins have already been figured have been noted. I have to record my indebtedness to those numismatists who have sent me information regarding coins in their private collections and especially to

¹ Addenda to the series of Coins of the Pathān Sultāns of Dehli by H. Nelson Wright I.C.S. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 1900

Col H R Nevill ICS who has greatly assisted me by giving me the benefit of his intimate knowledge of the coinage of the period and by editing this catalogue before it went to press

I KALIMA AND COMPANION TYPE

Obv	Rev
The Kalima in a circle	و بکر
Margin —	المحمدی
صرب ۵۵۵ لکھ بھنب	سندل اللہ
etc دهلی وی سده	محمد بن علی سادہ
	۱۶۶۶

Mint *Harat Delhi*

Col

- 1 Date 725 A H (wt 169 grs s 95) I M C No 301

Sil

- 2 Date 725 A H (wt 166 grs s 1) I M C No 321
(fig)
3 Date 728 A H White King Sale Cat No 3147

Mint *Daru l Islām*

Col

- 4 Date 725 A H (wt 168 grs s 8) I M C No 302
5 727 A H (wt 167 3 grs) Thos No 172
6 729 A H Indian Museum

Silver

- 7 Date 725 A H (wt 168 grs s 95) I M C No 322,
8 726 A H (wt 169 grs) H Nelson Wright
J R A S 1900 (pl I fig 13)

Mint *Islām Tughlaqpur urf Tarkat*

Col

- 9 Date 735 A H (wt 170 grs s 85) R B Whitehead
J A S B 1910 p 567

Mint *Satg on*

Silver

- 10 Date 739 A H (wt 170 5 grs s 35) I M C No 324
(fig)
11 730 A H (wt 170 5 grs) I M C No 325
12 731 A H (wt 168 grs) I M C No 327

Mint Shahr Lakhnauti

Gold

- 13 Date 734 A H (wt 172 grs) Coll H R Nevill

Silver

- 14 Date 727 A H (wt 168.5 grs s 102) L M C
p 48, No 1
15 Date 729 A H, Coll H R Nevill
16 " 730 A H, "
17 " 733 A H, (wt 168.5 grs) Thos., No 187 cf
G B Bleazby, J A S B, 1904, N S III, No 19
(fig pl IX, 1), for a variety with obv and rev
arranged in square areas
19 B M C No 275 is another variety but the date is
doubtful

II ' KALIMA ' TYPE

A

Obv

Rev

The Kalima in a circle

In a double circle

Margin —

etc عدا الدينار بحضرة دعلي في سنة

صرب في رمي
العدد الراحي رحمة
الله محمد بن تعلق

Mint Hazrat Dehli

Gold

- 20 Date 727 A H (wt 189.9 grs, s 7) I M C No 306
21 " 728 A H (wt 198.5 grs), Thos No 173
22 " 729 A H Thos No 173

As above but عدا الدينار in margin in place of الدار

Silver

- 22A Date 727 A H, (wt 142 grs) Coll H Nelson
Wright

Mint Satgāon

Gold

- 23 Date 734 A H (wt 198.3 grs, s 65) L M C p 47,
No 2
24 " 735 A H (wt 198.3 grs s 65), L M C p 47
No 1

B

As above but date in margin in figures

*Mint Qibbatu l Islām a nī Hazrat Deogh**Gold*

- 23 Date 727 A H (wt 197 grs, s 7) I M C No 307
 26 728 A H (wt 193 grs) I M C No 308 (fig)
 As above but عدلی

Silver

- 26A Date 727 A H (wt 141.5 grs) Coll H Nelson Wright
 As above but سکه instead of دار

*Mint Qibbatu l Islam a nī Daru l mulk Daulatābā l**Gold*

- 27 Date 728 A H (wt 141 grs) H Nelson Wright
 J R A S 1900 II No 11 pl I 10

*Mint Qibbatu l Islām a nī Hazrat Daulatābā l**Gold*

- 28 Date 730 A H (wt 143 grs s 7) H Nelson Wright
 J A S B 1905 N S V (fig pl IV 1)

*Mint Daru l mulk Sultānpur**Gold*

- 29 Date 729 A H (wt 142 grs), H Nelson Wright,
 J R A S 1900 II, No 10 (fig pl I 9)
 29A 730 A H (wt 142 grs) Coll H Nelson Wright
 30 732 A H (wt 141.5 grs) Coll H R Nevill

Silver

- 45 Date 732 A H (wt 170.3 grs, s 87) I M C No 326 (fig.)

Mint *Dāru l Islam*

Gold

- 46 Date 734 A H H Nelson Wright J R A S 1900 p 776
47 737 A H (wt 170.5 grs) H Nelson Wright, J R A S 1900 II No 12, pl I 11

Silver

- 48 Date 734 A H (wt 168 grs) Thos No 188

V HALI DINAR

Obv

محمد

بن علي

شاہ

Rev

محمد

بن علي

شاہ

Gold

- 49 Wt 99.4 grs, s 6, I M C No 314 (fig.)

VI

Obv

In a six foil border within a circle

صرب

في رضى العدد

الراحي ورحم

الله محمد

بن

Rev

In a circle

السلطان

السميد الشهد

بن علي شاہ سدة

and date in Arabic

Gold

- 50 Date 728 A H (wt 195 grs) Coll H Nelson Wright
50A 729 A H (wt 197.5, s 8), I M C No 309 (fig.)
As above but legend on obverse enclosed in a pentagon composed of three interwoven lines
51 Date 721 A H (wt 169 grs) Coll H R Nevill
52 733 (wt 169.8 grs, s 7) I M C No 310
53 734 I M C No 311
54 735 (wt 169 grs) Thos No 170
55 741 Coll H R Nevill

Billon

- 56 727 Coll H R Nevill
57 728 (wt 144.7 grs, s 75) I M C No 330

- 58 Date 729 A H (wt 140 grs), I M C No 331
 59 , 730 „ (wt 140 grs) I M C No 332
 60 , 730 , with date wholly in last line Coll
 H R Nevill
 61 , 731 , (wt 142 grs) I M C No 333 (fig)
 62 , 732 (wt 144 grs s 8), Coll H M Whittell
 tell
 63 , 734 , (wt 136 5 grs), I M C No 334
 64 „ 735 Coll H R Nevill
 65 , 737 „ ,
 66 , 740 , , ,
 67 „ 741 „ (wt 139 grs, s 7) Coll H M Whittell
 68 , 742 , Coll H R Nevill
 69 , 747 , (wt 140 grs, s 75) L M C p 48,
 No 2

VII

<i>Obv</i>	<i>Rev</i>
In circle	In circle
المصنف في	محمد بن
سعيد الله	بعلشاش
	٧٢٥

Billon

- 70 Date 725 A H (wt 57 grs, s 55) I M C No 335
 (fig)
 71 „ 726 A H, Coll H R Nevill
 72 „ 727 A H (wt 57 grs, s 6) L M C Supp p 19,
 No 142
 73 , 728 A H, Coll H R Nevill

As above but السلطان in place of date on reverse

Billon

- 74 (wt 52 grs, s 7) R B Whitehead J A S B 1910
 No V

VIII

<i>Obv</i>	<i>Rev</i>
سلطان الا	بن
عظم دي القبح	محمد
والبادل	بعلشاش

Billon

- 75 Date 727 A H (wt 30 grs) Coll T J Thanawala
 Apparently a coin issued in Mabar My
 rendering of the legend on obv is open to
 correction I believe Mr R B Whitehead
 intends publishing the coin

IX

Obv
In a circle

السلطان
العاذل

Rev

In a circle

محمد بن
تعلق شاه

Billon

- 76 Date 726 A H (wt 57 grs , s 55), I M C No 337
77 727 A H (wt 56 grs), I M C No 339 (fig)
78 728 A H (wt 50 grs) I M C No 341
79 729 A H Rodgers' Cat p 94 No 35

X

Obv

في رص السلطان
العاذل محمد بن
دعلاق شاه

Rev

دامت سلطنته
في سنة سبع و عشرين
وسنة هجراته

Billon

- 80 Date 727 A H (wt 55.2 grs s 55), I M C No 342
(fig)
81 „ 732 A H Thos No 192

XI

Obv

In a circle

الواق
بصير الله
٧٣٠

Rev

In a circle

محمد بن
تعلق شاه

Billon

- 82 Date 730 A H (wt 53 grs , s 55), I M C No 343
(fig)
83 „ 733 A H (wt 54 grs), Coll R B Whitehead
84 „ 734 A H , White King Coll Sale Cat No 3164

XII

Obv

In a circle

الملك
والعظمة
لله

Rev

In a circle

عدن الراعي
محمد تعلق

Billon

٧٣٢

- 85 Date 732 A H (wt 55 grs , s 55) I M C No 344
86 „ 733 A H (wt 56.5 grs) I M C No 345

- 87 Date 734 A H I M C No 346 (fig)
 88 , 735 A H (wt 57 grs), I M C No 347
 89 , 736 A H, I M C No 348
 90 „ 737 A H (wt 55 grs, s 6), Coll H M Whittell
 91 „ 738 A H, I M C No 349
 92 „ 739 A H, Thos No 193

VIII

Obv

Rev

الراحي
 رحمة الله
 الكريم

محمد بن
 تعلق سنة

and date in Arabic words

Billon

- 93 Date 727 A H Thos No 194
 94 , 730 A H Thos No 194
 95 „ 732 A H Coll H R Nevill
 96 „ 733 A H (wt 55 grs s. 6), I M C No 350
 97 „ 734 A H (wt 55 grs) I M C No 351 (fig)
 98 „ 735 A H (wt 54 grs), I M C No 352
 99 „ 736 A H (wt 53 grs s 55) I M C Supp
 p 9 No 143
 100 „ 737 A H (wt 56 grs) I M C No 353
 101 „ 738 A H, Thos No 194
 102 „ 739 A H, Rodgers' Cat p 94 No 32 [Date
 doubtful]

XIV

Obv

Rev

As above in double circle

In circle

محمد بن
 تعلق سنة
 ٧٣٤

Billon

- 103 Date 734 A H (wt 50 grs, s 6) R B Whitehead
 J A S B 1910 No IV

XV

Obv

Rev

In double circle

الراحي
 رحمة الله
 الكريم

محمد بن
 تعلق

Margin —

سنة اربع و ثلاث و سدعمائة

Billon

- 104 (Wt 5.5 grs s 45) I M C No 354 (fig)
 105 Date 734 A H Coll H P Nevill

XVI

Obv
 In a double circle

لساطان
 ط ل لله

Rev
 In a double circle

محمد بن
 دعلشاه

Copper

- 106 (Wt 6.3 grs s 6) I M C No 364 (fig)

XVII

Obv
 In a double circle

حمى
 دلى

Rev
 In a double circle

محمد بن
 دعلی

Copper

- 107 (Wt 5.6 grs s 6) I M C No 365
 As above but حمى in place of حمى

Copper

- 108 (Wt 5.3 grs s 54) Coll H M Whittell

XVIII

Obv
 In a circle

حمى
 دلى ۷۳

Rev
 In a circle

عد
 محمد بن دعلی

Copper

- 109 Date 730 A H (wt 5.05 grs s 5) I M C No 366 (fig)
 110 730 A H (wt 5.4 grs s 54) L M C Supp p 20 No 144

XIX

Obv

الله
 و العزة لله

Rev
 In a double circle

محمد
 دعلی

Margin —

سال بر شصت و دو

Mint Daulatabād

Billon

- 127 744 A H (wt 138 grs), Thos, No 215a This coin
has also date in figures below on Obv
As above but margin on reverse reads

سال نر هشتصد و چهل و ست

Billon

- 128 Date 756 A H (wt 125.5 grs), H Nelson Wright,
J R A S 1900, No 17 (pl I 14)

XXV

Obv	Ret
الاعام الاعظم	In circle
خلقه الله في	المستكنى
اله لمن	بالله امر
٧٤٥	الموصد
	Margin —
	صدعانه
	صرب ٥٥

Billon

- 129 Date 745 A H (wt 146 grs s 7), I M C No 359,
fig

XXVI

Obv	Ret
خلقه	المستكنى
الله في	بالله
شور	٧٤٢

Billon

- 130 Date 742 A H (wt 55 grs), Thos No 216
131 , 743 A H , B M C No 333 (fig)

N B—Thomas classed this coin as of copper It is how-
ever of billon and one in my own collection dated 743 A H
is of nearly pure silver

XXVII

Obv	Ret
الله	و الخلقه
الكافي	المستكنى

Copper

- 132 (wt 52 grs , s 5), I M C No 372
As above but mm 7 below on obverse and above
and below on reverse

Obverse and reverse arranged in a quatrefoil with
in a double lined circle and m m ~~22~~ on rev

119 Date 743 A H (wt 168 grs) I M C No 316 but
no m marks

120 Date 744 A H (wt 169 grs) I M C No 317 no
m m on obv

Mint Dar latabad

omitting می before شهر on obverse

121 Date 745 A H (wt 170 grs) Coll H Nelson Wright

With Reverse as above and with obverse of No 40 above
apparently a freak

Gold

122 Wt 172 3 grs Rodgers J A S B 1894 No 22 p 68
(fig pl V 22)

With Reverse as above on both faces Apparently a
freak

Gold

123 Bodleian Library Cat No 509

As on No 121 but m m " on obv and m m 2 on reverse

Silver

124 Date 742 A H (wt 117 grs) H Nelson Wright
J R A S 1900 II No 14 (fig pl I 13)

[NOTE — This cannot be regarded as a silver type being
struck from a gold die]

XXIV

Obv

الإمام الأعظم
خلقة الله في
للعالمين

Rev

In a circle

المصدق
الله امير المؤمنين
صلى

Margin —

صوب مدع السكه بحضرة دهل
اربعة و ستعامة

Mint Ha rat Delhi

Billon

125 Date 74- A H (wt 143 s 75) I M C No 307 fig
126 744 A H Coll H R Nevill

Mint Daulatabād.

Billon.

127. 744 A.H. (wt. 138 grs.), Thos, No 215a. This coin has also date in figures below on Obv
As above but margin on reverse reads

سال در هفتصد و خمسين و ست

Billon.

128. Date 756 A.H. (wt 125 5 grs), H Nelson Wright, J R A S 1900, No 17 (pl I, 14)

XXV.

Obv

الامام الاعظم
خليفة الله في
الدين
٧٤٥

Rev

In circle

المستكفي
بأمر الله
الموصي

Margin —

صرب و صد . . . صنعامة

Billon.

129. Date 745 A.H (wt. 146 grs , s 7), I M C. No. 359, fig

XXVI

Obv.

خليفة
الله في
شور

Rev

المستكفي
بأمر
٧٤٢

Billon.

130. Date 742 A.H. (wt. 55 grs), Thos. No 216

131. „ 743 A H , B M C. No 333 (fig).

N.B.—Thomas classed this coin as of copper. It is however of billon and one in my own collection dated 743 A.H. is of nearly pure silver.

XXVII

Obv.

الله
الكافي

Rev.

والخليفة
المستكفي

Copper.

132. (wt 52 grs , s 5), I.M C. No. 372

As above but m.m. 7 below on obverse and above and below on reverse

Copper

133 (Wt 7 grs) Rodgers J A S B 1834 (fig 36)

XXVIII

Ob

الله

لکافی

فی ۲۳ ر

Rev

و الحمد لله

المصدقی

۷۴۲

Copper

134 Date 742 A H (wt 50 grs) Thos No 217

135 744 A H Coll H R Nevill

STRUCK IN THE NAME OF THE KHAFIZA AL HAKIM II

XXIX

Ob

In a cinque foil

في من الامام

المومدين

هـ

الحاكم ناصر

Pe

In a cinque foil

الله او

اعمال احمد

جلد ملکہ

Gold

136 (Wt 170 grs s 75) I M C No 318

As above but no marginal ornamentation and no
on reverse*Gold*

137 (Wt 168 grs) I M C No 319

XXX

*Ob*As above but no marginal
ornamentation*Rev*

الله س

او العنا

احمد جلد ملکہ

Gold

138 (Wt 163) I M C No 320 (fig)

XXXI

*Ob*In a quatrefoil within a
circle

الله

الحاکم

ناصر

*Rev*In a quatrefoil within a
circle

احمد

العنا

و

Gold

- 139 Coll Prince of Wales Mus Bombay

Billon

- 140 (Wt 140 grs) Coll H R Nevill
As above but with ع after و on reverse

Billon

- 141 (Wt 141 grs s 65) I M C No 360 (fig)
As above but with ٦ after و on reverse

Billon

- 142 (Wt 141 grs s 65) I M C No 360
As above but marginal ornamentation a six foil no
m m after و on reverse but m m 2 on obverse

Billon

- 143 (Wt 137 grs , s 7) Coll H M Whittell
As above but in a quatrefoil and ع after و on
reverse

Billon

- 144 (Wt 5٦ grs s 55) I M C No 363
As above but ٨ after و on reverse

Billon

- 145 (Wt 52 grs s 52) Coll H M Whittell

\XXII

Obv

In cinquefoil

الإمام
أحمد الموصى
العاظم

Rev

In cinquefoil

الله
ناصر أحمد
أبو العباس
جلد حلاوت

Billon

- 146 ((Wt 140 grs s 75) Coll T B Horwood

XXXIII

Obv

الله
العاظم
ناصر

Rev

In a circle

أبو (m m 3)
العباس
أحمد (m m 4)

Billon

- 147 Date 748 A H (wt 135 grs s 6 5) Coll H M
Whittell
148 749 A H (wt 125 grs s 7) I M C No 473
(fig)
149 750 A H Thos No 218
150 751 A H Thos No 218

XXXIV

Obv
In a circle

الحاكم
رامبر الله
٧٤٨

Rev
In a circle

امو
العاس
احمد

Copper

- 151 Date 748 A H B M C No 340
152 749 A H (wt 55 grs, s 50) I M C No 374
153 750 A H Rodgers Cat No 44 p 96
154 751 A H Dehli Mus Cat
155 752 A H Coll H R Nevill
156 759 A H Coll H R Nevill [a coin of Firoz
Shah]
156A 771

STRUCK IN MEMORY OF HIS FATHER SULTAN GHIAṢU D DĪN
TUḠLAQ

XXXV

Obv

السلطان
السعد الشهد
العازى عنك الدنيا
والدين

Rev

In a circle

او المظفر
يعلى شاه السلطان
ابار الله برهاده

Margin —

صرب هذه السكه فى بلدة دولت انا سنة etc

Mint Daulatabād

Gold

- 157 Date 725 A H (wt 165.5 grs) H Nelson Wright,
J R A S 1900 II, pl I 6
158 , 726 A H (wt 173 grs, s 1) I M C No 300
(fig)
159 727 A H (wt 169.2 grs) H Nelson Wright,
J R A S 1900 II pl I, 7

Silver

- 160 Date 726 A H Coll Mr Panna Lal I C S
As above but only بلٹس و سعماده
of marginal inscription legible

Gold

- 161 Date 73 x (wt 245 grs) Thos No 178 (a worn
coin)

Mint Mulk-i-Tilang

Gold

161A Date 726 Rodgers J A S B 1880 p 211

Silver

161B Date 725 (wt 171 grs), Coll H R Nevill

XXXVI

Obv

السلطان
السعيد الشميد
الغازي عياث الدين
و الادب

Rev

ابو المعظم
علق شاه السلطان
انار الله روحه
٧٢٨

Billon

- 162 Date 728 A H (wt 54.5 grs, s 5), J M C No 329
163 „ 731 A H Rodgers J A S B 1883 No 29
pl V. (This date is doubtful)
164 „ 734 A H (wt 51 grs), Thos., p 213

XXXVII

Obv

In a square with traces
of an outer circle
السلطان الغازي
عياث الدين و الادب
ابو المعظم

Rev

In a circle
علق شاه
السلطان ناصر
مير المومنان
١٢٢١

Margin —

مدا السكة بحدود دهل في سنة سبع
و عشرين و ستمائة

Gold

- 165 Date 727 A H (wt 173, s 9) H Nelson Wright
J A S B 1904 No 11 (pl III, 1)

XXXIX — FORCED CURRENCY

‘Tanka’

Obv

In a circle
من الطاع
السلطان
ممد الطاع
الرحمان

Rev

مهر شد تکره
زائع در بازار
داد ممدور
ممد تعلق

Margin

در بھگت دہلی سال و
مقصود (sic) سی

NOTE —In some cases the year is written سے

*Mint Takl iḡah Delī**Brass*

- 166 Date 730 A H (wt 137 grs s 75) I M C No 375
167 731 A H (wt 138 grs) I M C No 376
168 732 A H I M C No 377

*Mint Daru l Islāmī**Brass*

- 169 Date 730 A H (wt 141 grs s 8) I M C No 378
170 731 A H Dehli Mus Cat
171 732 A H Coll H R Nevill

*Mint Dara Dlār**Brass*

- 172 Date 731 A H (wt 147 grs s 75) I M C No 379

*Mint Dara Dāhar**Brass*

- 173 Date 731 A H (wt 138 grs s 7) Podgers Cat
No 5 p 90

*Mint Iqlm Lakl nauti**Brass*

- 174 Date 731 A H (wt 142 grs s 75) I M C No 382
175 732 A H Rodgers J A S B 1883 No 31
pl V

*Mint Arsa Salgaon**Brass*

- 176 Date 730 A H (wt 143 grs s 8) I M C No 383
177 731 A H (wt 141 5 grs s 78) Podgers Cat
No 8 p 90

*Mint Iqlm Tughlaqpur urf Tīrhut**Brass*

- 178 Date 730 A H White King Coll Sale Cat No 3173
179 731 A H (wt 140 grs s 8) I M C No 384
(fig)
180 732 A H Coll R B Whitehead

Mint *Taḥḥtḡāh Daulatābād*

Brass

- 181 Date 730 A H (wt 136 grs), Thos No 195, pl IV,
97
182 „ 731 A H Coll H R Nevill

Tanka of fifty kānis

As above but رائج instead of رائج on reverse

Mint *Taḥḥtḡāh Daulatābād*

Brass

- 183 Date 731 A H (wt 141 grs , s 75), I M C No 385
(fig)
184 „ 732 A H Coll H, R Nevill

XL NISSE

Obv

عرب هذا
الاصح في رص
العدد الراحي
رحمة الله

Rev

محمد بن علاق
بحصرة دولت
اناد سنة ثلثين
وسعمائة

Mint *Daulatābād*

Brass

- 185 Date 730 A H (wt 109.5 grs , s 7) I M C No 389
(fig)
186 „ 732 A H White King Coll Sale Cat No 3187

XLI DIRHAMS

Obv

عرب في رص العدد
الراحي رحمة
الله محمد بن
تعالشاه

Rev

الدرهم
نادر الملك دهلي
سنة ثلثين وسعمائة

Mint *Dāru l mulk Dehli*

Copper

- 187 Date 730 A H (wt 60.5 grs , s 65), Rodgers' Cat
p 92, No 20

XLII

Obv.

عرب الدرهم
الشري في رص
العدد محمد بن
تعالق

Rev

بحصرة
دهلي
سنة ثلثين
وسعمائة

XLV DO KAVIS

Obv

In a circle

د.م.م.د

د.م.م.د

Rev

In a circle

د.م.م.د

دو کانی

Copper

198 (Wt 35 grs , s 45) I M C No 403 (fig)

XLVI

Obv

In a square within a circle
ornaments in segments

فی العهد

السلطان

Rev

In a circle

دو کانی

Ornament below

Copper

199 (wt 50 grs) Rodgers, J A S B 1886 No 30 pl IX
[Reading of obverse is doubtful]

XLVII —JAITIL

Obv

In an octagon within a circle
on which are 8 loops

چیل

Rev

In an octagon

دو کانی

امانی

Copper

200 (Wt 31.7 grs) Rodgers, J A S B 1886, No 26,
pl IX

XLVIII

Obv

In a circle surrounded by an
outer circle of dots

چیل

Rev

In a circle surrounded by an
outer circle of dots

امانی

د.م.م.د

Copper

201 (Wt 74 grs) Thor No 207

XLIX

Obv

من الطاع

السلطان

د.م.م.د ۷۳۰

Rev

قد الطاع

الرحمان

د.م.م.د

Copper

- 202 Dates 730 A H (wt 113.5 grs s 65) I M C No 386
(fig)
203 731 A H Rodgers Cat p 93, No 24 (Date
doubtful)

L

Obv

اطدوا الله
والطدوا الرسول
والاولى لامر
مكتم محمد ٧٣

Rev

لايولا السلطان
كل الناس
بعصم بعضا
تغلق

Copper

- 204 Date 730 A H (wt 112 grs s 7), I M C No 388
205 730 A H (wt 110 grs s 72) Coll H M
Whittell (with وولى for وولى)
206 730 A H (s 65) B M C No 311 (legends
differently arranged)

LI

Obv

In double circle

محمد
على
around
مى مى محمد

Rev

سكه رد
حائر در عهد
نقد اميرار
محمد على

Copper

- 207 (Wt 66 grs s 6) I M C No 400

COINS STRUCK BY GHIAṢU D DIN BAHADUR SHAH OF BINGAL
IN THE NAME OF MUHAMMAD BIN TUḠHIAQ

LII

Obv

In square within circle

صرب ناصر الاوائق
بالله محمد بن
عليه شاه

Rev

In double square

السلطان المعظم
عناث الدنيا والدين
الوالمطعم بهادر شاه
السلطان ابن السلطان

Margin —

هذا السكه بنصره سداركنو
سنة دمان وعشرون وسبعمانه

Gold.

208. Date 728 A.H. (wt 165 grs, s. 9) J A S B N S.
XVI, p. 699.

Silver.

209. Date 728 A.H. (wt 140 grs), Thomas No 186
210 „ 728 A.H. (wt 165.5 grs), Coll H R Nevill
[v also J A S B., N.S XVI, p 700]

COIN LEGENDS.

1. The Kalima or Muhammadan profession of faith

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

There is no deity but God and Muhammad is the apostle
of God

المجاهد في سبيل الله

The warrior in the path of God.

20. ضرب في زمن العبد الراحي رحمة الله

Struck in the time of the servant, hoping for the mercy
of God.

31. في زمن العبد الوائق بنصر الله

In the time of the servant, the one who trusts in the help
of God

32. The Āzān, the Muhammadan call to prayer

الشهد ان لا اله الا الله واشهد ان محمد عبده ورسوله

“ I testify that there is no deity but God and I testify
that Muhammad is his servant and apostle

الواثق بتأييد الرحمن

The one who trusts in the support of the merciful

40. والله الغنى وانتم الفقراء

God is the rich and you the poor (Qurān XLVII, 40)

في عهد

In the time of

49. محي سنن خاتم الانبياء

Reviver of the laws of the last of the prophets

50. السعيد الشهيد

The fortunate the testifier

75. سلطان الاعظم ذي الفتح والعدل

The supreme Sultan, the lord of victory, the munificent

76. العادل

The just.

- 80 دامد سلطنته
May his Sovereignty long continue
- 85 الملك و اعظمه لله
Dominion and greatness are of God
- 93 الكريم
The bountiful
- 106 ظل الله
The shadow of God
- 107 حصدي ربي
Sufficient is the Lord
- 114 الامام
The religious chief
- 110 في زمان الامام المستكفي الله مد لمومنين او لوربع
سلمان حاد الله خلافة
In the time of the religious chief al Mustakfi Billah the
commander of the faithful Abu al rabi Sulaiman may
God perpetuate his Khalifate
- 120 الامام الاعظم خليفة الله في العالمين
The religious chief the supreme Khalifa of God of the
two worlds (heaven and earth)
- 132 الله الكافي
God the sufficient
- 136 حاد ملكه
May his kingdom be perpetuated
- 137 العارفي
The champion
- ار الله رهاقه
May God illumine his testimony
- 160 ناصر امر المؤمنين
Supporter of the commander of the faithful
- 166 من اطاع لسلطان بعد الاماع الرحمن
He who obeys the sovereign truly he obeys the merciful
one (God)
- مهر سده نيكه راج در روزگار دنده عدول
This trial as sealed as current in the reign of
- 184 ضرب هذا الصقع
This half piece was struck

- 188 عرب الدرهم الشرعى
Minted as a legal dirham
- 194 ضرب الربعى
Struck as a fourth (quarter *tanlah*)
- 197 عدل حسب كاي
Legal eighth [cf a *tanlah*]
- 200 وکانى مائى
The equivalent of one thirty second [of a *tanlah*]
- 203 اطعوا الله واطعوا الرسول واولى الامر منكم
Obey God and obey the prophet and those in authority among you (Quran IV 62)
- لا يوالى السلطان كل الناس بعضهم بعضا
Sovereignty is not conferred upon every man some (re-
set over) others (Quran IV 62)
- 207 سكه رد حالى
Coined money lawful

REFERENCES

- I M C = Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta
Vol II by H Nelson Wright Oxford 1907
- White King Sale Cat = Collection White King Troisième partie
Vente à Amsterdam le 26 Juin 1907 sous
la direction de l'Expert J Schulman
- Phos = The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli by Edward
Thomas London 1871
- J R A S = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
- J A S B = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
- L M C = Catalogue of the Coin in the Government Museum
Lahore compiled by C J Rodgers Calcutta 1891
- Rodgers Cat = Catalogue of the coins collected by Chas J
Rodgers and purchased by the Government of the
Punjab Part II Miscellaneous Muhammadan Coins
Calcutta 1834
- B M C = Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum
The Sultans of Dehli by Stanley Lane Poole London
1884
- Bodleian Library Cat = Catalogue of the Muhammadan Coins
preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford by
Stanley Lane Poole Oxford 1888
- Dehli Mu Cat = Catalogue of Muhammadan Coins in the Dehli
Museum of Archaeology by R B Whitehead
- Blezer's Sale Cat = Catalogue des collections remarquables de
M. Geo P. Blezer's vente à Amsterdam aux
bureaux de l'Expert J Schulman Janvier 191

A H = Hijra era

M M = Ornament [mint mark]

N S = Numismatic Supplement to J A S B

Pl = Plate

Fig = Figure

Obv = Obverse

Rev = Reverse

Coll = Collection

Wt = Weight

S ~ Size in inches

Grs = Grams (Troy)

H M WHITTELL

Major I A

NOTE — Major Whittell left India after the above paper was set up in type. It has therefore not had the advantage of revision by him. Mr Nelson Wright and Colonel Nevill have kindly gone through the list and made a few necessary corrections and additions.

Editor

221 COINS OF THE PATHAN KINGS OF DEHLI

Ghiyasu d din Tughlaq I

In continuation of the good work begun by Major Whittell I have endeavoured to catalogue the known coins of the father of Muhammad bin Tughlaq and in a further paper to describe all those issued by the successors of that remarkable monarch so far as records are available. This is intended as a contribution to the material required for the ultimate compilation of a corpus of the coins of the so called Pathan kings of Dehli. It is not professed that the lists are complete or exhaustive, but one of the objects in view is to draw the attention of collectors to possible omissions in the hope that they will supply defects and thus facilitate the attainment of the eventual aim. Moreover well explored as has been the field of Pathan numismatics it is certain that much remains to be discovered. There are many gaps yet to be filled and there is still room for research. The strange fact is obvious to every collector that prized acquisitions more often consist in representatives of new and unexpected types than specimens of well known rarities.

In the case of Ghiyasu d din Tughlaq the coins present few peculiar features. There are no billons of high value certainly none of a higher denomination than one eighth of a *tanka* no small silver pieces are known and minute billons are conspicuous by their absence. The paucity of small change in fact contrasts remarkably with the abundant issues of his son and still more with the comprehensive coinage of Firoz Shah.

Obv
in single square
السلطان الغازي
عبد الله بن عبد
الملك المظفر

Rev
in circle
بعلق شاه
السلطان ناصر
امير المومنين

Margin (rev)

صوب هذه السكه بطلع دودكر في سنة احدى عشرين و ستمائة

No other dates but 721 and 722 are known Deogir remained in the hands of his son till the end of his reign so that there is no reason to suppose that the mint ceased to work

Wt 171 grs s 1 Mint Mulk i Tiling Date 721

Obv
عبد الله بن
ناصر
امير المومنين

Rev
in circle
الموكل على
الله ابو المظفر
بعلق شاه

Margin (rev)

صوب هذه السكه في ملك دلي سنة اربع و عشرين و ستمائة

This remarkable and handsome coin has been long known, but the full margin is seldom seen. I have a perfect specimen in my own cabinet. The mint is the country of Telingana and the coin was probably struck at Warangal afterwards known as Sultanpur. The only known date is 724. A silver *tanka* of this mint in my possession was struck posthumously by Muhammad bin Tughlaq in 725.

Silver

6 Wt 171 grs, s 1 Mint Dehli Dates observed, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724 725

Obv
in double square
السلطان الغازي
عبد الله بن عبد
الملك المظفر

Rev
in circle
بعلق شاه
السلطان ناصر
امير المومنين

Margin (rev)

صوب هذه السكه بعصرت دهلي في سنة عشرين و ستمائة

7 Wt 2 grs, s 15 Mint Deogir Date 721

[Thomas, No 160]

Obv
as in (6)

Rev
as in (6)

Margin (rev)

عرب مده السكه بطلع ديوگدر في سده احدى عشرين و سعمائه

No other date has yet been observed The coin is very rare, much more so even than the *muhar* of this mint

8 Wt 168 4 grs s 1 Mint Daru l Islam Date 724
[J R A S 1900, p 775]

Obv
in single square

Rev
in circle

السلطان العارى
عناث الدنيا والدس
ابو المظفر

تعلق شاه
السلطان ناصر
امير المومنين

Margin (rev) مدار الاسلام في سده اربع

This is the only date known The coin would have to be very large in order to show the complete margin

Billon

9 Wt 56 grains s 6 Dates recorded 720 721 722, 723
724 725 726, 727 [Thomas No 164]

Obv
السلطان العارى
عناث الدنيا
والدس

Rev
ابو المظفر
تعلق شاه
السلطان ۷۲۰

These coins have a high silver content and probably represent one eighth of the *tanka* The only remarkable feature is that of the posthumous dates Thomas considered these the work of an ignorant artificer Mr Nelson Wright inclines to this view, as ' coins are found bearing the dates 716 and 717 as well as 726 and 727 ' [J M C Vol II p 49]

10 Wt 56 grains s 65 Dates recorded 720 721
[Thomas No 163]

Obv
السلطان العارى
عناث الدنيا
والدس ۷۲۰

Rev
in Circle
شاه
تعلق

Margin सा सुनता गयासुदीन

Only two dates are known These coins contain less silver than No 9, and may be regarded as one sixteenth of the *Tanka*

11 Wt 56 grains s 6 [J M C No 290]

Obv
السلطان الا
عظم عنك الدندا
والدس

Rev
in double circle
شاه
دعاق

Margin سلطان العارى

The marginal legend of these coins has yet to be read. Probably it contains a date in addition to the two words given above the reading of which is conjectural. I have examined a large number of specimens but have never yet found one with sufficient margin to afford a safe guide.

Copper

12 Wt 70 grs s 6

[R B Whitehead]

Obv
عنك الد
ما والدس

Rev
السلطان
العارى

13 Wt 62 grs s 60

[Lahore Mus Cat p 137]

Obv
عنك الدما
والدس

Rev
السلطان
الاعظم

Mr Rodgers classifies these as South Indian coins

14 Wt 56 grs s 5

[Thomas No 165]

Obv
دعاق

Rev
شاه

The weight of these coins varies greatly from 45 to 56 grains but obviously they are intended to be pieces of 32 *ratls* or 56 grains.

Simla 1920

H NEVILL

222 COINS OF THE PATHAN KINGS OF DEHLI

Firoz Shāh and the later Tughlaqs

In this field a large advance has been made since Edward Thomas published his *Chronicles*. There are yet many discoveries to be made. Firoz Shāh reigned for nearly forty years but so far only three of his rupees and these of a single year and type have come to light. The earliest dated coin of his is a gold piece of 757 H and apart from this no earlier date is known than 759 H—a fact which supports the theory that Firoz continued to strike billons in the name of Al Hakim Abū l Abbas Ahmad similar to those of his predecessor, for the first seven years of his reign. In the case of other rulers

we have still to see a *muhar* of 'Alī ud dīn Sikandar, and rupees of the same short lived ruler as well as those of Abū bakr Tughlāq II and Zafar, while in other directions surprises may yet await us

I Ghiasu d dīn Mahmud (Pretender) A H 752

The supposititious son of Muhammad bin Tughlāq placed on the throne with the best of intentions but with disastrous results by Khwaja Jahān during the absence of Firoz Shah in Sind appears to have struck gold in large quantities for his coins despite the shortness of his reign are relatively common. No silver billon or copper coins of this pretender have come to light but their discovery might well be expected

Gold

1 A H 752 (wt 170 s 775)

[B M C, 342]

Obv

Rev

محمد

محمد شاه

امير المومنين

بن محمد شاه بن

مناش الدنيا والى

نورعشاه السلطان

ابو المظفر

var

II Firoz Shāh, A H 752—790

Few additions have to be made to the list of coins attributed by Thomas to Firoz Shah. No new gold types have come to light but the silver *tanka* the existence of which was not credited by Thomas has been found and there is no apparent reason why other specimens corresponding to all the known types in gold should not be discovered in due course. In billon the list remains practically unaltered. Specimens of the minute coin illustrated by Thomas (No 232) have been found after the lapse of many years while in copper the main addition is that of the heavy *jaitil*, published for the first time by Rodgers in his catalogue of coins sold to the Punjab Museum

Gold

A With the name of Abū l Abbas Ahmad Khalifa

1 No date no mint (wt 170 grs s 85)

[I M C No 407]

Obv in eight foil

Rev in eight foil

صرب هذ السكه

وانق مداند

في زمان الامام

مرداني وپور شاه

ابو عباس احمد

سلطان

جلد جلاو

[Thomas No 223]

Obv
السلطان الا
عظم عنك الدددا
والدين

Rev
in double circle
شاه
دعلى

Margin سلطان المعارى

The marginal legend of these coins has yet to be read. Probably it contains a date in addition to the two words given above the reading of which is conjectural. I have examined a large number of specimens but have never yet found one with sufficient margin to afford a safe guide.

Copper

12 Wt 70 grs s 6

[R B Whitehead]

Obv
عنك اد
دا و لدن

Rev
السلطان
المعارى

13 Wt 62 grs s 60

[I alone Mus Cat p 137]

Obv
عنك اد
ولد

Rev
السلطان
الاعظم

Mr Rodgers classifies these as South Indian coins

14 Wt 56 grs s 5

[Thomas No 160]

Obv
دعلى

Rev
شاه

The weight of these coins varies greatly from 45 to 56 grains but obviously they are intended to be pieces of 32 *ratas* or 56 grains.

Simsa 1920

H N VAILL

222 COINS OF THE PATHAN KINGS OF DEHLI

Firoz Shah and the later Tughlaqs

In this field a large advance has been made since Edward Thomas published his *Chronicles*. There are yet many discoveries to be made. Firoz Shah reigned for nearly forty years but so far only three of his rupees and these of a single year and type have come to light. The earliest dated coin of his is a gold piece of 757 H and apart from this no earlier date is known than 759 H a fact which supports the theory that Firoz continued to strike billons in the name of Al Hakim Abu l Abbas Ahmad similar to those of his predecessor for the first seven years of his reign. In the case of other rulers

we have still to see a *muhar* of 'Alī ud dīn Sikandar, and rupees of the same short lived ruler as well as those of Abū bakr, Tughlāq II and Zafar, while in other directions surprises may yet await us

I *Thamas ud dīn Mahmud (Pretender) A H 752*

The supposititious son of Muhammad bin Tughlāq placed on the throne with the best of intentions, but with disastrous results by Khwajā Jahan during the absence of Fīroz Shāh in Sind appears to have struck gold in large quantities for his coins despite the shortness of his reign are relatively common. No silver, billon or copper coins of this pretender have come to light, but their discovery might well be expected

Gold

1 A H 752 (wt 170 s 775)

[B M C 342]

Obv

Rev

محمود

محمود شاه

امير المومنين

بن محمد شاه

عناث الدنيا والدين

نورعناث السلطان

اوالمظفر

۷۵۲

II *Fīroz Shāh, A H 752—790*

Few additions have to be made to the list of coins attributed by Thomas to Fīroz Shāh. No new gold types have come to light but the silver *tanika* the existence of which was not credited by Thomas has been found and there is no apparent reason why other specimens corresponding to all the known types in gold should not be discovered in due course. In billon the list remains practically unaltered. Specimens of the minute coin illustrated by Thomas (No 232) have been found, after the lapse of many years while in copper the main addition is that of the heavy *panil* published for the first time by Rodgers in his catalogue of coins sold to the Punjab Museum

Gold

A With the name of Abū l Abbās Ahmad Khalifa

1 No date no mint (wt 170 grs s 85)

[I M C No 407]

Obv in eight foil

Rev in eight foil

مرب هدى السكه

واق دناد

في عام الامام

مربى وديور شاه

ابولعائن احمد

سلطان

جلدى خلاصه

[Thomas No 223]

B With the name of Abu l Fath Khalifa

2 No mint no date (wt 169 grs, s 85)

[I M C, No 410]

Obv

صرب هده السكه

في زمن الامام احمد المومنين

و لعنه المنصور بالله

حادث خلاديه

Rev

السلطان الاعظم

سيد احمد المومنين

ابو المظفر محمود شاه

السلطانى حلد مملوكه

[Thomas No 220]

NOTE—These coins differ widely in size and execution. In some the area is large and in others it is small while the legend is sometimes in fine delicate script and sometimes in broad and comparatively coarse lettering.

3 Mint Hazrat Dehli with date in margin. The only recorded dates are 757 H (B M) and 759 (I M). Wt 170 grs
9 [I M C No 408]

Obv in circle

الامام

في من ابو

احمد المومنين

الفتح حلد

خلاديه

Rev

السلطان الاعظم

سيد احمد المومنين

ابو المظفر محمود شاه

السلطانى حلد

مملوكه

Margin صرب هده السكه بحضرت دهلى سنة سبع و خمسون و سده ما هـ

[Thomas No 224]

4 Variant of No 3

[B M C]

Obv

في زمن الامام

احمد المومنين ابو الفتح

حلد خلاديه

Rev

as (3)

Margin illegible

C With the name of Abi Abdullah Khalifa

5 Mint Hazrat Dehli with date in margin. Known dates are 766 (I M C) and 771 (H R Nevill). Wt 169.5 grs
s 85 [I M C No 411]

Obv in circle

في رمى الامام
 امير المؤمنين
 ابى عبد الله
 حدث خلوة

Rev

السلطان الاعظم
 سيف امير المؤمنين
 المظفر بدور شاه
 السلطاني حدث
 مملكة

Margin ضرب هذه السكة بحضرت دهللى سنة ست وسبعين وسدعمائة

[Thomas, No 226]

NOTE —In the coin of 771 H the obverse is differently arranged thus —

في رمى الامام
 امير المؤمنين ابى
 عبد الله حدث
 خلوة

Margin ضرب هذه السكة بحضرت دهللى سنة ثلاث وسبعين وسدعمائة

[The سنة being omitted]

D Without the name of a Khalifa

6 No mint Recorded dates 785 (I M C) 786 (H R Nevill), 787 (R B Whitehead) 788 (B M), 789 (I M C)
 Wt 173 grs s 85 [I M C No 412]

Obv

سلطنة
 بدور شاه

Rev

المومنين
 نائب امير

٧٨٥

[Thomas No 227]

Silver

Type C With the name of Abi 'Abdullah Khalifa

7 Mint Hazrat Dehli, with date in margin Wt 170 grs , s 1, date 773 H (H R Nevill)

Obv in circle

في رمى الامام
 امير المؤمنين ابى
 عبد الله حدث
 خلوة

Rev

السلطان الاعظم
 سيف امير المؤمنين
 المظفر بدور شاه
 السلطاني حدث
 مملكة

Margin ضربت هذه السكة بحضرت دهللى سنة ثلاث وسبعين وسدعمائة

Billon

(a) Large billons, weight from 138 to 143 grams size circ 75

8 Mint Hazrat Dehli, date 759 on reverse Vide J.R.A.S. 1900, p 488 (H. Nelson Wright)

Obv
الحلیفہ امیر
المومنین خلدت
خلافتہ

Rev
مدرور شاہ
سلطانی صورت
بمحسور دہلی
۷۵۹

9 Mint Hazrat Dehli, dates 759, 760, 761, 762 763 764, 765 766, 767 also 827 828, 830 [Struck by Mubārak Shāh]

Obv
الحلیفہ امیر
المومنین خلدت
خلافتہ ۷۵۹

Rev
مدرور شاہ
سلطانی صورت
بمحسور دہلی

[Thomas No 228]

10 Mint Hazrat Dehli, dates 765 766, 767, 768 [One specimen 868 (1)]

Obv
الحلیفہ امیر
المومنین خلدت
خلافتہ ۷۶۵

Rev
مدرور شاہ
سلطانی صورت
بمحسور دہلی

Note — In this type the tail of the “je” strikes obliquely across the toe and alif of “Sultānī”

11 Mint Hazrat Dehli, dates 768 to 784 inclusive Also 816, 817, 820 824, 825, 828, 830 (struck by Daulat Khan Lodi, Khizr Khan and Mubārak Shah)

Obv
الحلیفہ امیر
المومنین خلدت
خلافتہ ۷۶۸

Rev
ور شاہ
سلطانی صورت
بمحسور دہلی

12 Mint Hazrat Dehli, dates 784 to 790 inclusive

Obv
الحلیفہ ابو
عدد اللہ خلدت
خلافتہ ۷۸۴

Rev
ور شاہ
سلطانی صورت
بمحسور دہلی

[Thomas, No 230]

- 13 Mint Sahat i Sind, no date
 Obv
 الحلاوت
 أمير المؤمنين
 حبيب حلاوت
 Rev
 شاه
 فيروز
 السلطاني
 صرب صاحب
 سد

*(b) Billons of 56 grains s 35 circ

- 14 No mint with name of Abū l 'Abbās Ahmad
 Obv in six foil
 احمد
 العباس
 ادو
 Rev in six foil
 فيروز شاه
 سلطان
 [Thomas No 235]

- 15 No mint with name of Abu l Fath
 Obv in circle
 الحلاوت
 ابو الفتح
 حبيب حلاوت
 Rev in circle
 فيروز شاه
 سلطان
 حلد ملكه
 [Thomas No 223]

Note —A variety has * above الحلاوت

- 16 Mint Hazrat Dehli, dates observed 759 (B M) 762
 Obv
 الحلاوت
 المؤمنين
 احمد
 حبيب حلاوت
 Rev
 فيروز شاه
 السلطاني صرب
 دحضرت علي
 ٧٦٢

- 17 Mint Hazrat Dehli no date
 Obv in circle
 الحلاوت
 المؤمنين
 احمد
 حبيب حلاوت
 Rev in circle
 فيروز شاه
 سلطان صرب
 دحضرت دهلي
 as in No 10

- 18 Mint Hazrat Dehli no date
 Obv in circle
 الحلاوت
 المؤمنين
 احمد
 حبيب حلاوت
 Rev in circle
 و شاه
 دحضرت
 سلطان صرب
 دحضرت دهلي

19 Mint Hazrat Dehli, no date, with name of Abū 'Abdullāh

Obv	Rev
أبو عبد الله	ور شاه
و عدد الله	فیروز
حادث خلایق	سلطان صورت
	نصرت دہلی

(c) Billon of 84 grams, in name of Abū-l-Fath s 6

20 [Thomas No 236 I M C, No 450]

Obv. in circle	Rev. in circle
خليفة	فیروز
ابو الفتح	سلطان

[Thomas No 236]

(d) Billon of 49 grams in name of Abū-l-Fath

21 [Rodgers J A S B., 1894, No 2, p 65]

Obv. in six-foil	Rev. in six-foil
خليفة	سلطانی
ابو الفتح	فیروز

A star * above خليفة

(2) Billon of 35 grams

22

Obv. in circle	Rev. in circle
فیروز	ت
سلطان	حصہ
	دہلی

[Thomas, No 231.]

(f) Billon of 17.5 grams

23

Obv. in circle	Rev. in circle
شاه	
وز	دہلی
فیروز	

[Thomas, No 232]

Copper

(a) Large copper *patil*, mint Dehli, circ. 140 grs

24 [Rodgers, Lahore Museum Cat p 99.]

Obv in circle

ور شاه

فد—ر

سلطان

Rev in circle

دارالملک

دهلی

(b) Smaller copper mint Dehli, circ 70 grains
25

Obv in circle

ور شاه

فد—ر

سلطان

Rev in circle

دارالملک

دهلی

[Thomas, No 233]

These coins differ greatly in size shape and appearance. The earlier issues correspond more closely to the earlier billon types while the latest are crude, and at once suggest the type shortly afterwards adopted by Hoshang Shah of Malwa.

26 A similar coin but in double circles possibly posthumous [I M C No 455]

Obv

ور شاه

فد—ر

سلطان

Rev

دارالملک

دهلی

(c) Copper coins of 56 grains mint Dehli

27 I M C No 45 & 5

Obv

سلطانی

فد—ر

Rev

دهلی

حصرت

(d) Copper coins of 35 grains mint Dehli

28

Obv

ور شاه

فد—ر

سلطان

Rev

حصرت

دهلی

[Thomas, No 234]

(e) Posthumous copper coins dates recorded 790 800,
818 820 821 822, 823 824 825 826, 827, 828 829, 830

29 S 5 average weight 68 grains

Obv
در ساه
—
ر
ع
سلطان

Rev
دراوا ملک
دہلی
۸۱۸

[Thomas No 239]

NOTE —It would appear that some of the coins were struck in the days of Mahmūd Shāh. Thomas mentions large billons of the type No 11 of the years 791, 799 and 800. These cannot be explained but it is clear that after the death of Mahmūd the coinage of Fīroz Shāh and Muhammad the latter in silver was utilised until Mukarrak began to issue coins in his own name.

III Fath Khān in Fīroz Shāh

It now seems clear that Fīroz Shāh in granting the insignia of sovereignty and the right of coinage to his eldest son Fath Khān did so by virtue of his appointment of that prince to the viceroyalty of the eastern portion of his dominions. In this way Fīroz originated the separate principality known as the Iqlimūsh sharq which not long afterward became the independent kingdom of Jaunpūr. It is certain that the young prince resided for a time at Jaunpūr but it is by no means proved that this city was the capital of the viceroyalty and a tentative reading of the coin in the Indian Museum suggests that Patna was at first intended to be the headquarters. Thomas states that Fath Khān was given regal powers in 760 and that he died in 776. The latter date is certainly incorrect. The only known date on any of his coins is 761 so that there are no means of proving the date of his death by numismatic evidence.

Cold

1 A H 761 Mint Iqlimūsh sharq (wt 170 grs s 1)

Obv in circle

في زمن الامام
ابراهيم الموصلي
القدس المصطفى بالله
جلد حلاله

Rev in circle

ساح
مستحقان درو
حل الله غلال
حلاله

Margin ی و سندن سده در اقام الشرق سده
وسندما

This legend is taken from a coin in my own collection. Mr H Nelson Wright and Mr R B Whitehead have others.

but in the case of my coin the execution is remarkably good as fine as that on any coin of Muhammad ibn Tughlq and vastly superior to that of other gold coins of Tath Khan that I have seen. Thomas describes his currency as provincial in appearance and experience bears out this verdict but it would seem that the issues degenerated unless this particular piece was struck as a specimen by a craftsman from the imperial capital.

2 A H 761 Mint (?) Shahr Patna [I M C No 462]
Wt 169.2 grs s 8

Obv in circle

في زمن الامام
اعمر المومنين ابى
الفتح المعتمد بالله
جلد حلاوته

Rev in double circles

شاه
ويعتصم بفرور
حل الله غلال
جلاله

a star above فرور

Margin [Tentative reading] هذه السكة في الشهر رند في سنة احدى و

o Date and mint illegible

[Rogers J A S B 1886 No 3 p 186]

Wt 170 grams

Obv in circle

في زمن الامام
المواليا عبد الله
اعمر مد
جلد حلاوته

Rev

الشرق والعرب
حبيب ساه
ويعتصم بفرور
حل الله غلاله

Margin — و سماعه و صوب هذه السكة

This remarkable coin is manifestly later than the others. It must be later than 763 H and it might be urged that owing to the elaboration in the title of the prince his vicereignty had been changed for that of the western provinces, a charge which was unquestionably held at one time by his younger brother Zafar. The coin passed into the possession of General Cunningham and I have not been able to trace its present whereabouts.

Billon

These coins are of two denominations only one being a large billon of some 140 grams and the other a small coin of the usual 56 grams or 32 rahi type. The variations are unimportant.

4 Wt 142 grs s 7

[I M C No 463]

held the office of prince regent. His reign was short, less than two years in duration, but the number and variety of his coins is remarkable. No silver pieces have yet come to light, and his gold is extremely rare. He was assassinated by the partisans of his uncle Zafar on the 21st of Safar A H 791.

Gold.

1. Wt. 169.2 grams, s. .8

[Rodgers, J.A.S.B., 1894, Pt I, p. 67]

Obv. in circle

الإمام
في زمن
أمير المؤمنين
أبي عبد الله
حدث خلافته

Rev.

السلطان الأعظم
عياض الدين والدين
تعلق شاه
سلطاني

Margin (read from outside) : ..

حصرت دهلي ...

Billon.

2. Wt 164 grs., s. .8. Dates 790, 791.

[Thomas, No 251]

Obv.

سلطان
تعلق شاه

Rev

المومنين
دائب أمير

٧٩٠

3. Wt. 72 grams. Mint Dehli. Date 790

[J.R.A.S., 1900, p 489.]

Obv. in circle.

الله

عبد

او

Rev.

سلطان

تعلق شاه

Margin. خلعت خلافته حصرت دهلي

NOTE.—The larger size in this type has not yet been found, but its issue may be presumed on the analogy of the billon of Muhammad ibn Firoz.

4. Wt 140 grains, s. .7. Mint Dehli Dates 790, 791.

[Thomas, No. 250]

Obv.

الخليفة او

عبد الله خلعت

٧٩٠ خلافته

Rev

تعلق شاه

سلطان صرت

حصرت دهلي

- 5 Wt 80 grains, s 6 No date or mint
[Thomas, No 252]

Obv

Rev

الله

تعلق شاه

ابو عدد

سلطان حلدت

حلدت حلاوت

ملک

- 6 Wt 55 grains s 5 Dehli, no date
[J A S B , 1894, No 2, p 70]

Obv

Rev

الحلیہ

تعلق شاه

اموعدس

سلطان صوبت

اموعدس

محضرت دہلی

حلدت حلاوت

- 7 Wt 53 grains s 5 No mint or date
[Lahore Mus Cat p 102]

Obv

Rev

الحلیہ

تعلق شاه

ابو عدد الله

سلطان

حلدت حلاوت

حلد ملک

- 8 Wt 50 gra Date 790 [Thomas, No 254]

Obv

Rev

ابو

تعلق شاه

عدد الله

سلطان

۷۹۰

Copper

- 9 Wt 70 grains s 5 Mint Dehli [Thomas, No 254]

Obv

Rev

تعلق شاه

دارالملک

سلطان

دہلی

- 10 Wt 66 grains, s 5 Mint Dehli
[Lahore Mus Cat , p 102]

Obv

Rev

سلطان

دارالملک

تعلق شاه

دہلی

- 11 Wt 35 grains, s 4 Mint Dehli
[Lahore Mus Cat , p 102]

Obv
شاه
تعلی

Rev
حصرت
هلی

V *Fīroz Shāh Zafar ibn Fīroz Shāh A H 791*

There is nothing to prove the assumptions of Thomas that Zafar, the second son of Fīroz was associated with his father in the kingship, but coins show clearly that a king styled Fīroz Shāh Zafar, son of Fīroz Shāh ruled in Dehli in 791. The inference is that this Sultān who was the father of Abubakr reigned for a short period and died being succeeded by Abūbakr in the same year in which he came to the throne. I have discussed this question already and see no reason for departing from the order of succession here adopted. The coins of Zafar are varied and numerous. No silver piece has yet been unearthed but this and other types may fairly be expected.

Gold

- 1 Wt 169 grains s 85 Mint Dehli Date 791
[H R Nevill]

Obv in circle

الإمام
فی زمن
امیر المومنین
ابی عبد الله
حدث حلاله

Rev

السلطان لا عظم
وبرر شاه ظفر
ابن ودرور شاه
السلطانی

Margin (read from outside) دهلی سنه ۷۹۱ صرب

Billon

- 2 Wt 165 grains s 8 Date 791
[Lahore Mus Cat p 100]

Obv

مدر شاه
ظفر ابن
مدرور شاه

Rev

المومنین
نائب امیر
۷۹۱

- 3 Wt 140 grains s 7 Date 791 Mint Delhi
[Thomas No 247]

Obv

الحلیفه او
عدد الله حات
حلاله ۷۹۱

Rev

ور شاه
ظفر سلطانی صرب
حصرت دهلی

- 4 Wt 140 grains, s 7 Mint Delhi, No date
[Thomas, No 246]

Obv	Rev
الحمد لله	ور شاه
المحمدى	محمد
امير	طغر سلطانى صوب
حاجى خلانده	دعصرت دهلي

- 5 Wt 110 grains s 65 Date 791
[J A S B 1880 No 2 p 83]

Obv	Rev
in square	المحمدى
شاه	نائب امير
دور	۷۹۱

In margin طغراس و دور شاه سلطانى

NOTE—The marginal legend is differently arranged in different coins طغر being some times on the top, and sometimes on the left

- 6 Wt 80 grains s 6 [Thomas No 248]

Obv	Rev
الله	دورور شاه
ابو محمد	طغراس
حاجى خلانده	دورور شاه

- 7 Wt 73 grs (worn) [R B Whitehead]

Obv (in circle)	Rev
الله	ور شاه
محمد	محمد
نو	طغراس
.	دورور شاه

Margin حاجى خلانده صوب

- 8 Wt 55 grains, s 55 [B M C , No 39]

Obv	Rev
الحامد	دورور
ابو محمد الله	شاه طغراس
حاجى خلانده	سلطانى

9 Wt 55 grs , s 55 [Lahore Mus Cat p 100]

Obv	Rev
ور شاه	المومنين
مدرور	نائب امير
طاعه اس	۷۹
مدرور شاه	

NOTE —The date on this coin is uncertain

Copper

10 Wt 130 grs [Rodgers, J A S B , 1896, No 2, p 271]

Obv	Rev
الحليفه	ور شاه
المومنين	مدرور
اميرور	سلطاني
جلد حلاوت	طاعه
	۷۹۱

NOTE —This is not a copper type unusual as it is The present whereabouts of the coin is unknown

11 Wt 110 grs , s 6 [I M C , No 472]

Obv	Rev
in circle	الحامد
شاه	ابو عدد الله
مدرور	جلد حلاوت

Margin طعرس فيروز شاه سلطاني

These coins are very crudely formed and the whole of the margin seldom appears on any one piece The average weight of five coins according to Rodgers was 84 grains and possibly the heavier coin at Calcutta may belong to a higher denomination Mr Nelson Wright gives no 7 as a copper coin In this he follows Thomas but no 249 of Thomas is either a different coin or the weight, 78 grains is incorrect The coin described as no 7 is certainly of billon and this view was accepted by Rodgers No smaller coppers of Zafar have yet come to light except the following —

12 Wt 67 grs s 55 Mint Dehli

[R B Whitehead, J A S B Num Supp , No 83 1914]

Obv	Rev
ور شاه	دارالملک
مدرور	دعای
طعرس سلطانی	

Obv.	Rev.
الخليفة ابو عبد الله خلدت خلافته	ابو بكر شاه بن ظفر بن فيروز شاه سلطان بن حضرت دهلوي

5. Wt. 110 grs., s. 7. Date 791.
[J A S.B., 1896, No. 2, p. 215]

Obv.	Rev.
in quatrefoil شاه ابو بكر	المومنين نائب امير ٧٩١

Margin ظفر بن فيروز شاه سلطان

6. Wt 110-114 grs., s. 7. Date 792 [Thomas, No. 257.]

Obv.	Rev.
in square شاه ابو بكر	المومنين نائب امير ٧٩٢

Margin : بن ظفر بن فيروز شاه سلطاني

These coins are said by Thomas to be of copper. Some are undoubtedly billon. There are three varieties, one with ظفر in the top margin, a second with ظفر at the bottom, and the third with this name on the left. The first is unmistakably of billon, but though the others appear to be of copper, I hesitate to think that a difference in the marginal arrangement indicates coins of different denominations.

7. Wt 110 grs., s. 7. Date 792 [H R Nevill.]

Obv.	Rev.
in quatrefoil شاه بن فيروز ابو بكر شاه	as in 6

Margin : سلطاني ظفر

See no. 11. It is a pity that the margin of this newly discovered coin is so defective, as it would solve the problem which puzzled Rodgers. I have little doubt that the full legend is.—

ابو بكر شاه بن فيروز شاه ظفر بن فيروز شاه سلطاني •

These large copper coins are interesting, as they represent the full theoretical weight of the *jaitil*, and foreshadow the reform carried out by Mubārak Shāh. The following coin lends strength to the theory that Zafar was placed on the throne temporarily, pending the arrival in Dehli of his father

13. Wt. 128 grs. [J.A.S.B., 1896 No 2, p 216]

Obv.	Rev.
ور شاه	ابوكر شاه
فیروز	بن فیروز شاه
سلطانی	طه
ظفر	سلطانی
۷۹۱	

- 14 Wt. 76 grs., s. 6. [Lahore Mus. Cat, p 103.]

Obv.	Rev.
ابو	ابوكر
عبد الله	شاه ظفر
خلدت خلافته	سلطانی

15. Wt. 155 grs, (a worn coin). [Thomas, No 258]

Obv. (in circle)	Rev.
شاه	المومدين
ابوكر	نائب مير
Margin : فیروز شاه	۷۹۲

- 16 Wt. 56 grs., s. 5. [Lahore Mus. Cat., p. 103]

Obv.	Rev. in circle.
الحلیقه ابو	دكر
عبد الله	ابو

Margin : بن ظفر بن فیروز شاه

VII Nāsiru-d dīn Muḥammad ibn Fīroz Shāh.

The third son of Fīroz Shāh was appointed deputy to the Sultān during his latter days, and was associated with his father in the sovereignty after the downfall of Khān-i-Jahān in Rajab 789 H. He attempted to secure the throne for himself after the death of Fīroz, but was ejected from Dehli by the supporters of Tughlaq II in 790, and remained in opposition till the month of Ramzan 792, when he again entered the capital. His reign as sole ruler, therefore, lasted from the end of

11 Wt 140 grs s 68 Mint Dehli Dates recorded 793, 794 795

Obv in circle

شاه
محمد

Rev

المومدين
نائب (م) و
٧٩٣

Margin سلطانى صوبى بحضرت دہلى

12 Wt 5 grs s 55 Dates recorded 792 793 794

Obv in circle

شاه
محمد

Rev

المومدين
نائب (م) و
٧٩٣

13 Wt 70 grs s 5 No date [Thomas No 262]

Obv

ور شاه
سلطانى

Rev

سلطانى
محمد شاه

14 Wt 35 grs s 45

[Rodgers Lahore Mus Cat p 105]

Obv

ور شاه
محمد
سلطانى

Rev

سلطانى
محمد شاه

15 Wt 70 grs s 5 Mint Dehli dates 793 794, 795

Obv

سلطانى
محمد شاه

Rev

دارالملك
دہلى
٧٩٣

16 Wt 70 grs s 55 Mint Dehli No date

Obv in circle

سلطان
محمد شاه

Rev in circle

دارالملك
دہلى

17 Wt 42 grs s 55 Mint Dehli

[Lahore Mus Cat p 104]

	Obv		Rev
	شاہ		بصورت
	محمد		دعای
18	Wt 24 grs , s 35	Mint Dehli	[Thomas No 268]
	Obv		Rev
	شاہ		ت
	محمد		بصورت
			دعای
19	Wt 16 grs s 35	[J A S B 1880, No 2 p 84]	
	Obv		Rev
	محمد		شاہ

VIII 'Alāu d dīn Sikandar ibn Muhammad Shāh A H 795

This ruler occupied the throne for only 45 days, a fact which necessarily makes his coins uncommon—though it is surprising that so many varieties should be known. These number two billon and four copper types.

Billon

1	Weight 142 grs	[B M C No 424]
	Obv	Rev
	الحلیفہ ابو	سلطان
	محمد اللہ جلالت	محمد شاہ
	حلاوت ۷۹۵	سکندر شاہ
2	Weight 55 grs	[B M C No 429]
	Obv	Rev
	الحلیفہ	سلطان
	المومنین	محمد شاہ
	امیر	سکندر شاہ
	جلالت حلاوت	

Copper

3	Weight circ 140 grs , s 65	[B M C No 425]
	Obv in circle	Rev
	شاہ	المومنین
	سکندر	نائب امیر
		۷۹۵

Margin سلطانى صرب بحصرت دہلی

4 Weight 66 grs s 58

[B M C No 427]

Obv

Rev

سلطانى

دارالملک

سکندر شاہ

دہلی

۷۹۵

5 Weight 35 grs s 48

[Thomas No 275]

Obv

Rev

شاہ

بحصرت

سکندر

دہلی

6 Weight 18 grs s 4

[Rodgers Lahore Museum Catalogue p 106]

Obv

Rev

سکندر

شاہ

IA *Nāsiru d dīn Mahmud Shāh ibn Muhammad Shah*
A H 795 815

It is remarkable that Thomas makes no mention of the gold coins of Mahmud as no fewer than three distinct types are known. Apart from these recent additions are few. The billon coins apparently are confined to the earlier years of the reign and though the annual issue of copper continued through the upheaval caused by the invasion of Tīmūr it is strange that a gap should occur from 804 to 811 and possibly till 813, no coins with intermediate dates being on record. Mahmūd died in 815 but coins continued to be struck in his name during the following year. Thereafter the nobles who held sway over the remnants of the Empire utilised the types issued by kings long dead until the establishment of the Sayyid dynasty though Mubarak, the second of that line appears to have struck no coin in his own name till 833 H.

Gold.

1 Weight 171 grs size 9 Mint Delhi date 797

[H R Nevill]

Obv in circle

Rev

الامام

السلطان الاعظم

فی رمی

ابوالمظفر محمود شاہ

امیر المومنین

محمود شاہ مغرور شاہ

جلالت خلافت

سلطانى

Margin ۷۹۷ دہلی بحصرت

صرب

2. Weight 174 grs , size .75. [I.M.C , No 507.]

Obv.	Rev
الإمام	السلطان الأعظم
في زمن	أبو المعتمد محمود شاه
المومنين	محمد شاه فيروز شاه
اميد—ر	سلطاني
خلدت خلافته	
٨٩٦	

3. Weight 169, .5 grs., size .8. [I.M.C , No. 508.]

Obv	Rev
الإمام	السلطان الأعظم
في زمن	أبو المظفر محمود شاه
المومنين	محمد شاه فيروز شاه
اميد—ر	سلطاني
خلدت خلافته	
٨٠٠	

Silver.

4. Weight 174 grs., s. 1. [Thomas, No 276.]

Obv.	Rev.
الإمام	السلطان الأعظم
في زمن	أبو المعتمد محمود شاه
المومنين	محمد شاه فيروز شاه
اميد—ر	سلطاني
خلدت خلافته	
٨١٤	

5. Weight 159 grs , s. .9. [I.M.C , No 510] Date 806.

Obv.	Rev
as in 4 but	السلطان الأعظم
٨٠٦	أبو المظفر محمود شاه
	محمد شاه فيروز شاه
	سلطاني

Billon.

6. Weight 140 grams. [Thomas No 277] Dates 795,
796

- | | | |
|----|------------------------|----------------------|
| 12 | Weight 140 grains & 7 | [H R Nevill] |
| | Obv in circle | Rev in circle |
| | سلطان | دارالملک |
| | محمد شاه | دهلی |
| | Traces of Margin | |
| 13 | Weight 63 grains & 6 | [I M C, No 521] |
| | Obv in circle | Rev |
| | شاه | ارالملک |
| | محمد | دهلی |
| 14 | Weight 35 grains, & 43 | [Thomas, No 281] |
| | Obv | Rev |
| | شاه | نصرت |
| | محمد | دهلی |
| 15 | Weight 17 grains | [I R A S 1900 p 777] |
| | Obv | Rev |
| | شاه | ت |
| | محمد | نصرت |
| | | دهلی |

A *Nusrat Shāh ibn Fath Khān ibn Fīro Shāh*

We know little of this claimant to the throne save that he was proclaimed in opposition to Mahmud in 797 and for three years maintained his position in the city of Fīrozābad so that for this period there were actually two rival kings in Dehli. After the invasion of Taimūr he returned but was driven out by Iqbāl Khān on behalf of Mahmud and from 802 onwards nothing is known of him. Thomas illustrates a coin dated 807, which is manifestly in the name of Nusrat but admits his inability to explain the date. The coin published by Rodgers [Lahore Museum Catalogue p 108] in the joint names of Nusrat and Mahmūd and bearing the date 888 is a coin of Gujarat. No silver coin of Nusrat has yet been found and only one type of billon is known.

Gold

- | | | |
|---|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 | Wt 167 grains & 78 | |
| | | [Rodgers I A S B 1894 No 2 p 66] |

Rev
سلطان
محمد شاه
محمد شاه

Obv
الملك محمد
عدد الملك خلعت
خلعة ۷۹۵

7 Weight 56 grains

[Thomas No 279]

Obv
الملك محمد
المومدين
محمد شاه
خلعت خلعة

Rev
سلطان
محمد شاه
محمد شاه

Copper

8 Weight 140 grains s 7 Dates recorded 795 796,
797 798 799 800 801 802 803 804 813 815

Obv in circle
شاه
محمد

Rev
المومدين
نائب امير
۷۹۷

Margin سلطانى صورت مصورت دہلى

9 Weight 70 grains, s 55 No date recorded
[Lahore Museum Catalogue, p 107]

Obv in circle
شاه
محمد

Rev
المومدين
نائب امير

Margin illegible

10 Weight 70 grains s 55 6 Dates recorded 795 796
797, 798 799 800 801, 803, 804 814, 815, 816

Obv
سلطان
محمد شاه

Rev
دارالملك
دہلى
۷۹۵

11 Weight 56 3 grains s 5

[I M C No 520]

Obv in circle
سلطان
محمد شاه

Rev in circle no date
دارالملك
دہلى

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 12 | Weight 140 grains s 7 | [H R Nevill] |
| | Obv in circle | Rev in circle |
| | سلطان | دارالملک |
| | محمد شاه | دولتی |
| | Prices of Margin | |
| 13 | Weight 63 grains s 6 | [I M C No 521] |
| | Obv in circle | Rev |
| | ساج | ارالملک |
| | محمد د | قلی |
| 14 | Weight 30 grains s 43 | [Thomas No 281] |
| | Obv | Rev |
| | شاه | نصرت |
| | محمد | دولتی |
| 15 | Weight 17 grain | [J R A S 1900 p 177] |
| | Obv | Rev |
| | ساج | ن |
| | محمد | نصرت |
| | | قلی |

V *Nusrat Shāh ibn Fath Khān ibn Fīrōz Shāh*

We know little of this claimant to the throne save that he was proclaimed in opposition to Mahmūd in 797 and for three years maintained his position in the city of Fīrozābad so that for this period there were actually two rival kings in Dehli. After the invasion of Fāmūr he returned but was driven out by Iqbal Khān on behalf of Mahmūd and from 802 onwards nothing is known of him. Thomas illustrates a coin dated 807 which is manifestly in the name of Nusrat but admits his inability to explain the date. The coin published by Rodgers [Lahore Museum Catalogue p 103] in the joint names of Nusrat and Mahmūd and bearing the date 885 is a coin of Gujarat. No silver coin of Nusrat has yet been found and only one type of billon is known.

Gold

- | | | |
|---|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 | Wt 167 grains s 75 | |
| | | [Rodgers J A S B 1814 No 2 p 66] |

Obv	Rev
الإمام	الواق بن داود
عمر	الرحماني نصرت شاه
المومنين	سلطاني حلد
امد	ملك
جلدت حلاوت	
۸۰	

Billon

- 2 Wt 131.5 grams s 60
[Rogers J A S B 1894 No 2 p 60]

Obv in circle	Rev in circle
شاه	المومنين
نصرت	نام امد
سلطان	

Margin illegible

Copper

- 3 Wt 134 grams s 60 [I M C No 522]

Obv	Rev
شاه	دارالملک
نصرت	دهلی
سلطان	

- 4 Wt 66 grams s 60 Dates recorded 797 798

Obv	Rev
شاه	دارالملک
نصرت	دهلی
سلطان	۷۹۷

- 5 Wt 70 grams s 55 No date

Obv	Rev
شاه	دارالملک
نصرت	دهلی
سلطان	

6	Wt. 60 grains, \approx .55	[H. R. Nevill]
	Obv.	Rev
	شاه	دارالملک
	نصرت	دہلی
	سلطان	
7.	Wt. 65 grains, \approx .55	[H. R. Nevill]
	Obv.	Rev
	سلطان	دارالملک
	نصرت شاه	دہلی
8	Wt. 34 grains. Date 797. [J R A S, 1900, p 490]	
	Obv.	Rev.
	شاه	ت
	نصرت	نصرت
	۷۹۷	دہلی

It should be explained that in some cases the recorded weight is not exactly that of the particular specimen quoted as the original publication, but that of more perfect specimens since observed. The use of grains as the standard of weight is open to obvious objections as the weight of coins was manifestly reckoned in *ratis*. For example, many of the small billons are described habitually as 55-grain coins, whereas it is obvious that in theory, and very frequently in reality, they were coins of 56 grains or 32 *ratis*. Similarly the ordinary 140-grain coin of Firoz Shāh and his successors was undoubtedly a coin of 80 *ratis*, and if in a few instances the actual weight exceeds this amount by a grain or two, we have to make allowances for slight inaccuracies on the part of the mint in coinage struck in the baser metals.

Simla, 1920

H NEVILL

223. COINS OF THE PATHAN KINGS OF DELHI.

The Sayyid Dynasty

After the death of Mahmūd in 815 H there was no Sultān in Dehli. The supreme power was vested actually, though not nominally, in Daulat Khān Lodī, but this ruler struck no coins in his own name, contenting himself with recording the current dates on coins bearing the legends adopted by Mahmūd, Firoz and Muhammad. The same practice was adopted by his successors.

I *Khizr Khān*

Though styled Khizr Shāh on the coins of his grandson Muhammad and in the pages of the historians it is doubtful if this noble styled himself Sultān during his reign which lasted from 817 H to the accession of his son Mubārak in 824. Like Daulat Khan he preserved the forms of coins issued by Firoz Shah merely inscribing thereon the actual date.

The only types known are the rupees of Muhammad dated 818 the large 140 grain billons and the 70 grain coppers both in the name of Firoz. Ferishta indeed state that he struck coin in the names of Timur and Shahrukh but no tangible evidence in support of this tale has been adduced and the actual presence of coins struck at Delhi during his rule with the name of Firoz seems to afford conclusive proof of its falsity.

II *Muizz al dīn Mubārak*

For the first eight years of his reign Mubārak Shāh appears to have followed the practice adopted by his father as no known piece bearing the name of the Sultān earlier than 732 H has come to light. His copper is common but his silver *tanka* is extremely rare and no gold piece has yet been discovered. Mubārak is said by his biographer Yalva līn Ahmad to have died in Pajab 837 but his coins run on till 838. Probably those of that date are posthumous as Muhammad bin Farid unquestionably issued coin in his own name with the date 837. The absence of any billon coin is remarkable.

Silver

1 Weight 174 grains Dates recorded 833 834 835 837

[Thomas No 287]

Obv

لا مام

فی رحه

المومنین

مدر

جلد جلاله

۸۳۳

Rev

فی عهد

السلطان العالی

الموکل علی الرحمن

مبارکشاه

سلطان

Copper

2 Wt 172 grs s 7 Dates observed 832 833 834
835 836 837

[Thomas No 288]

Obv	Rev
Area in circle	
شاه	المومنين
مداري	نائب امير
	۷۳۳

Margin : سلطان حضرت دهلې

The weight of this coin is remarkable, as it clearly indicates a piece of 100 *ratīs* or a true copper *jaitil*, and is a fresh appearance of a copper coin which is not a mere token. As already noted, coins of over 165 grains were struck by Abūbakr, clearly with the same intent.

3 Wt 84 grs., s .6. Dates observed, 832 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 854, 855. [Thomas No 289]

Obv.	Rev.
مدارکشاہ	دارالملک
سلطان	دهلي
	۸۳۳

The posthumous coins of 854 and 855, first observed by Rodgers, were clearly issued by Bahlol Lodi after the flight of 'Ālam Shāh from Dehli, before his outward and visible assumption of sovereignty.

4. Wt. 42 grs., s .45 [Thomas, No. 290]

Obv.	Rev
شاه	نصرت
مداري	دهلي

III. *Muhammad Shāh bin Farīd.*

The successor of Mubārak reverted to the normal forms of coins issued by the later rulers of the Tughlaq dynasty. It seems clear that the reign of Muhammad continued till 849, as coins of that date are known, whereas none issued by his successor has been found bearing an earlier date than 950.¹ The silver coins of this Sultān are very rare

Gold.

1. Wt. 175 grs., s .75. Dates observed 811, 843, 844, 845 [Thomas, No 291.]

Obv	Rev
الامام	السلطان الاعظم
في رعي	ابوالمعتمد محمد شاه
المومنين	بن ورد شاه شاه
امير	بن حصر
جلوب خلاند	
۸۴۱	

Silver

2 Wt 17 grs s 3 Dates observed 844 846
[Thomas No 292]

Obv	Rev
الامام	السلطان الاعظم
في رعي	ابوالمعتمد محمد شاه
المومنين	بن ورد شاه شاه
امير	بن حصر
جلوب خلاند	سلطاني
۸۴۶	

Billon

3 Wt 140 grs s 65 Mint Dehli Dates observed 841
842 843 844 845 846 847, 848 849 [Thomas No 292]

Obv	Rev
السلطان اعظم	سلطان
المومنين جلوب	محمد شاه
خلاند ۸۴۱	ورد شاه
	حصر شاه دهلي
	بصورت

4 Wt 55 grs s 5 No date
[Lahore Mus Cat p 109]

Obv	Rev
السلطان	سلطان
المومنين	محمد شاه
امير	ورد شاه
جلوب خلاند	بصورت دهلي

Copper

5 Wt 140 grs s 7 Dates observed 840 844 846
[Thos, No 294]

Obv Rev

In circle

شاہ

محمد

المومنین

نائب امیر

۸۴۳

Margin سلطان عرب بحضرت دہلی

6 Wt 97 grs s 55 Dates observed 837 838 839 841
842 843 844 845 846 847 848 849 [Thomas No 295]

Obv

محمد شاہ

سلطان

Rev

دارالملک

دہلی

۸۴۳

NOTE—In the coins of 837 to 841 we find سلطان

7 Wt 35 grs

[Thomas No 296]

Obv

شاہ

محمد

Rev

بحضرت

دہلی

I confess that though Thomas gives this coin I am unable to distinguish it from the similar coin of Muhammad bin Firuz. There may be a difference but I am unaware of its nature.

II Alāu d dīn Alam Shah

The reign of Alam is shrouded in some obscurity. He seems to have reigned in Delhi from 849 to 853 then to have moved his capital to Budun and to have abdicated in 854 although Bahlol Lodi did not formally resume the crown till 855. Thereafter he lived at Budun in obscurity till his death in 883.

No gold coin of this ruler has yet been found and only one silver piece has come to light.

Silver

1 Wt 170 grs s 8 [J A S B Numismatic Supplement No XXVI p 18]

Obv

الامام

فی حق

المومنین

محمد

حاجب خلافت

۸۵۲

Rev

سلطان

عامشاد

ملا لدینا و لدین

محمد سادہ سادہ

بود

The date is but partially visible and the reading is uncertain

Billon

2 Wt 140 grs s 65 Dates observed 851, 852, 853,
854 [Thomas, No 297]

Rev

سلطان

عالمشاه

—

محمد شاه

نصرت دہلی

Obv

الخطیب امیر

المومنین حلدت

۸۵۲

3 Wt 55 grs s 75

[Thomas No 298]

Obv

الخطیب

المومنین

—

حلدت حلاوت

Rev

سلطان

عالمشاه

بن محمد شاه

نصرت دہلی

Thomas gives a variety of this coin with نصرت دہلی This is improbable, but possibly the reading given by Rodgers explains the matter as he considers that the word نصرت occupies the extreme right of the last line

Copper

4 Wt 140 grs s 7 Dates observed 852, 853, 854

[Thomas No 300]

Obv

عالمشاه

Rev

المومنین

نائب امیر

۸۵۲

Margin سلطان نصرت دہلی

5 Wt 77 grs s 6 Dates observed 850, 851, 852, 853,
854

Obv

عالمشاه

سلطان

Rev

دارالملک

دہلی

۸۵۲

No small copper are known The mas No 302 is obviously not a distinct type but comes under coin No 3

224 COINS OF THE PATHAN KINGS OF DEHLI

*The Lodī Sulṭāns**1 Bahlol Lodī, 855-894 H*

Although Bahlol obtained possession of Dehli in 854 H after the departure of 'Alāu-d dīn 'Ālam, he did not strike coin in his own name but apparently utilised the dies of Mubārak Shāh if any inference can be drawn from the existence of copper coins bearing the name of that ruler and the dates 854 and 855. The earliest known piece of Bahlol struck in his own name, is dated 855.

The coins of the Lodīs are relatively uninteresting. It may be too much to say that they issued no coin in gold or silver, but at any rate pieces in these metals have yet to be discovered.

Billon

1 Wt 144.5 grs (average) s 8 Dates observed, 856-866, 873-894. [Thomas No 311]

Obv.	Rev.
في ديس	المعول على
المومنين	الرحمن بلول
امير	شاہ سلطان
جلدت خلافت	بصورت دہلی
۸۵۷	

The gap of six years in the issue of these coins is remarkable. It is most improbable that no coins were struck during this period, but it is odd that none should have been recorded. Possibly the coins of intervening years are known to private collectors.

2. Wt 130 grs, s 7

[Rodgers J A S B 1880, No 2 p 53]

Obv.	Rev.
الحائفة	بہلول شاہ
المومنين	سلطان
امير	بصورت دہلی
جلدت خلافت	

3 Wt 56 grs s 55

[Thomas, No 312]

Obv.	Rev.
as in 2	as in 2

4 Wt 56 grs, s 57 [Rodgers, Lahore Mus Cat p 112]

Obv	Rev
الحمد لله	المتوكل على
المومنين	الرحمن بطلول
احمد	شاه سلطان
حدث خلاد	...

5 Wt 56 grs s 6 Date 857
[Rodgers Lahore Mus Cat p 113]

Obv	Rev
الحمد لله	مستد
المومنين	بطلول شاه
احمد	سلطان
حدث خلاد	
٨٥٧	

*Copper*6 Wt 140 grs s 7 Dates observed 867-879 882,
887 888 889 892 [Thomas, No 315]

Obv	Rev
In circle	المومنين
بطلول	نائب امير
شاه	٨٦٨

Margin سلطان صرب حضرت علي

7 Wt 84 grs, s 61 Dates observed 855-877, 882 887,
[Thomas, No 313]

Obv	Rev
بطلول شاه	دارالملک
سلطان	دعلي
	٨٥٥

8 Wt 67 grs Dates observed 868, 886 889, 893, 894
[Thomas, No 314]

Obv	Rev
الحمد لله	بطلول شاه
المومنين	سلطان
احمد	
حدث خلاد	

9 Wt (average) 37 grs, s 55

[Rodgers, Lahore Mus Cat p 113]

Obv

Rev

بہلول شاہ

نصرت

سلطان

دہلی

10 Wt 38 grs s 4 [Rodgers Lahore Mus Cat p 113]

Obv

Rev

شاہ ل

الحمد

سلطان

الموعود

سلطان

محمد

11 Wt 60 grs s 6 Mint Jaunpur Dates recorded
888-894 [B M C No 493]

Obv

Rev

بہلول شاہ

شہر

سلطان

خوپور

۸۸۸

II Sikandar bin Bahlol Lodi, 894-923 II

While Bahlol Lodi followed the example of the Sayid Sultans at any rate as regards the issue of billon and copper types, the known coins of his successor are limited to the standard billon of some 60 *rahis* and its subdivisions.

In this restricted field there are but two points of interest. The first of these relates to the difference between the coins of Dehli and Agra. The earlier type of large billon struck at Hazrat Dehli closely resembles in its general appearance that of Bahlol whereas the later type is very distinctive with its angular script and much more deeply incised die. The earliest specimen of this latter type that I have seen is dated 901. For some years the two run on concurrently and the latest of the Dehli type known is of 909 long after the formal transfer of the capital to Agra.

The second point is the absence of any coins later than 920. This is remarkable for Sikandar struck billons by the million and his coins of every previous year are abundant. I can offer no reason for the rarity, if not the complete disappearance of coins issued after 920. Possibly it is connected with a change of currency, for the 140 gram billon of Ibrahim is unknown but this is mere guesswork and the matter is one which demands further elucidation.

Billon

1 Wt 140-145 grs s 65 Dates observed 894-909 II
[Thomas No 316]

tions the coins contain a mere fragment of the legend. The execution is degenerate and the dates are seldom legible. Those recorded are confined to a very few years of his reign. The only copper issue is that of the Malwa type illustrated by Thomas, the specimen quoted being it is believed still the only one found.

Billon

- 1 Wt (highest known) 88.5 grs s 6 Dates observed
923, 925, 926, 927 [Thomas No 318]

Obv

فی رس

المومن

امد

جلدت خلافت

۹۲۶

Rev

المذکور علی

الرحمن ابراهيم شاه

مکندر شاه

سلطان

- 2 Wt 42 grs s 45 Dates observed 925, 926, 927, 928
[Thomas, No 320]

Obv

Portions of above

Rev

Portions of above

Copper

- 3 Wt 110 grs Square [Thomas, No 321]

Obv

ابراهيم شاه لود

س مکندر

Rev

السلطان

سلطان

This is in imitation of the ordinary Malwa copper and is supposed to commemorate the capture of Chanderi by Ibrahim. Unfortunately the date is missing.

IV Mahmūd bin Sikandar Lodī

After the disastrous battle of Pānīpat in 932 the Afghan forces were wholly disorganised and the remnant fled eastwards into Bihār. Their leader was Mahmūd, a younger brother of Ibrāhīm, and practically all we know of this Sultān is that he was proclaimed king in Bihār in 935. His reign was brief for Bābar was then on his heels and the Sultān who at first had been a mere refugee and had been put on the Eastern throne after the disappearance of Jalāl ud dīn Lohani again fled eastwards, to take refuge with the ruler of Bengal.

NUMISMATIC SUPPLEMENT No. XXXVI

ARTICLES 225-231.

Continued from "Journal and Proceedings", Vol. XVII,
New Series, No. 1.

225. THE MACHHLĪDĀR SŪBAH AWADH COINS

In his article the Coins of the Kings of Awadh, published in N.S XVIII Art 112, p 255, Mr. Brown discusses the coinage during the Mutiny in the name of Brijis Qadr. He records the tradition in the Lucknow bazar that it resembled the coins of Banāras which have a broad fish and the mint name *مصونه اوده*. The general correctness of the tradition has now been proved by the Oudh records in the office of the Board of Revenue. Attached to this note is a copy of a letter No. 189, dated 18th December, 1858, from the Deputy Commissioner, Lucknow, to the Commissioner and Superintendent, Lucknow. I have preserved the exact spelling of the original. Most of the mistakes present no difficulty. The word "P Sendal" is probably a mistake for "provisional, and the Persian words *nishān mālī* probably refer to the representation of a fish."

The coins which had been received at Lucknow resembled closely the *machhlī shāhī* rupees of Shāh 'Ālam which were still being received at treasuries along with other uncurrent coins. As, however, the new coinage had been struck without authority, and was debased in varying degrees, a circular was issued directing district officers to refuse to accept it in the treasuries. Any coins which had already been received were to be sent to the Accountant General for melting. The only district report received besides that from Lucknow was from Hardoi where 22,000 coins had been received. This rejection and order for melting account for the comparative rarity of these coins now.

R. BURN.

SIR,

I have the honour to request you will furnish me with early instructions relative to the treatment of a new species of Oude Currency.

2. During the Rebellion it seems a mint was established under the orders of Birjisikdr, the P Sendal king and a new coin struck and extensively circulated in this Province.

3. It has some resemblance to the Mutchlee Shahee rupee, now current, and bears the device noted in the margin. It is of an inferior description and the intrinsic value much below the standard currency. The coins even vary in value, the

maximum is 15 annas while some are not worth more than 14 annas

Obverse (sic)
حاجی دی شاه عالی

در باب کشور شد

Reverse
سنه ۱۲۲۳ حلو

مربطه نشان مامی

4 The Tehseeldars of Lucknow and Goorsaingunge have sent in 79 such rupees in their remittance but I have not yet issued any orders to them on the subject pending a reply to this reference

5 I need hardly observe that all light weight rupees are received in the Treasury as bullion but the new coin altogether inferior in value is full weight and cannot be treated as such

6 If the coin is to be received by tale it will be necessary to fix a suitable rate of discount to be determined with reference to the value of the specie In our older Provinces Malgootars are allowed the privilege of tendering other than Co's rupees and the batta varies from 1 to 6 per cent according to the description of coins tendered

7 But the rupee in question is inferior to all kinds receivable in the Treasury and liable to the exaction of a heavy Batta which I apprehend will materially retard its withdrawal from circulation and this is a matter of considerable importance

8 I have prohibited the re issue of the coin and await your orders on the subject

I have, etc

Sd S MARTIN

Deputy Commissioner

Lucknow, Dy Comm's Office

The 18th December, 1858

226 UJHANI AS A MINT TOWN

The rupee described below was brought to me recently and is interesting as adding yet one more to the list of Mughal mints

Ujhani is a town of between seven and eight thousand inhabitants the capital of a pargana and about eight miles south west of Budaon

After the death of 'Ali Muhammad Khan the Rohilla chief in A D 1748 (= A H 1161) and the release four years later of his sons Abdullah and Fazullah who had been sent to Qandahar by the Emperor Muhammad Shah a partition of Rohilkhand was effected and the Ujhani pargana fell to the share of Abdullah Here he ruled in peace till his death in 1761 A D (= 1174 A H)

It was in the latter year that this rupee must have been struck either by Abdullah or his son Nasrullah It is to be

noted that it follows the Bareilly (Rohilla) type. It came to me with other coins of Rohilkhand mints of the same period.

Obv

الله
بادشاه
حامی دین شاه عالم
صل
دند بک کشور آینه
سکه

Rev

عاقوس
محمد
خلیف ۲ سنه
صوب
سکه اوچانی

On the obverse the word *آینه* (mirror) replaces the usual *سکه*. The two dots under the *ve* and the dot over the *nūn* make the reading clear.

On the reverse the use of the *سکه* before the mint name is a peculiarity.

H NELSON WRIGHT

227 THE COINS OF MUHAMMAD AKBAR AS CLAIMANT TO THE MUGHAL THRONE

I have on purely numismatic grounds suspected for some time past that coins were issued during the troubled period 1202-03 A H in the name of a Mughal claimant Muhammad Akbar hitherto unrecognized as such. Towards the end of November 1919, I put the question to Professor S H Hodiwāla as follows: Is it possible that a claimant called Muhammad Akbar an individual either distinct from or the same as the personage who afterwards became Muhammad Akbar II was pushed forward in addition to Bedar Bakht as a claimant to the Mughal throne in the troubled period 1202-03 A H? Is there anything in history to warrant such a theory? His reply was sufficient to show that there were historical grounds for holding that the second son of Shāh 'Ālam, Prince Muhammad Akbar who regularly ascended the throne twenty years later was set up as emperor by Chulām Qādir after that swashbuckler had been obliged to discard Bedār Bakht on account of the latter's unsuitability. The name of Muhammad Akbar must therefore be added to the list of Mughal claimants who issued coin. I now proceed to describe the numismatic evidence and leave Professor Hodiwāla to give the historical material in the companion paper.

maximum is 15 annas while some are not worth more than 14 annas

<i>Obverse (sic)</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
حاکمی دین شاه عالی	سنة ۱۲۲۳ حلو
بر مذهب کشور شد	صوبه نشان مامی

4 The Tehseeldars of Lucknow and Goorsaingunge have sent in 79 such rupees in their remittance but I have not yet issued any orders to them on the subject pending a reply to this reference

5 I need hardly observe that all light weight rupees are received in the Treasury as bullion but the new coin altogether inferior in value is full weight and cannot be treated as such

6 If the coin is to be received by tale it will be necessary to fix a suitable rate of discount to be determined with reference to the value of the specie In our older Provinces Malgoozars are allowed the privilege of tendering other than Company rupees and the batta varies from 1 to 6 per cent according to the description of coins tendered

7 But the rupee in question is inferior to all kinds receivable in the Treasury and liable to the exaction of a heavy Batta which I apprehend will materially retard its withdrawal from circulation and this is a matter of considerable importance

8 I have prohibited the re issue of the coin and await your orders on the subject

I have etc

Sd S MARTIN

Deputy Commissioner

Lucknow, Dy Comm's Office
The 18th December, 1858

226 ŪJHANI AS A MINT TOWN

The rupee described below was brought to me recently and is interesting as adding yet one more to the list of Mughal mints

Ūjhani is a town of between seven and eight thousand inhabitants the capital of a pargana and about eight miles south west of Budaon

After the death of Ali Muhammad Khan the Rohilla chief in A D 1748 (= A H 1161) and the release four years later of his sons Abdullah and Faizullah who had been sent to Qandahar by the Emperor Muhammad Shāh a partition of Rohilkhand was effected and the Ūjhani pargana fell to the share of Abdullah Here he ruled in peace till his death in 1761 A D (= 1174 A H)

It was in the latter year that this rupee must have been struck either by Abdullah or his son Nasrullah It is to be

noted that it follows the Bareilly (Rohilla) type. It came to me with other coins of Rohilkhand mints of the same period.

Obv

الله

بادشاه

حامی دین شاه عالم

مصلح

دین به وقت کشور آید

مسکه

Rev

مانوس

عبد

خلوین ۲ سنه

مرب

سکه او حبابی

On the obverse the word *آید* (mirror) replaces the usual *سانه*. The two dots under the 've' and the dot over the 'nūn' make the reading clear.

On the reverse the use of the *سکه* before the mint name is a peculiarity.

H NELSON WRIGHT

227 THE COINS OF MUHAMMAD AKBAR AS CLAIMANT TO THE MUGHAL THRONE

I have on purely numismatic grounds suspected for some time past that coins were issued during the troubled period 1202-03 A H in the name of a Mughal claimant Muhammad Akbar hitherto unrecognized as such. Towards the end of November 1919, I put the question to Professor S H Hodiwāla as follows: 'Is it possible that a claimant called Muhammad Akbar, an individual either distinct from or the same as the personage who afterwards became Muhammad Akbar II, was pushed forward in addition to Bedar Bakht as a claimant to the Mughal throne in the troubled period 1202-03 A H? Is there anything in history to warrant such a theory?' His reply was sufficient to show that there were historical grounds for holding that the second son of Shah 'Ālam, Prince Muhammad Akbar who regularly ascended the throne twenty years later, was set up as emperor by Ghulam Qadir after that swashbuckler had been obliged to discard Bedar Bakht on account of the latter's unsuitability. The name of Muhammad Akbar must therefore be added to the list of Mughal claimants who issued coin. I now proceed to describe the numismatic evidence and leave Professor Hodiwāla to give the historical material in the companion paper.

It was in the latter part of the year 1202 A H that the infamous Rohilla chief Ghulam Qadir Khan occupied Delhi and seized the Fort together with the persons of the hapless Shah Ālam and of the royal household. He put out the eyes of the unfortunate emperor and in his place elevated one of the young princes to the throne under the name of Bedar Bakht. This Bedar Bakht was son of Ahmad Shah Bahādur and grand son of Muhammad Shah. Coins were struck in his name and a few specimens are known. The metals and mints are —

A	Ahmadabad	Shahjahānābād
R	Do	do
Æ	Ahmadabad	

As far as I know the copper coin still remains a singleton silver is scarcer than gold. The dates are 1202 and 1203 A H but only the first regnal year appears the reign lasted two months.

We can only conjecture why coins of Bedar Bakht were struck at Ahmadabad as history is silent on the point. His power or rather that of his Rohilla master cannot have extended far from Delhi itself. In his excellent paper on 'The Post Mughal Coins of Ahmadābād' published in Numismatic Supplement No. XXII (J A S B 1914) Mr A. Master, I C S shows that the end of the reign of Ahmad Shah Bahādur sees the last of the issues of coins by the Mughal emperors in Ahmadabad that is to say subsequent issues were struck in the names of the regnant emperors by Marathas and later by the British and were of a fashion distinct from the true imperial type. A striking exception was the Bedar Bakht issue. This interrupted the series issued in the name of Shah Ālam all of which bore a local symbol. The Bedar Bakht coins on the contrary were of the imperial Shahjahānābād type. Mr Master held that these were true Mughal coins and that although bearing the name of Ahmadābād they really hailed from the capital. He cited the parallel of the Ahmadābād coins of Nādir Shah. 'The desire to assert a claim over a wealthy and important city like Ahmadābād which was nominally under Mughal rule would appear to have been sufficient inducement for the striking of these coins by Nādir Shah and Bedar Bakht' J A S B, May, 1914, page 106. This is only a partial explanation because a few rare Ahmadābād coins of the imperial type have recently come to light which were struck just at this critical period in the name of Shah Ālam himself. Coin 2858 illustrated in Plate XVIII of the second volume of the Panjab Museum Coin Catalogue 1914 is a gold piece of 1202 A H. I have referred to this in N S XXV, p 233. One or two silver and copper coins of this exceptional issue have been discovered in the last six years. A comparison of the reverse of this coin with that of the Bedar Bakht Ahmadābād muhar—Plate XX No 3248—will show how

closely related the issues are Their why and wherefore await solution

The copper Ahmadabad coin of Bedār Bakht is in the cabinet of Mr H. Nelson Wright ICS and I was familiar with its appearance Two years ago in the Ambala City bazar I bought a small copper piece which at first sight seemed to be another copper Ahmadābād piece of Bedār Bakht but much smaller than Mr Nelson Wright's specimen The mint, regnal year احد and style tallied but the name of the king was Akbar Shāh and the *hijri* year could only be made into 1203 by the insertion of a dot It must not be forgotten that the first year of the Emperor Muhammad Akbar's reign was 1221-1222 A H so there was just a possibility that احد might be a blunder for احد or احد However the style was quite different from that of the Emperor Muhammad Akbar Shāh's copper coins On looking through my collection I found I already possessed an Akbar Shāh copper coin like my newly acquired Ahmadābād coin but of Shāhjahānābād mint The regnal year was احد and the unit figure of the *hijri* date was clearly 7 The type was again quite different from that of the Emperor Muhammad Akbar Shāh's copper issues struck at Shāhjahānābād in his first year—see Panjab Museum Catalogue, Plate XX No 3273—and tallied with that of Shāh 'Ālam's copper coins struck in or about 1203 A H The possibility of a claimant Akbar striking in 1203 A H dawned on me and then I remembered the unattributed rupee bearing the name of Akbar Shāh which is now Panjab Museum Catalogue Plate XX No 3277 The dates on that piece are undoubtedly 1203 A H احد , but unluckily the mint name is illegible I therefore put the question to Professor Hodivālī with the following happy results and invite a reference to his share of this joint paper Just as I had finished this manuscript I was fortunate enough to pick up a duplicate of the Panjab Museum Akbar rupee The mint is Darū 'Surūr Sahāranpūr, which was the temporary capital of Ghulām Qādir Khān at the time when the Dehli correspondent of the Calcutta Gazette announced 'the continuance of Golaun Khān Cawn accompanied by his new elected king Mirza Akbar Shāh, his late king Bedār Shāh and several other princes' This discovery was made after Mr Hodivālī had completed his paper and settles the matter beyond all doubt It is interesting to note that this new puppet Akbar followed the example of Bedār Bakht in striking coin at Ahmadābād Rupees of Ahmadābād and Shāhjahānābād may come to light At the time of writing I only know of the above four coins of the new claimant

Coins of Muhammad Akbar as claimant



1 Rupee of date 1203 A H first regnal year, mint Daru s Surūr Sahāranpūr

Obverse

الحمد لله

شاه

فصل حامی دس ۱۲۰۳

سکه

Reverse

دار السور سهارنپور

مرب

حلوس مملکت مانوس

احمد

سده

The couplet is something like this —

سکه زد در جهان ماه فصل اله

حامی دس محمد اکبر شاه

'Struck coin in the world the shadow of the divine favour
The defender of the faith of Muhammad Akbar Shāh'



2. A. *Obverse*

اکبر شاه

دس ۱۲۰۳

Reverse

احمد آباد

مرب

Fish احمد Sword

سده



3. *Obverse*
اکبر شاہ
... ۲۳

Reverse
شاہ جهان آباد
—
Fish
احد
—

All three in my 'Cabinet' A duplicate of (1) in the Panjab Museum.

R. B. WHITEHEAD.

10th August, 1920

It has not yet been possible to find an absolutely complete and satisfactory solution of the problem connected with the Muhammad Akbar coins of 1203 A.H., but there would seem to be fairly good grounds for answering Mr. Whitehead's question in the affirmative. The period was a troubled one and its history is obscure. The fullest account of the transactions which led to the deposition and blinding of Shāh 'Ālam II is in the *Ibratnāma* of Faqir Khairuddin Muhammad, but this work has not yet been published. Portions are translated in the eighth volume of Elliot and Dowson's *History of India* (pp. 238-245), but the extracts unfortunately stop short at the most critical point. Indeed, Dowson informs us in the prefatory bibliographical notice that "it closes soon after recounting the horrible cruelties practised on the Emperor Shāh 'Ālam and his family, by the infamous Ghulām Kādir whose atrocities he describes at length and * * * whose career induced the author to give his work the title of *Ibratnāma*, Book of Warning," (op. cit. VIII, 237). There is a fairly detailed narrative of the events of this memorable year in Keene's *Fall of the Mughal Empire* which is avowedly an abstract paraphrase of the *Tārīkh-i-Muzaffarī* of Muhammad 'Alī Khān An'ārī (Keene, op. cit., 252), but it throws no real light on the matter in issue. I have a manuscript of the Persian original and waded through

* Mr. Whitehead's coins have since been purchased by the British Museum. In the illustrations to coins Nos. 2 and 3 the obverse and reverse have been transposed.

the folio in the hope of lighting up some details which Keene had missed or left out but the labour proved unfruitful. A search through the *Itādū & Sālat*—another of Keene's authorities (Kānpūr Lithograph 1897 A C)—turned out to be equally instructive. However some time afterwards I was delighted to find a clue to the solution of the puzzle in Seton Karr's *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*.

In the first volume of this compilation there is a long account of the Revolution at Dehlee extracted from the Calcutta Gazette of Thursday August 21st 1788 which begins thus. On the 2nd instant Ghoolam Kadir Khan and Ismail Beg Khan deposed the King Shah Alum and placed on the throne of Hindostan Bedar Bukht son of Ahmad Shah and grandson of Mohummud Shah. The circumstances of the revolution extracted from the authentic Dehlee papers are as follows. (Op cit I 262.) This lengthy account does not contain anything new and may be passed over. In the immediately consecutive number (August 28th) the blinding of the emperor is recorded. Malika Zemanca widow of Mohummud Shah and Sahibah Jahul (*see* Mahal *see* F D VIII 20) an old lady resident in the metropolis supplied Ghoolam Kadir Khan and Ismail Beg with several lacks of rupees. After de-throning the King they plundered him and put out his eyes and confined him. (Ibid 263.) The cruel blinding of the poor emperor is reported on September 4th with the remark that the mode in which it was carried out with a Pusheebz or short sharp pointed dagger must have made the horrid act of barbarity peculiarly agonizing to the last degree. (Ibid 266.) After this there is no reference to Delhi or its misfortunes for just three months. But the following item of news was published in the issue of December 1th 1788. Nothing particular has of late transpired at Delhi the last accounts from that quarter announce the continuance of Golaum Kadir Khan accompanied by his new elected King Mirza Akbar Shaw his late king Bedar Shaw and several other Princes at a place called Meerut about four days march from his capital Saharanpur. His Army experiences every distress from the severity kept up by the Mahratta Army under Ranna Khan Himut Behadre &c who cut off all his supplies and have hitherto prevented him from proceeding into Ghousghur. Scindea still remains at Vittura and the old king Shah Alum is treated with every respect by the Mahratta influence. (Ibid p 273.)

Now this is just the sort of evidence we want the historical warranty we are in search of. Here is a contemporary journalist asserting on the authority of the last accounts from that quarter i.e. the Delhi *Alkhbar* or Persian and Urdu news letters that the unspeakable Rohilla had gone to Meerut accompanied by his new elected king Mirza Akbar Shaw his late king Bedar Shaw and several other princes. Nothing could

be more explicit or more germane to the matter than this simultaneous mention of both puppets with their individual names and the qualifying epithets 'new elected, and 'late.' It is true that the necessary corroborative evidence from the indigenous chronicles is not yet forthcoming, but there is every reason to hope, if not to believe, that it will be discovered when these sources of information are published and examined by competent scholars.

It is common knowledge that the king-maker very soon became dissatisfied with Badai Bakht on account of his stupidity and childishness. It is said that the favourite amusement of the now titular, who had passed all his life as a prisoner in the *Deorhi-i-Salāfin* (q.v. Elliot and Dowson, VIII, 141, 247 n), was the flying of kites in the streets of the metropolis. Keene writes that "on the 3rd of August, Gholam Kadir gave proof of the degraded barbarity of which Hindustani Pathans can be guilty by lounging on the throne on the Diwan Khās, side by side with the nominal emperor whom he covered with abuse and ridicule as he smoked the hookah in his face. On the 7th he visited the Emperor in his confinement and offered to put on the throne Mirza Akbar, the Emperor's favourite son who did in fact ultimately succeed. The only answer to these overtures was a request by Shah Alam that he might be left alone" (Op cit. 179-80.) (The italics are mine)

This last statement is interesting and demands notice. It shows that the idea of raising Muhammad Akbar to the throne had occurred to Ghulam Qadir three days, at least, before the perpetration of those barbarities which have made him infamous for all time.

It is true that Keene, or rather his authority, does not assert that Muhammad Akbar was at this time, or at any other, actually elevated to the *Masnad*, but the statement may, even as it stands, be fairly said to support the allegation of the contemporary newswriter. And this taken in conjunction with the numismatic testimony, which is now fairly clear, may entitle us to hold that at some time during the Revolution, Muhammad Akbar, the second son of Shah Alam, was set up as Emperor by the Rohilla.

When this exactly took place, it is in the present state of knowledge impossible to say, but it may be worth while inviting attention to certain considerations which enable us to fix the time within very narrow limits. The Hijri date on the rupee in the Panjab Museum (P.M.C. 3277) as well as the copper coins in Mr. Whitehead's own cabinet is 1203. Now if they

¹ If the "Calcutta Gazette" or the sources of its information, the "Delhee papers" are to be credited, Ima'ul Beg from the first "did not approve the choice formed by Ghulam Kadir to fill the throne so ungratefully made vacant by him" (Ibid. cit. 264)

were struck as is not unlikely merely to commemorate the accession of the new *sainéant*, that event could not have occurred before 2nd October, 1788, which answers to 1 Muharram, 1203 A H

Again, one of the copper coins bears the mint name Shāh jahanabād. If any importance can be attached to this superscription, that is, if the coin is taken to have been really struck at Delhi the nominal inauguration of the second puppet could not have taken place after 11th October, 1788 A C, for we know that on that day Ghulām Qādir "finally departed, leaving the Salimgarh by a sally port and sending before him the titular Emperor, * * * and all the chief members of the royal family (Keene op cit, 185) "

It is true that the companion *tulus* exhibits the name Ahmadābād but it is not improbable that this coin was, like the Ahmadābād issues of Bedar Bakht, minted as Mr Master has conjectured, "not very far from Shahjahanabād" (Num Sup XXII, p 165) The rupee in the Lāhor Museum was ascribed by Rodgers to Akbarabad, but the reading "cannot be justified" and the name must for the present be pronounced illegible

In a word, if it is granted that these coins were first struck at Shāhjahanabād in 1203 A H, it follows that the nominal accession of Muhammad Akbar which they were perhaps intended to mark, must have taken place at some time between 2nd and 11th October, 1788 A C. The Marathas were increasing in strength and numbers, Isma'il Beg was negotiating with them, the last attempt of the Rohilla 'to shake the obstinacy of Shāh 'Ālam about the hid treasure' had failed. He was 'hemmed in by difficulties' on all sides and he may have hoped to arrest "the shadow of an advancing vengeance" (Keene, loc cit, 183-4), or make his peace with the populace of the capital by raising to the throne 'the favourite son' of the deeply injured Emperor

15th June, 1920

S H HODIVĀLĪ

226 THE COINAGE OF THE SHARQI KINGS OF JAUNPŪR

1 History and Chronology

Only meagre information regarding the history of the rule of the independent Muhammadan Kings of Jaunpūr is obtainable from the works of contemporary historians, few of whom have attempted to compile a history of the dynasty

Information on the subject has to be searched for from

* It is perhaps worth noting that the Calcutta newswriter also speaks of (G) ulām Qādir having been accompanied in his flight to Meerut not only by 'Belar Shaw' but by 'several other princes'

among the many histories of the central kingdom of Dehli and the items referring to the Jaunpūr dynasty when extracted and compared are not always consistent; sometimes the discrepancies are practically irreconcilable. The many histories, translated either in full or in part, in "The History of India as told by its own Historians" of Sir H. M. Elliot, are a source of help in the search for information of the history of the Sharqī dynasty, but unfortunately the best contemporary history of the period, that of Yahyā bin Ahmad—the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*—closes abruptly at a very interesting period.

Among the works of other more or less contemporary historians which afford help towards the elucidation of the history of the Sharqī dynasty are, the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* of Nizāmu-d-dīn Ahmad, the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* of Shams Sirāj Afif, the *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh* of 'Abdu-l-Qādir ibn-i-Mulūk Shāh, known as al-Badāonī, the *Tārīkh-i-Firishta* of Muḥammad Qāsim Shāh Firishta, the *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī* the *Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahān Lodī* and the *Tārīkh-i-Salāṭīn-i-Alghāniya* of Aḥmad Yādgar.

The above are all to be found in "Elliot and Dowson" and in addition we have Dorn's translation of the *Makhzan Alghāni*; Maulavi 'Abdu s Salām's translation of the *Riyāzu-s-Salāṭīn*, Colonel Ranking's and Professor Lowe's translation of the *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh*, Brigg's "Firishta" and the portion of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* translated by Mr. Dé: all of which help to contribute to our knowledge of the history of the period of Muhammadan rule at Jaunpūr. The information is however scattered and I have no doubt but that a close search in other contemporary works would further increase our knowledge of the history of this Muhammadan dynasty.

(Ghiyasu d din conferred the district as a *jāgīr* on Zafar¹. The name of the town was altered to Zafarabad. There is an inscription at Zafarabad dated A H 721 bearing the name of Sultan Ghiyasu d din which appears to have been recorded by this Zafar and which commemorates the change of name of the town².

Nizamu d din Ahmad³ states that the *ief* of Zafarabad was granted in A H 711 to one whom he had called his son and who was also granted the title of Tatar Khan. These two (viz Zafar and the holder of the title of Tatar Khan) are possibly one and the same person and we know that Tatar Khan was in possession of the *jāgīr* in A H 724 (A D 1324) when Sultan Ghiyasu d din made his expedition to Bengal.

Amul mull held the *jāgīrs* of Awadh and Zafarabad in the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq and went into rebellion in A H 747 (A D 1346) he was defeated and captured but eventually reinstated⁴.

Firoz Shah Tughlaq made two expeditions to Bengal and on his second expedition either during his outward journey or on his return he halted at Zafarabad (either in A H 760 or A H 761) during the rains and arranged for the building of a new city on the banks of the Gūmti which he decided to call 'Junanpūr' in memory of Sultan Muhammad I in Tughlaq⁵. The *Tabaqat-i Akbari* tells us that shortly after leaving Zafarabad en route to Bengal Firoz had conferred the *pari-phernalia* of state (canopy, *durbārsh* elephants, red pavilion and right of coinage) on his son Fath Khan⁶ who was then eight years of age and who died on the 12th of the month of Safar A H 776 (A D 1374) at Kanthur a village in the Bara Banki district of Awadh⁷.

¹ Cf. District Gazetteer p. 150.

² Cf. Jaunpur and Zafarabad Inscriptions — Vost J R A S 1905.

³ Dé's translation of *Tabaqat-i Akbari* p. 209.

⁴ Cf. Briggs's *Ferishta* p. 430 and al-Bada'uni (*Ranking's translation*) p. 312.

⁵ *Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi* of Shams Siraj Afif.

⁶ Dé's translation p. 246.

⁷ Just as I was about to send this paper to the editor and while on leave in England J A S B Vol XVII N S XXXV has reached me. I see that Colonel Nevill in his very interesting articles 'Firoz Shah Zafar ibn Firoz Shah' and 'Coins of the Pathan Kings of Delhi: Firoz Shah and the later Tughlaqs' has dealt with the sequence of events in the eastern portion of the Delhi kingdom and mentions that Zafar appears to have succeeded for a time to the viceregal appointment of Jaunpur. I notice that Colonel Nevill does not accept Thomas's statement that Fath Khan died in A H 776. It is unfortunate that I have not quoted the authority from which I obtained the information above re date and place of Fath Khan's death, but I believe it was from the *Iār kh* i Mubārak Shāhī of Yahyā b n Almal. I am glad to be able to record that the unique coin of Fath Khan bearing the title *حبيب الشرق والغرب* is now in the British Museum.

According to the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*¹ the fief of Jaunpūr and Zafarābad was given in A H 778 (A.D. 1376) to Malik Bahrūz Sulṭānī, otherwise known as Sāhibzāda Nāsir Khān, who was another natural son of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh. There is little on record regarding this man and no explanation as to why he should have borne the title "Sulṭānī." There is a masjid in the fort at Jaunpūr which is ascribed to one Ibrāhīm Nāib Bārbak, a brother of Fīroz Shāh, and an inscription on the minār states that the mosque was built in A H 778 by "Ulugh A'zam Nāib Sulṭān"² Nevill³ states that Malik Bahrūz was succeeded by his nephew 'Alāu d dīn.

Malik Sarī, the reputed founder of the independent kingdom of Jaunpūr, appears to have set out from Dehli to take up the appointment of Maliku sh sharg in the month of Rajab A H 796 (A.D. 1393). A eunuch, he was governor of Dehli and vazir (with the title of Khwājah-i-Jahān) to Sulṭān Nāsiru d dīn Muhammad, the grandson of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh who succeeded to the Dehli throne on December 20th, A.D. 1389. He lost his appointment temporarily in August 1390, but regained it in the following year. He retained his appointment during the forty-five days reign of the son Humāyūn who succeeded his father on the throne of Dehli under the title of Sikandar Shāh.⁴

On the accession of Nāsiru d dīn Mahmūd Tughluq Malik Sara was sent to govern the eastern provinces—according to 'al-Badā'uni⁵ with the title of "Sulṭānu sh sharg" but according to Firishṭa⁶ with the title only of "Maliku sh sharg." Firishṭa states that he assumed the title of "Sulṭānu sh sharg" "after consolidating his position." The *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*⁷ states also that his title at the outset was "Maliku sh sharg."

There can be no question but that he became more or less independent of the central power at Dehli but to what extent it is difficult to say. A sign that a Muhammadan governor had thrown off all allegiance to the throne was an issue of coinage in his own name. We have no evidence that this "Sulṭānu sh sharg" ever issued independent coinage. On the other hand we have instances in Indian history where a governor was actually appointed to a kingdom by the supreme ruler and yet refrained from coming. An example exists in the case of Qutlu d dīn Aybak who, on the death of Muhammad bin Sām, was sent the canopy and insignia of royalty.

¹ "Elliot and Dowson," Vol. IV, p. 13.

² Cf. "Sharqi Architecture," pp. 26-27.

³ Gazetteer, p. 246.

⁴ Jabaqāt-i-Akbarī Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, p. 27.

⁵ Bibliotheca Indica translation, p. 343.

⁶ Briggs Vol. I, p. 47 and Vol. IV, p. 30.

⁷ Elliot and Dowson Vol. IV, p. 21.

by Sulṭān Ghīyasu d dīn Muḥammad yet refrained from coming independently. A Bīhar inscription of the governor Zia ul Haq bin 'Ala, as pointed out by Mr Blochmann in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* of 1873 lends confirmation to the theory that Malik Sarā did not assume all the ensigns of royalty. The inscription bears the name of a Mahmūd Shah who must be Mahmūd Shah Tughlaq of Dehli. Iṛishta¹ and Yahya bin Ahmad² both give the date of his death as A H 802 (A D 1399).

Among his retinue on the occasion of his departure from Dehli to take over the government of the eastern provinces were two brothers each of whom was destined to succeed to independence. There is doubt as to their origin and as to the degree of relationship between them. The one who immediately succeeded Malik Sarā is called variously Malil Wāsil and Qaranful³ and Iṛishta states that he was granted the title of Maliku sh shārq when Malil Sarā assumed the more magnificent one of Sulṭānu sh shārq.

On the death of Malik Sarā Qaranful set himself up independently as Sulṭānu sh shārq and assumed the title of Mubarak Shah according to Iṛishta at the same time assuming all the ensigns of royalty and even going to the extent of coming in his own name. No coins of his are however forthcoming and it is extremely doubtful if any such issue was made. At any rate, whatever degree of independence he set up it was sufficient to cause Iqbal Khān who was then master of Dehli to move an army against him in A H 803 (A D 1400). The movement achieved little. Mubarak Shah died suddenly, and his brother set himself up in his stead under the title of Shamsu d dīn Muzaḥfir Ibrāhīm Shāh. Iṛishta gives the date of Mubarak's death as A H 803 and the length of his reign as eighteen months but the historical records of these years are very meagre.

The records of the Sharqi Kings are usually a mere recital of military operations events indifferently described and not free from doubtful and confused statements.

During his reign Ibrāhīm Shāh was constantly engaged in war with his neighbours Dehli Bengal and Malwa but he found time also to embellish his capital with magnificent architecture. Ibrāhīm reigned probably from about the year A H 804 (A D 1401) to about the year A H 814 (A D 1440) but there is doubt both as regards the exact date of his accession and the date of his death. It has hitherto been generally accepted that he succeeded to the Sharqi kingdom in A H 803 and the determination of this date has to a certain extent rested on the fact that a coin of Ibrāhīm Shāh is catalogued in

¹ Briggs Vol IV, p 360

² Elliot and Dowson Vol IV p 37

the British Museum Catalogue as dated A H 803. I have lately had the opportunity of examining the coin in question and have no hesitation in reading the date it bears as A H 833.

Another coin of Ibrahim Shāh was catalogued in the Ellis Sale Catalogue as dated A H 803 but I have not seen the coin and in the absence of more reliable proof to the contrary it would be wisest to reject the date and accept al Badrōni's statement that Mubarak Shah died in A H 804. The earliest reliable date for a coin of Ibrahim Shah is A H 813—one of this date having been recorded by Thomas and one of similar date being in the collection of Colonel H. R. Nevill.

There is also doubt as to the accuracy of Firishita's statement that Ibrahim died in A H 844 (A D 1440) after a long reign of upwards of forty years. Coins of Ibrahim Shah are in existence dated A H 845 846 847 but coins of his successor are also in existence dated in sequence from the year A H 844. I am in possession of a billon coin of Mahmūd dated very clearly A H [8]36 and Colonel Nevill has a coin of similar type dated A H 837. The double issue during these years is unaccounted for in historical records. Ibrahim must have been of considerable age at the time of his death and it is possible that his eldest son Mahmūd set up in independence before his demise.

The *Laqab* or honorary title assumed by Mahmud Shah was 'Saifu d dunya wa d din' but if his coins have been correctly read he would appear to have indulged in two surnames or *kunyats* a not uncommon habit of Muhammadan kings of that time and one regarding which Dr Hoernle wrote an interesting article in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1883.¹

On his gold issue Mahmūd used the surname Abūl Mujaḥhid whereas on a small billon issue he called himself Abūl Muḥaffir. It may here be noted that Blochmann in his Geography and History of Bengal in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1873 (pp 304-7) gives the *laqab* of Mahmūd in an inscription on a mosque in Bihar as Nasirū d dīn. This is not in accordance with numismatic evidence.

The historical records of Mahmūd's reign are again a mere description of a series of military events—of wars carried out against the neighbouring kingdom of Malwa and of attempts to secure the throne of Dehli. Mahmud had married a daughter of Sulṭān Alau d dīn Alīm Shāh of Dehli and as he also claimed descent from the Sayyads there was reason why he should aspire to oust the Lodis from their suddenly acquired throne. On at least one occasion he was within measurable distance

1. A New Find of Muhammadan Coins of Bengal (Independent Period) J A S B 1883 pp 91-91

of attaining his object but fortune favoured Bahlol Lodi who managed to save his kingdom

As remarked by Mr Lane Poole in his introduction of the *British Museum Catalogue of Coins of Muhammadan States* and as discussed by Mr Nelson Wright¹ in Part II of Volume II of the *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta*, there is some doubt as to the exact date of Mahmūd's death. Thomas states at page 323 of his *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli* that General Cunningham had informed him that coins of Mahmūd were known of A H 862 and 863 but Mr Nelson Wright rejected this as he was unable to find such dated coins in any collection having apparently overlooked the billon issue catalogued under No 617 in the Bodleian Library Collection Catalogue as dated A H 862, and also the copper coin dated 862 A H catalogued under No 618. Colonel H R Nevill is now in possession of another billon coin of Mahmūd dated A H 862. Coins both of Muhammad and of Husain exist dated A H 861 862 and 863. Did Mahmūd die in A H 861 and was his kingdom then divided between his two sons? Both sons aspired to supreme power and undoubtedly both issued coins in the same three years. The statement of Firishta that Muhammad reigned only five months is not in accordance with numismatic evidence but further information is required before the date of the death of Mahmūd can be definitely fixed. A coin of his in the Indian Museum (No 10) of the Catalogue dated A H 865 should probably be considered a posthumous issue but should those dated A H 862 be also so classed?

The accession to the Shariqi throne of Bikhān Khan son of Mahmūd, under the title of Muhammad Shah caused strife within the kingdom as Husain another son of Mahmūd also aspired to paramount power. From contemporary histories it would appear that Muhammad Shah was the eldest son but Fuhrer states that allusions by Faqir Khairu d dīn seem to indicate that this is not certain. The usual murders occurred. Muhammad Shah was eventually killed and Husain gained the throne.

Husain, like his father, and to his eventual destruction, laid claim to the Dehli throne and the information regarding happenings during his reign which has descended to us is again a mere recital of military operations. Bahlol Lodi eventually

¹ In his discussion regarding the date of Mahmūd's death Mr Nelson Wright referred to an inscription which had been found at Dhākā bearing Mahmūd's name with the date A H 863. This inscription was originally published by Blochmann in J A S B Vol XIII pp 107 8 and was again mentioned by that gentleman in his 'Geography and History of Bengal' J A S B 1873 p 270 in the latter article the inscription was referred to its rightful sovereign viz Nāsuru d dīn Abū l Muzaffar Mahmūd Shah of Bengal.

drove him from his kingdom and (about the year A H 881 [A D 1476] according to Firishta) Husain sank to the status of a *yāghār* of Chunar.

The earliest coin known of Bahlol Lodi which bears the mint name Jaunpūr is dated A H 888 and probably Husain was in full power up to the year A H 883. Führer states that Khairu d dīn Muhammad in his *Jaunpurnāma* gives the date of the final deprivation of his kingdom of Husain as A H 884 (A D 1479). Numismatics do not at present help to elucidate the point as coins of Husain run in complete sequence to A H 911 and then irregularly to A H 919. Although the later dated coins are posthumous we have no information as to who issued them and from what date Husain's personal monetary issues ceased. Bahlol Lodi administered the Sharqi kingdom himself for several years and his coins bearing the mint town name Jaunpūr are known in complete sequence from A H 888 to A H 893.

In either A H 892 or A H 893 (according to numismatic evidence the first date would appear to be the correct one), Bahlol placed his son Bārbak on the Sharqi throne and before his death when dividing his kingdom among his sons he confirmed the appointment. Sikandar Shāh who received the Delhi kingdom was almost certainly not the true heir to that inheritance and Bārbak engaged in an attempt to oust him. Bārbak was defeated, surrendered to Sikandar and was reinstated on the Sharqi throne, but was eventually removed by Sikandar who entrusted the government of Jaunpūr to that Jamal Khan who was destined to be the first patron of the great Sher Shah Sūr.

Coins of Bārbak Shāh are known of A H 892, 894, 895 and 898 and these dates agree with the records of Indian historians.

Sharqi events subsequent to the removal of Bārbak Shāh are uninteresting from the numismatic point of view but there is a field for enquiry as to who issued the posthumous coins of Husain. Firishta states that Husain's family became extinct in his person but Führer quoting the *Jaunpurnāma* as his authority records that he left a son Jalālu d dīn who married into the family of the Husaini dynasty of Bengal. There are graves in Jaunpūr (where Husain, who died in A H 905 is himself buried) which are said to be those of the descendants of Husain and it is possible that one or other of these descendants was responsible for the issue of posthumous coinage in the name of Husain Shāh.

2 Coin Types

Of all the coins issued by Muhammadan dynasties in India perhaps those of Ibrahim Mahmūd Muhammad and Husain most easily adapt themselves to description by "type"

The patterns introduced by Ibrahim Shāh were reproduced by his three immediate successors who although they occasionally introduced a new type usually contented themselves with substituting (or adding) their names to the legends of the issues of their predecessor.

Ibrahim Mahmud and Husain coined in gold but no issue in this metal is known of Muhammad Shah. Ibrahim certainly indulged in an issue in silver and a silver coin of Mahmud Shāh struck probably from the gold die is in Mr Nelson Wright's collection. No silver issue is known of Muhammad or of Husain.

1) All four kings coined in billon and in copper.

Gold

Ibrahim issued two types of coin in this metal the earlier of which bore a close likeness to the gold issue of Iath Khan Tughlaq. Mahmud and Husain apparently minted the second type only.

Type I complies with the normal weight of 170 grs for a Delhi tanka—a specimen in the British Museum collection however exceeds this weight.

The legend on the obverse consists of a central inscription enclosed in a circle with a marginal legend giving the date in Arabic words following the formula minted as a *dirar* in the year . . .

The central inscription reads —

In the time of the Imam Commander of the Faithful Father of Victory may his *khilāfat* be perpetuated.

The reverse legend which occupies the full face of the coin reads —

The supreme sovereign the sun of the world and religion Abul Muzaffar Ibrahim Shāh the Sultan may his kingdom be perpetuated.

The issue of this type of gold coin was apparently made only by Ibrahim¹ and he appears to have stopped the issue sometime between the years A H 836 and A H 840.

I am able to record dated coins of Type I of the years

¹ Mr Lane-Poole in the Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum Muhammadan States draws attention to the grammatically incorrect use of the feminine verb and pronoun *مربى* with the masculine noun *دین*.

² Coin No 434 of the White King Collection Sale Catalogue was a gold coin of Mahmud of A H 845. Reference is made in the catalogue to Type I of the gold issue of Ibrahim but no reference is also made to Type II of the same king. The catalogue affords no evidence that Mahmud ever issued coins of Type I. Thomas however at page 391 of his *Chronological* mentions (b) a coin of Mahmud of date A H . . . and weight 175 grs as having been in the Gutlière collection. I can find it is coin in no collection and am therefore unwilling to include it in this list.

A H 830 831 and 836 while the record of issue of Type II is complete from A H 840 to A H 843, both years inclusive

Type II—This is the organ pipe type, a name derived from the *Tughra* form of the reverse legend an innovation apparently copied from the issue of Jalāl d dīn Muhammad Shāh of Bengal the earliest of whose coins in the *Tughra* form is as far as I know, A H 821 (cf I M C No 107) The obverse legend follows that of Type I except that the title 'Commander of the Faithful' is altered to 'Deputy Commander of the Faithful' The marginal inscription however remains the same On the reverse Ibrahim expresses his religious belief by prefixing the legend—

'The one who trusts in the support of the Merciful to his title

'Abūl Muzaḥḥir Ibrahim Shāh the Sultān'

The coins of Mahmūd and Husam in this type bear the same obverse legend as those of Ibrahim but the reverse legend, in the case of the issue of Mahmūd reads —

'United by the Sultān Saifu-d dīn wa d dīn Abūl Mujāhid Mahmūd son of Ibrahim'

The legend on the reverse of the coin of Husam reads —

'Strengthened in the support of God Husam Shāh (son of) Mahmūd Shāh (son of) Ibrahim Shāh the Sultān may his kingdom be perpetuated'

The use of two *kunyats* by Mahmūd Shāh has already been mentioned

Weights—There are too few gold coins of the Sharqi Kings available on which to conjecture even approximately the weight of issue I can do no better than give below the present weights of the various coins which have come to my notice

Type I—Ibrahim Shāh	175 4 grs
	174 9 grs
	167 5 grs
	166 grs
	148 grs
Type II—Ibrahim Shāh	178 5 grs
	177 3 grs
	172 grs
Mahmūd Shāh	185 2 grs
	184 grs
	175 2 grs
Husam Shāh	175 grs
	184 grs
	183 5 grs
	180 3 grs
	180 grs (app oximate)
	180 7 grs
	183 4 grs

Silver

The silver coins of the *Shāhi* Kings at present in existence or of which descriptions have been published appear to be limited to two in number viz —

1 A coin of Ibrahim Shah described by Mr C J Rodgers in his article 'Coins Supplementary to Mr Thomas' Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi No IV published at page 183 *et seq* of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* Vol IV Part I 1886. A woodcut of the coin which was described as dated A H 842 was published with the article. No weight was given. The coin when described by Rodgers was in the Dr Cunha collection. It is mentioned in the printed catalogue of that collection and apparently later passed into the possession of Dr White King as it was entered under No 4366 in the dispersal Sale Catalogue of his collection. I do not know where the coin is now. In the latter publication the date is given as A H 848. A comparison of the woodcut published by Rodgers with the figure published on Plate VIII of the Sale Catalogue of the White King collection offers conclusive proof that the two illustrations are of one and the same coin and while chronology would substantiate the reading of the date as A H 842 rather than A H 848 the actual illustrations appear to suggest the reading 'اثنى' instead of 'ثمان' for the unit figure.

The coin was square shaped with the legends on both faces exactly similar to those on the series described under Gold Type II except that the legend on the obverse is arranged in a square instead of in a circle.

2 A coin of Mahmūd Shah in Mr Nelson Wright's collection. The date is not distinct but Mr Nelson Wright thinks the first two figures are 86. The weight is 176 grs and the coin may possibly have been struck from a gold die of Type II as it is exactly similar in all respects to the coins of that type.

Billon

Ibrahim Shah coined two types in this metal both of which were continued by Mahmūd Muhammad and Husam Mahmūd introduced a third type and Husam a fourth.

Type I The obverse reads —

"The Khalif Commander of the faithful may his *khilāfat* be perpetuated followed by the date in figures.

The reverse in the case of the issue of Ibrahim Shah reads —

Ibrahim Shah the Sultān may his kingdom be

perpetuated," while the succeeding three kings merely prefixed the words—

"Mahmūd Shāh son of"

"Muhammad Shāh son of Mahmūd Shāh son of"

"Husain Shāh son of Mahmūd Shāh son of"

to the legend borne on the reverse of the issue of Ibrāhīm Shāh

Weights.—The coin appears to have been minted by Ibrāhīm, Muhammad and Husain in one weight only but Mahmūd would appear to have issued the type in two weights.

Size 1 is the normal size of issue of coins of this type. In order to arrive at the average weights of the billon and copper issues of the Sharqi Kings I have weighed the coins in my own collection and have averaged them with the weights of the coins published in the various museum catalogues. The result may be considered as forming a very fair basis for calculating the average weights of the coins.¹

The resultant averages of the coins of this size of the various kings were as follows:—

Ibrāhīm Shāh	..	140 1 grs
Mahmūd Shāh	..	145·3 grs
Muhammad Shāh	..	150 grs.
Husain Shāh	..	150 7 grs

The heaviest weight for a coin of Ibrāhīm is reached in a specimen in my own collection which weighs 147 grs. The coin is however corroded. Four specimens of the total number from which the average was struck weigh 145 grs. each

Mahmūd issued coins of this size and type weighing as high as 148 grs. of which there are two clean specimens in my collection. A very perfect clean coin in my collection dated [8]36 A.H. weighs however only 129 grs. Husain issued this coinage in as high a weight as 154 grains. I possess two specimens which reach this weight

Mr Lane-Poole, at page 89 of his *Catalogue of the Coins of the Muhammadan States of India* in the British Museum considers that the average diameter of this type of coin is ·75 in and the average thickness ·15 in. I have not had the time to verify these measurements with the larger number of coins now available for comparison, nor do I consider that any useful purpose would result from any such investigation.

Size 2 Mr C. J. Rodgers catalogued² three specimens

¹ Owing, however, to certain numismatic books not being available to me when concluding this paper I have not been able to employ such a wide range of references in working out the average weights of certain coins. These instances I have denoted with an asterisk.

² *Catalogue of the Coins collected by Chas J. Rodgers and purchased by the Government of the Punjab Part II Miscellaneous Muhammadan Coins*, compiled by Chas J. Rodgers, Calcutta, 1894

of a coin which he classed as a separate issue of Mahmūd Shah. I have seen the coins and I have been favoured by the Curator of the Lahore Museum with a set of rubbings. I prefer to consider them as intended for coins of this type of half weight. The coins are roughly struck and are crude in the formation of their legends. The three specimens catalogued by Rodgus averaged 78.3 grs each and 1 inch in diameter.

Type II bears for all four kings the legends already described under Type I. there is however no date on the coin and the obverse legend is somewhat differently arranged.

<i>Average weights</i>	Ibrāhīm	75.45 grs
	Mahmūd	52.5 grs
	Muhammad	56 grs *
	Husn	57 grs *

A specimen of the issue of Ibrāhīm weighing as high as 60 grs is in the Indian Museum collection but it is corroded. the next highest weight reached is in a good specimen in my collection which weighs 55 grs. The highest weight for a coin of Mahmūd Shah is half a grain higher than the highest of Ibrāhīm Shah—a specimen in the Indian Museum Collection weighing 56 grs.

The only specimen of this issue of Muhammad in my collection weighs 56 grs. a specimen in my collection minted by Husn weighs as high as 60 grs.

Type III is confined to a single issue of Mahmūd Shah and its circulation may possibly have been limited to the mintages of one year. The coin was originally figured by Marsden under his No. DCCIV but the margin on his specimen was illegible and he read the date A H 844 on the coin wrongly as A H 849. It was again figured in the *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum—Muhammalan States*—(No. 95) the margin was again not read and the error of Marsden in reading the date as A H 849 was repeated. I suspect that Marsden's coin and the specimen in the British Museum are one and the same coin. The figure in the plate in my own copy of the British Museum Catalogue does not allow of the date being read with any certainty and in the absence of a better specimen bearing this date I am not prepared to accept the year A H 849 as one of the years of issue of this type of the coinage of Mahmūd Shah.

The coin was described by Marsden and in the British Museum Catalogue as being of copper and Colonel H. R. Nevill when describing some specimens dated A H 844 in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Numismatic Supplement No. XXVI* (A new copper coin of Jūnpūr) under the impression that it had not previously been published also described it as of copper. I believe that Colonel Nevill now agrees that the coin is billon.

The obverse legend consists of the king's name in a double circle with a marginal legend 'Sufu d duniya wa d din Abūl Muzaṣṣar'. The reverse legend reads 'Son of Ibrāhīm Shāh the Sultān' followed by the date in figures. The weight is 66 grs. and the size 0.6 inch.

Copper

Type I — This was the only copper coin struck by Ibrāhīm and the issue was continued by his successors.

The obverse bore the inscription —

'The Khalīf, Father of Victory'

followed by the date in figures, the reverse reading —

"Ibrāhīm Shāh, the Sultān"

The succeeding kings retained the same obverse and prefixed their own names to that of Ibrāhīm to form the reverse.

All four kings issued this type of coinage in two sizes. The larger sized coins of Ibrāhīm and Maḥmūd are nowadays much more commonly met with than are those of Muḥammad and Husain, while the lighter weight coin of all four kings is scarce. Although Ibrāhīm and his three successors minted the smaller coin dated specimens are seldom met with, only one dated specimen (A.H. 861) of Muḥammad can be recorded while of Husain I can record two dates only viz. A.H. 863 and 867.

Average weights

1st Size

Ibrāhīm	67.5 grs.	(Highest wt. 79 grs. Coll. H. M. W. 6 coins weigh 72 grs. each)
Maḥmūd	70 grs.	(Highest wt. 76 grs. I. M. C. the 18 coins catalogued therein average 72 grs.)
Muḥammad	69 grs. *	
Husain	67.2 grs. *	

2nd Size

Ibrāhīm	31.7 grs.	(5 coins weigh 33 grs. each)
Maḥmūd	33.7 grs.	(2 coins in Rodgers' Catalogue weigh 37 grs. each; one in my coll. weighs 36 grs.)

Muḥammad }
Husain } Not estimate!

Type II is a small coin issued only by Maḥmūd Shāh and although Mr. Nelson Wright classifies one described by him in the Indian Museum Catalogue as of copper I am not sure that the issue is not of billon. One in my own collection is of doubtful constitution.

The legends on both faces are similar to the one on Type I except that there is no date. On the reverse the figures being replaced by the words 'may his *khilāfat* be perpetuated'.

The average weight of the coin is 56.5 grs. Two coins, one in the Indian Museum collection (Cat. No. 101) and one entered in the Lahore Museum Catalogue weigh as high as 60 grs. each.

Type III was introduced by Mahmud and was continued by his two successors.

The obverse legend consists of the name of the king in a circle with a marginal legend in the case of Mahmūd of—

Son of Ibrāhīm Shāh the Sultān

The reverse reads —

Deputy Commander of the Faithful

with the date in figures below.

The coins of both Muhammad and Husain are exactly similar to the type minted by Mahmūd except that the two brothers prefixed the name of their father to the genealogical marginal legend.

Average weights — Mahmūd 142.9 grs. one in I.M.C. weighs 150 grs. several weigh over 145 grs.

Muhammad not estimated

Husain 145.12 grs.

The following table is perhaps the best means of showing the sequence of type of issue of coinage of Ibrāhīm Mahmūd Muhammad and Husain —

	SILVER	BILLOŌ				COPPER	
		TYPE I			TYPE III	TYPE I	
TYPE II		1st size	2nd size	TYPE II		1st size	2nd size
brāhīm	Ibrāhīm	Ibrāhīm	Ibrāhīm			Ibrāhīm	Ibrāhīm
lahmūd	Mahmūd (?)	Mahmūd		Mahmūd	Mahmūd	Mahmūd	Mahmūd
		Muhammad				Muhammad	Muhammad
Husain		Husain				Husain	Husain

Bahlol Lodi

Bahlol issued two types of coinage, both of copper that can with certainty be ascribed to the Jaunpūr mint

Type I is of approximately 70 grs weight and bears on the obverse the inscription Bahlol Shah Sulṭān, the reverse reading "The city of Jaunpūr" with the date in figures below

Type II is represented by a single coin in the collection of Mr Burn and I do not know its weight. It is similar to Type I except that the title "Sulṭān" is omitted on the obverse

Barbak Shah

As Sulṭān, Barbak issued at least three types of coinage all in billon

Type I consists of the issue of coinage in the remarkable weight of 1.0 grs

The obverse bears a central inscription "Barbak Shāh Sulṭān" with a marginal legend the purport of which is doubtful. In the catalogue of coins which follows I have retained the hitherto accepted reading of the reverse of this type of issue viz "Deputy Commander of the Faithful at the city of Jaunpūr" followed by the date in figures. I am however by no means satisfied that this is the correct rendering of the inscription

Type II appears to be similar to Type I except that there is no trace of a marginal inscription on the obverse. It is limited to a single specimen in Mr Burn's collection

Type III which is again represented by a single coin in Mr Burn's collection consists of the inscription "Barbak Shah, the Sulṭān" on the obverse with "The city of Jaunpūr" on the reverse followed by the date in figures

I am unable to state the weights of the coins described above under Types II and III

3 Catalogue of Coins

Ibrahim Shah

Gold

Type I	Obv	Rev
	In Circle	
	في زمن الامام	السلطان الاعظم
	امير المومنين	الدنيا
	ابو الفتح حلب	شمس والد
	حاله	ابو المعظم ابراهيم شاه
		السلطان حلب
		ملكه

Margin —

صوب عدا الدنار في سند

Date — 830 A H (wt 175 1 grs) Coll Brit Mus
 831 A H (wt 166 grs) B M C No 223
 836 A H White King Sale Cat No 4363

Type II In Circle

In Tughra

في ريس الاعام
 نائب امير المومنين
 ابو العلي حلد
 حلاطه

الواعي بناعد الرحمن
 ابوالمظفر ابراهيم شاه
 السلطان

Margin —

صوب عدا الدنا في سند

Dates — 840 A H (wt 177 1 grs) Thomas N 1 (a)
 841 A H (wt 172 grs) I M C No 1
 842 A H (wt 178 1 grs) Coll Brit Mus
 843 A H Coll R Burn

Silver

Obverse and reverse exactly as above but of square shape
 and legend on obverse enclosed in square

Date — 844 A H Rodgers J A S B 1886 p 187 No 8
 (cf also White King Sale Cat No 4364)

Billon

Type I الحلقه اعمر
 مومنين حلد
 حلاطه [date]

شاه
 ابراهيم
 سلطان حلد
 موله

Av wt 140 1 grs
 for dates see table which follows

Type II الحلقه

لممد
 اعمر
 حلد حلاطه

As above

Av wt > 40 grs

Type I حلقه

Coll r

و لعلي
 [date]

شاه
 ابراهيم
 سلطان

Size 1 Av wt 67.5 grs

Size 2 Av wt 31.7 grs

For dates see table which follows

Mahmūd Shah

Gold

Type II

As

on

type

In Tughra¹

سيف الدنيا والدنیا ابو

المعتمد محمود شاه

ابو المعتمد شاه السلطان

Dates — 846 A H (wt 175 grs) B M C No 263

847 A H (wt 185.2 grs), Ellis Sale Cat No 191

855 A H (wt 175.2 grs), Thomas No 3(b) (but see p 18n)

856 A H (wt 184 grs), Coll H R Nevill

Silver

As

above

As

above

Date — 86 x 1 H (wt 176 grs) Coll H Nelson Wright

Billon

Type I

As

on

type

محمود شاه

بن ابو المعتمد شاه

سلطان حلب

مملکة

Size 1 Av wt 145.3 grs

Size 2 Av wt 78.3 grs²

For dates see table which follows

Type II

As

on

type

As

above

Av wt 52.5 grs

¹ The British Museum Catalogue gives an inscription identical with the one given above (for which I have to thank Colonel Nevill) except that "صوب السلطنة" is entered at the beginning. This is not on Colonel Nevill's coin.

² The Catalogue of the coins collected by Rodgers and purchased by the Panjab Government contains an entry of a coin of 33 grs wt and 15 in diameter, of which Rodgers read the inscription as in this type. Rodgers added a note to the effect that the coin had not been edited by Thomas and was not in the British Museum. This type may therefore have been issued in three different weights.

Av. wt 150 grs.

Dates —861 A.H., Coll. H. M. Nevill.

862 A.H., B.M.C. No. 296.

863 A.H., Bodleian Cat. 619(k)

Type II. As
on
type

As
above.

Wt. 56 grs.

Coll. H. M. Whittell, apparently not previously edited.

Copper.

Type I. As
on
type

محمد شاه
بن محمود شاه
بن ابراهيم شاه
سلطان

Size 1. Av. wt. 69 grs

Dates:—861 A.H., B.M.C. No. 300

862 A.H., B.M.C. No. 301.

863 A.H., Coll. H. R. Nevill

Size 2. Av. wt. not estimated

Date. 861 A.H.

Type III. In a circle
شاه
محمد

As
on
type.

Margin:—

بن محمود شاه بن ابراهيم شاه سلطان

Av. wt. not estimated.

Dates:—861 A.H., B.M.C. No. 297.

862 A.H., B.M.C. No. 298

863 A.H., B.M.C. No. 299.

*Husain Shāh**Gold.*

Type II. As
on
type.

In Tughra.¹
المؤيد نقائد الرحمن
حسن شاه محمود شاه
ابراهيم شاه السلطان
خلد الله مملكة

¹ The Indian Museum Catalogue gives the inscription as "المؤيد نقائد الله ابو الغفر حسن" &c Colenat Nevill has supplied the reading which I give above.

Average wt 145.12 grs
For dates see table which follows

Bahlol Lodi

Copper

<i>Obv</i>	<i>Rev</i>
بہلول شاہ	شہر
سلطان	ہونہ
	۸۸۸

Average wt 70 grs

Dates — 888 A H, I M C No 579
889 A H, I M C No 580
890 A H, Rodgers Cat p 112 No 3
891 A H, Coll H R Nevill
892 A H, Coll H R Nevill
893 A H, I M C No 581 (6g)

N B — Rodgers in his Catalogue (p 112 No 3) mentions a coin of this type dated 878 A H. This must have been wrongly read

<i>Obv</i>	<i>Rev</i>
بہلول	As above
شاہ	

Date — 889 A H (or 891 A H) Coll R Burn

Barbak Shah

Billon

<i>Obv</i>	<i>Rev</i> ¹
In a circle	الموجود
بارکشاہ	امیر
سلطان	دائیں
	شہر ہونہ
	۸۹۲

Margin — Not yet determined

Average wt 120 grs

Date — 892 A H, Thos No 322
894 A H, Thos No 322
895 A H, Coll H R Nevill
898 A H, B M C No 342

¹ See remarks on p 95 ant

Table of Dates.

DATE.	BILLON TYPE I.	COPPER TYPE I.		COPPER TYPE III
		SIZE 1.	SIZE 2.	
A.H.	Husain.	Husain.	Husain.	Husain.
866	I.M.C. 113	B.M.C. 329	Nevill	I.M.C. 161
867	Whittell	" 330	Bod. Cat 626 (t).	" 163
868	B.M.C. 304	" 331	....	" 164
869	" 305	....	....	B.M.C. 337
870	" 306	....	....	....
871	I.M.C. 116	....	....	....
872	B.M.C. 307	....	....	Ellis Sale Cat.
873	Whittell	Nevill	....	....
874	B.M.C. 308	....	....	....
875	I.M.C. 120	....	....	Rodgers p. 128.
876	" 122	....	....	....
877	B.M.C. 309	W.K.	....	....
878	I.M.C. 123	L.M.C. p. 105	....	Nevill
879	B.M.C. 310	....	....	Ellis Sale Cat.
880	I.M.C. 128	Nevill	....	....
881	B.M.C. 311	W.K.	....	....
882	I.M.C. 132	....	....	....
883	B.M.C. 312	Whittell	....	....
884	I.M.C. 135	B.M.C. 332	....	Rodgers p. 128.
885	" 136	" 333	....	B.M.C. 339
886	B.M.C. 313	W.K.	....	I.M.C. 166
887	" 314	B.M.C. 334	....	....
888	Whittell	....	....	....
889	B.M.C. 315	....	....	....
890	Nevill	....	....	....
891	Whittell	....	....	....
892	I.M.C. 139	....	....	....
893	Nevill	....	....	....
894	Whittell	....	....	....
895	"	Nevill	....	....
896	B.M.C. 316	W.K.	....	....
897	" 317	"	....	....
898	I.M.C. 143	....	....	....
899	B.M.C. 318	W.K.	....	....
900	" 319	....	....	....
901	" 320	Nevill*	....	....
902	I.M.C. 149	....	....	....
903	B.M.C. 321	....	....	....
904	" 322	....	....	....
905	" 323	W.K.	....	....
906	" 324	....	....	....
907	I.M.C. 154	W.K.	....	....
908	Whittell	....	....	....
909	B.M.C. 325	....	....	....
910	I.M.C. 155	W.K.	....	....
911	L.M.C. p. 105	....	....	....
912	"	....	....	....
913	"	....	....	....
914	"	....	....	....
915	"	....	....	....
916	"	....	....	....
917	....	....	....	....
918	....	....	....	....
919	Whittell	....	....	....
920	....	....	....	....

* Billon Type III.

	<i>Obv</i>		<i>Rev</i>
(Sic)	بارکشاہ سلطان	4	As above

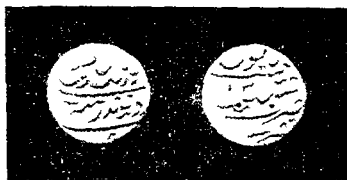
Date —891 A H Coll R Burn

<i>Obv</i>	<i>Rev</i>
بارکشاہ سلطانی	شہر خونپور ۸۹۵

Date —895 A H Coll R Burn

H M WHITTELI

229 A NUSRATABAD RUPEE OF AURANGZEB



Mint—Nusratabad
Metal—Al
Size—9
Weight—177 grs
Date—32 R Y

<i>Obv</i>	<i>Rev</i>
اورنگ زیب عالمگیر د حو ندر سنو مسکھہ در جہاں	مانوس منیب سنہ ۳۲ سلوی آباد صوب نصیر

In the course of classifying certain coins in the Provincial Museum Lucknow, I discovered the above rupee of Aurangzeb Nusratabad mint which I presume is the earliest struck there by Aurangzeb. From an extract reproduced in the Numismatic Supplement No VII Art 73 we find that on the 2nd Safar 1001 A H (Dec 7 1657) this place viz Sakkar or Sagar

(Nusratabad) was taken by the Mughals from Pedā Nāik caste Dhedh who was introduced at court on the 2nd Rāb i H (February 5 1688)

This coin is dated in the 32nd regnal year (or A H 1099-1100) corresponding to A D 1688-89 which is the first year in which the town came under the complete sway of the Mughal Imperial Government

PRAYAG DAYAL

230 NOTE ON A SILVER COIN OF QUTBU D DIN
MUBARAK I

Mint—Daru l Islām

Date—717 A H

Metal—A

Weight—168 r

Size—1 2

Obv

الامام الاعظم
خلعته رب العالمين
قطب الدنيا والدين
ابو المظفر

Rev In circle

مبارك شاه السلطان
ابن السلطان الوائى
بالله امير المؤمنين

Margin ضرب هذه الفضة بدار الاسلام في سنة سبع و عسرو ستمائة

But for the king's name which appears on the reverse, the obverse legend corresponds with the square piece noticed under I M C 248

The legend inside the circle is the same as that on I M C 245 but مبارکشاہ is written as مبارک شاه The marginal legend is complete and the coin is in a perfect state

It was found in Kaurala Pargana Hassanpur district Moradabad in 1905 and is now in the Provincial Museum Lucknow

PRAYAG DAYAL

231 THE EPITHET USED ON COPPER COINS BY IBRAHIM
ADIL SHAH II OF BIJAPUR

On page 683 of Vol VI (1910) of the J A S B Numismatic Supplement No XV Dr Taylor reads the legend on the copper coins of Ibrahim II of the Adil Shahi Dynasty of Bijapur as—

Obv

ابراہیم بلا الی
علام علی مرصی

Rev

With regard to the epithet used after Ibrāhīm, he says : ' After many attempts to decipher them, the last two words on the obverse of Types III, IV, and V (all having the same legend as noted here) still remain doubtful. They may possibly read *بلا اثنى* *bila athnī*, 'without a second,' 'the unique,' but certainly the penultimate letter seems on every specimen to be not *nūn*, but *lām* " Now if we turn to Plate XXXIX of the same number, we find Nos. 2, 3 and 4 of the plate¹ corresponding to Types III, IV and V in the above note. Since handling the coins of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II and carefully looking at these figures, I have come to the conclusion that the word is not *بلا الى* but is most probably *بلا لى* which means the "Friend of the Weak." In Muhammadan numismatics and epigraphy, especially where artistic arrangement is to be observed, clerical accuracy is often sacrificed for the sake of symmetry and ornamentation, e.g. sometimes a letter is altogether omitted, one serving for the two, or is placed at a distance from its proper position. This is what has happened here. In fig. 2 of the plate, obverse side, there are three isolated *alifs*. Now two out of these are so placed that one is on the right and one is on the left of the central *alif* which is so lengthened that it exactly bisects not only the surface of the coin but also the lettering on it. Reading from the bottom, as the coin is to be read, we find *ل* (*alif*), *ب* (*be*), *ه* (*he*) *ب* (*be*) and *ل* (*lām*) on the right of the central *alif*, and *ل* (*lām*), *ب* (*be*), *م* (*mīm*), *ا* (*alif*), *ي* (*ye*) on the left; while *ر* (*re*), *ي* (*ye*) and *ا* (*alif*) are divided into two parts. This big *alif* also shows that it is the first letter of the second half of the legend on the obverse, there being seven letters of *Ibrāhīm* (*ابراهيم*) and seven of *abalā balī* (*ابلا لى*). The same remarks apply to fig. 3 of the plate and this type we find exhibits more artistic taste than that displayed in figure 2. Here not only the letters and the scalloped border are divided into two halves by the *alif* of *ابلا لى* (which is not so prominent as in fig. 2), but the outer circle of dots is also divided into two parts so that there are twenty dots on the right and twenty on the left of the *alif*. Figure 4 also has the *alif* between *بالا* (*balā*) and *بلى* (*balī*)

What I have said above, seemed at first to me a mere conjecture; but while perusing a MS. of the *Kitāb i Nauras*,²

¹ It should be noted that the coins illustrated in the plate are reconstructions. *Ed.*

² The "*Kitāb-i nauras*" was written by Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II of Bijāpūr. The MS. was bought in June 1921, for the Prince of Wales Museum.

I came upon the following verse on page 21 which confirms my reading —

انرا

مَرُّ لَوْكَ حَبُّ دُنَاوَرِ نَوَّارِ كِي رُئَا

اچرُ سَا مَرُّ لَالِئِي دُونِ سَانَعِ اُونَارِ

Transliteration Firlok japat tuwa nawa purān kī purān

Achary mahābīr abalā balī tūnhun sānchu rutār

Translation Three worlds repeat thy name (at thy feet oh breath of old)

O Wonder! O Great Hero friend of the weak thou alone art the true incarnation

I leave comment on the true significance of certain words in the above *antra* to a later paper on this MS. but there can be no other meaning of the word *abalā balī* which is the real point of this discussion. At the risk of rendering this note rather lengthy I may be permitted to quote the following lines from Basitina & Sulāṭin the standard history of the 'Adil Shāhīs of Bijāpur. The author while discussing the word *نورس* *Naurs* which was much favoured by Ibrāhīm II says on pp 249-250 (Hyderabad Edition) —

و کتبی نه سربان دشواری درون موسیقی ناله افانده و آنرا نه بادشاه
معصومی منکدر دروس مشهور است و فارس که از آن عهد تا زمان حال مشهور
و مروج است هم نعلس نورس معروف است *

And a *bool* written in the language of Dharpat on the art of music, is assigned to the King and is known as *nauras*. And *fulus* (piece) which are current from that date up to this time are also known by the (name) of *fals* & *nauras* (the *nauras* piece). Now we find the *fals* & *nauras* (these very coins) have a legend on them which is or the like of which is given in the *Kitāb* & *nauras* the title of the book quoted above and both these belong to the same period if not the same year.

Thus the epithet used on the copper coins of Ibrāhīm II is *abalā balī* [لا لالی] which means the Friend of the weak

9th March 1922

MUHD ISMAIL

* Professor N B Dvadia of Elphinstone College Bombay and Mr G V Aclary of the Prince of Wales Museum helped me to translate the above completely save the words provisionally translated in brackets which are doubtful. These may be cleared up by an expert in Hindi.

NUMISMATIC SUPPLEMENT No XXXVII

ARTICLES 232-246

*Continued from Journal and Proceedings Vol XVIII
New Series No 9*

232 SOME RARE AND UNPUBLISHED SASANIAN COINS

1. A Unique Hemidrachm of *Štāpur* son of *Pāpak*

Persis which dealt the last blow to the Arsacid had through the whole Parthian period held an isolated position and is so seldom mentioned that our knowledge of its history and native princes is almost wholly due to recently found coins (see Mordtmann in *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* of Berlin Vol IV 1877 p 152 sq Vol VII 1880 p 40 sq and in *Numismat. Zeitschrift* of Vienna for 1878 and Lexy in *ZDMG* Vol XVI for 1867) but we cannot tell whether these princes were all of one dynasty.

The earliest mention of Persis is found in the Cuneiform inscriptions narrating the conquest of Babylonia by Cyrus the text of which is almost contemporary with the event. They give to Cyrus the title of *šar Anzan šar Pārsu* 'king of Anzan (Susiana) king of Pārsu (Per-is)'. It is only from the time of Cyrus (BC 558) the founder of the Achaemenian dynasty that Persis enters history. It also figures under the name of Parsa in the Cuneiform inscriptions of Darius the Great at Behistun. After the conquest by Alexander this province became a simple satrapy, governed like the others by a satrap. At the time of the dissolution of the vast Seleucid empire Per-is revolted almost about the same time as the Parthians and gained its independence. Few dates are harder to fix from the testimony of the ancient writers than that of the Parthian revolt. Justin appears to declare for either BC 256 or 50 and it is to the latter date that Rawlinson inclines. A fortunate discovery of George Smith (*Assyrian Discoveries* 1875 p 389) has given a satisfactory solution of the question. He found a record which proved that the Parthians made use of an era of which the 144th year corresponded to the 208th of the Seleucid era and which therefore must date from BC 49-48. It is probable that this is the date of the Parthian revolt.

The emblems on the coins show that Persis was always loyally Zoroastrian. At Istakhr stood the famous fire temple of Anāhita. It was the marriage of its priest Sasan with a Bactrian princess Rāmbehāt which laid the foundation

of the greatness of the house, while priestly influence, which was very strong doubtless favoured its rise

In the beginning of the third century of the Christian era one of the minor kings who ruled in Persis belonged to a dynasty the name of which was probably Bazrangik Gozhr, the last prince of the Bazrangik dynasty, was overthrown by Papak, son or descendant of Sasan, who became master of the district of Istakhr (Persepolis). The coins and inscriptions of his son Ardashir give him the title of king. Perhaps Papak before his death was already lord of all Persis. His legitimate heir was his son Shapur for whom Papak is said to have asked recognition from the Arsacids, but on Papak's death a second son Ardashir, refused to acknowledge his brother and was in arms against him when Shapur died suddenly (see Noldeke, *Tabari* pp 7 and 8)

A unique drachm (size, 80 m, weight, 55 grs) has been published by Cunningham (*Numismatic Chronicle* Vol XIII, 1893, p 178 Plate XIII, Fig 1) which he assigns to Ardashir I

The legend is —

Obverse — *Bagi Shahpuhr malkā,*

Reverse — *(bare)h bagi Pāpakī malkā*

Consequently this drachm is of Shapur, son of Papak, and not of Ardashir

The hemidrachm described below is of the same type and with the same legend as above. Both these coins exhibit a style and script similar to the early binominal coins of Ardashir I (see the *Bartholomaei Collection*, Plate XXXII Fig 1). It is probable that Ardashir came to the throne of Persis in A C 211-212 (see Gutschmid in *Z D M G*, Vol XXXIV, 1880, p 734) when he struck the binominal coins with his own full face portrait on the obverse and, on the reverse, his father's portrait in profile (see Thomas, *Numismatic Chronicle* 1872 No XIV, p 54). Therefore it is possible to assign the date A C 211 to the coins of Shapur, son of Papak.

Not only the coins and inscriptions of Ardashir but also the coins of Shapur give Papak the title of king, so in all probability Papak before his death was already lord of all Persis. The Arsacid empire was the union of many *malkān* or feudatory princes each of whom ruled his special province but had to join in the general defence and furnish money and troops to the great king, whose capital was Ctesiphon on the Tigris. These petty princes had the right to coin money, but on the condition that the legends were to be in Pahlavi and that the vassal was to take the simple title of *malkā*. Thus we find Papak, Shapur and Ardashir in the beginning of his reign, styled simply *malkā* (see the article of Drouin, *La Numismatique Araméenne* etc *Journal Asiatique*, 1889, and Zotenberg *Tabari*, Vol II p 5). On this political organization

see Darmesteter *Le Zend Avesta*, Vol III 1893 p xl and *La lettre le Tansar* in the *Journal Asiatique* 1894

With these introductory remarks I here introduce to the notice of students of this epoch a unique hemidrachm of Shāpūr son of Papak. So far as I know the drachm published by Cunningham and this hemidrachm are the only coins known of Shāpūr king of Persis and of the house of Sasan.

Description

Metal—Silver *Size*—66 in *Weight*—25 grs

Obverse—The bust of Shāpūr to left with Parthian helmet, with ear flap and fillets floating behind the hair and beard dressed in curls. *Grenetis*

Legend—Commencing behind the helmet *Bagi Shāpūhrī mallā* The divinity Shāpūr the king

Reverse—The bust of Papak to left with Parthian helmet surmounted by a peculiar plume and fillets floating behind the hair and beard dressed in curls. *Grenetis*

Legend—Commencing behind the helmet *bareh bagi Pāpak(i) mallā* son of the divinity Papak the king
Plate I, 1

The word *bagi* means 'divinity' and corresponds to *ālāhā* of the Chaldaeo Pahlavi and *ΘΕΟΙ* of the Greek texts of the Sāsānian trilingual inscriptions at Naqḥī Rūstam (see Flandin et Coste *Voyage en Perse* Vol IV, Plate 181), *ālāhā* on the coins of the Persids and *ΘΕΟΙ* of the Seleucids. *Bagi* has been taken as an adjective whenever it occurs among the titles of the Sāsānian kings in their inscriptions and coins but the equivalent *ālāhā* in Chaldaeo Pahlavi is against its being so understood for this latter is clearly a substantive meaning 'god'. If it were an adjective we might expect *ālāhi* as it really means 'divine'. In *lagi* the *i* is no adjectival termination but the vowel so frequently found at the end of Pahlavi words. *Bagi* itself is the *baga* of the Persian Cuneiform inscriptions. *Avesta* *baga*, meaning 'god'.

see Haug *Essay on Pahlavi* p 49. If the Sāsānian kings styled themselves *bag* 'god divinity' it is no more than the Seleucids did when they assumed the title *θεο*. It is possible that this pretension to divinity was borrowed from Egypt by the Seleucids. Nordmann the well known numismatist and expert follows his predecessors in always translating the word *lagi* by *göttliche* (divine) even in his important memoir (see *Z D M G* 1880 p 6) which was published posthumously. Another well known numismatist and Iranian scholar Drouin follows him in all his works and even in his last important paper (*Les Légendes des Monnaies Sassanides* p 9). West the greatest authority on Pahlavi however translates it 'divinity' in his last important

contribution on Pahlavi literature (see *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, Vol II, p 78), and such specialists on Iranian subjects as Noldeke, Justi, Marquart and others invariably translate it by the word "gott" (divinity).

The word *bareh* means 'son' corresponding to *bari* of the Chaldaeo Pahlavi, and *ΥΙΟΥ* of the Greek texts of the above named inscriptions. It consists of three letters the last of which has been for a long time the subject of discussion among savants. The phonetic value of this character has been thought to be *z* (see Thomas, *Early Sassanian Inscriptions, Seals and Coins*, p 20 sq), chiefly on account of its resemblance, in form to the Zand (Avestā) letter, but Haug has identified it with the Pahlavi *man*. (For a fuller discussion on this subject see Hoshangji and Haug's *Zand Pahlavi Glossary* p xxi.) It was reserved for Noldeke (*ZDMG*, 1879 p 690) to determine the phonetic value of this letter as *h*, which resembles in form the Aramaic letter. All modern specialists on Iranian subjects are in accord with Nöldeke about the value of this letter. (For further, see Casartelli *The Semitic Suffix Man* in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record* May 1888, *Actes du Congrès des Orient* Genève 1894, section 1, p 207, and Kirste *Das Pehlvi Suffix Man* in the *Wiener Zeitschrift*, 1889, p 313.)

The legend on the early binominal coins of Ardashir I has been transcribed by Nöldeke (*ZDMG*, 1879, p 690) —

Obverse — *Bagi Artakshatr malkā*

Reverse — *bareh bagī Pāpakī malkā*, and read *Bag Artakshatr shāh pusī bag Pāpak shāh*. So the reading of the legend on the coins of Shapur should be — *Bag Shahpuhr shāh pusī bag Pāpak shāh*.

This was a peculiar way of writing and pronouncing in Pahlavi. A foreign word was really written, but its Persian equivalent was always pronounced in its stead. This strange proceeding was confined to a certain number of words, about a thousand. They are contained in a vocabulary still extant and called the *Sāsānian Farhang*.

II An Obol of Ardashir I

As small pieces in Sāsānian silver are extremely scarce it is very difficult to arrive at their standard weight. Put from their existing weight we can at least ascertain the approximate denomination. The coin of Ardashir I, described below, should probably be classed as an obol ($\frac{1}{2}$ drachm), as its weight is 11 grains. For purposes of comparison I give the other known coins of Ardashir I, of this denomination which have been described and illustrated. There are as follows —

The Bartholomæi Collection (Plate I Fig 14), weight, not known,

Thomas (*Num Chron*, XII, NS, Plate II, Fig 9),
weight, 9.5 grs.

Mordtmann (*Z D M G* 1854, p 34, No 11), weight,
8.89 grs.

Mordtmann (*Z D M G* 1880, p 9, No 12), weight,
10 grs.

Mordtmann (*Z D M G* 1880 p 12, No 35), weight,
9.26 grs.

Description of the Obol

Metal—Silver *Size*—6 in *Weight*—11 grs

Obverse—The bust of Ardashir I to left with crown having ear flap and surmounted by a globe the fillets of the diadem floating behind a moustache and plaited hair and beard the hair of the head is divided into two parts, one falling over the right shoulder and the other behind the back Grenetis

Legend—Commencing behind the globe, *Mazda(ya)sn bagī Arta^hshatr malkān malkā Aī(rān min)ō chitrī min (ya-dān)*, "Mazda worshipping divinity Ardashir king of the kings of Ērān of spiritual origin from the sacred beings."

Reverse.—The holy pyreum on an altar with handles and fillets a censer on each side Grenetis

Legend—Commencing from the left of the fire, *Nurā zi Arta^hshatr*, "The fire of Ardashir"

There is a small hole in the coin in front of the bust
Plate I, 2

According to Marquart (*Z D M G*, 1895, p 670) the legend on the obverse should be read *Mazdešn bagī Arta^hshatr (-i) ghāhān-shāh (-i) Ērān lē chitrē az ya-atān*. He believes that *minō* is not the Zand (Avesta) *manush* "heaven", but the Arimaic relative pronoun *mannu* "who" which the Persians read *lē* in the same way as *az* for *min* and *ghāhūnshāh* for *malkān malkā*. So the translation of the legend would be 'Mazda-worshipping divinity Ardashir, king of the kings of Ērān who is (le) by origin from the sacred beings'. But on a gem described by Mordtmann (*Z D M G*, Vol XXXI, 1877, p 594 No 30) the variant *yazdī chitrī* is found instead of *minō chitrī*, which emphasizes the fact that *yazdī* and *minō*, having the same meaning of "spiritual," are therefore interchangeable (For the amended reading of the legend on this gem, see Justi, in *Z D M G*, Vol XXXI, 1892). In the trilingual inscriptions of Ardashir I at Naqsh-e Rostam (see Flandin et Coste *Voyage en Perse*, Vol II, Plate 181) and of Shapur I at Naqsh-e Rostam (see Flandin et Coste, *op cit*, Plate 190) the equivalents *ἐχρηστος* in Greek and *minō shāh* in Chaldeo-Pahlavi preclude our taking any other meaning of *minō chitrī* than 'of spiritual origin'.

On the reverse of the coins of the early Sāsānian kings is a legend in six letters with the name of the king. It was read *iezdanī* by De Sacy and *nuazi* by Dorn, Thomas and Mordtmann. De Sacy translated it by "the divine," Dorn and Mordtmann by "the adorer" and Thomas by "fire temple." It was Nöldeke (*Z D M G*, 1877 p 148, and 1879, p 690) who determined the true reading *nūrā zī* "the fire of." *Nūr* is the Aīamaic word construed in *nūrā*, and *zī* (Aīamaic) is the Semitic particle employed in Sāsānian Pahlavī to express the possessive. According to the German savant this expression should be pronounced ideographically with the *izāfat ātū* : *Artakhsatr* "the fire of Ardashir." In spite of this determination Mordtmann (*Z D M G*, 1880, p 7) persists in his reading and translation.

III A Binominal Drachm of Ardashir I.

Ardashir I is said to have taken his son Shāpūr as partner of his throne, and this is confirmed by coins on which a youthful head appears along with that of Ardashir. Firdausī (Mohl, *Le Livre des Rois*, Vol II, p 302) remarks to the effect that this partnership took place when Ardashir was sixty-eight years of age. Legendary tradition makes Shāpūr's mother an Arsacid princess taken at the capture of Ctesiphon, but, according to a more probable account, Shāpūr was already able to bear arms in the decisive battle with Ardavān (Artabanus) in 224 (according to Nöldeke, or 227, according to Gutschmid). Nor can he have been a mere stripling when his reign began, as his prowess against Rome shows, for in Ardashir's last years, in the reign of Maximin (236-238), the war had been renewed, and Nisibis and Carrhae (Haran), two fortresses which constantly reappear in this history, had been taken, and in 242 Shāpūr had penetrated to Antioch. (For the birth of Shāpūr, see Firdausī, Mohl, *Le Livre des Rois*, Vol V, p 268 sq, Tabari, Zotenberg, Vol II, p 77; Tabari, Nöldeke, p 27, and *Kārnāmak*, Nöldeke, p 62.) Ardashir died late in 241, or early in 242, and Shāpūr was probably crowned on the 20th of March, 242.

The drachm, described below, contributes numismatic testimony to this interesting historical incident—the association of Shāpūr in the government with his father, Ardashir, during the life time of the latter. Several of the copper coins, depicting this incident, are known, but of silver there is only a unique piece (weight, 54.5 grs.), in the British Museum, published by Thomas (*Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol XV, O S, p 180, Fig 2, and *Sassanians in Persia*, Plate I, Fig 12) and reproduced by Mordtmann (*Z D M G*, 1854, Plate X, Fig 6) in stamped facsimile. Unfortunately the legend on the obverse has not been properly deciphered. Thomas (in his latter

work *op cit*, p. 23) describes the legend as imperfect and reads to the left *mallān* and to the right, *mallā* but Nordmann (*Z D M G* 1880 p. 13) pronounces it at least in the illustration as illegible. With the help of the other piece in my Cabinet I have been able to decipher it —

Commencing behind the bust of *Shapūr* (*Shah*) *puhrī mallā* (*ī*) *rān mūd chit(rī)* 'Shapūr the king of *Īrān* of spiritual origin'. The legend on the reverse is — *Varā* (*ī*) *Artakhsatir* 'The fire of *Ardashir*'.

The known copper coins of this type are unfortunately in a very bad state of preservation consequently the legend on the obverse has not yet been read. But by a singular fate the reverse of the piece in the Bartholomaei Collection Plate I Fig. 15) is in a good condition. The reading is — *Varā* (*ī*) *Shahputrī* 'The fire of *Shāpūr*'.

I am supported in this reading by Drouin (*Les Legendes des Monnaies Sassanides* p. 16) who mentions another piece with the name written as *Shahputrī*. These two archaic forms could be explained by the fact that these coins were struck in a distant province where the dialect admits very often of the *ī* for the different forms of the name *Shapūr* (see Noldeke *Kārnān* I p. 61 and Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* p. 284).

Some time about the middle of his reign *Ardashir* exchanged the Parthian helmet on his coins for a crown surmounted by a globe and added also the words *mūd chit(rī) mū ya-dān* 'of spiritual origin from the sacred beings' at the end of the protocol. According to Nordmann (*Z D M G* 1880 p. 6) the coins with the Parthian helmet were issued till 232 when this innovation was introduced. The coins of *Ardashir* with his son *Shapūr* belong to the latter category. Therefore it was at some time between 232 and 241 that these coins were struck. From the style and epigraphy I am inclined to believe that the date is nearer 241 than 232 that is to say about 235-33.

Description of the Drachm

Metal — Silver. *Size* — 1.06 in. *Weight* — 56 grs.

Obverse — The bust of *Ardashir* I to right with crown surmounted by a globe and with globe floating behind, the hair and beard dressed in plaits. In front of him is his son *Shapūr* with Parthian helmet and globe floating behind. Crenetis.

Legend — Commencing behind the bust of *Shapūr* *Shah* *puhrī mallā* *īrān mūd (chit(rī))* 'Shāpūr the king of *Īrān* of spiritual origin'.

Reverse — The bust of *Apurum* on an altar with handles and hillets, a crenetis on each side. Crenetis.

Legend — Commencing from the left of the bust *Varā* (*ī*) *Artakhsatir* 'The fire of *Ardashir*'. Plate I, 3.

The title *mallā* *īrān* strikes us as very typical. It was

Description of the Drachm

Metal —Silver *Size* —1 in *Weight* —.12 grs

Obverse —The bust of Narses to right wearing a crown ornamented with foliated branches projecting from three different points in the circle with fillets floating behind and surmounted by the traditional globe. The hair is dressed in plaits, a moustache and a short curly beard terminating in a pendant jewel. An ear ring and the bust draped. *Grenetis*.

Legend —Commencing in front of the bust (*Mazdayasn*)
bagi Narseh mallān mallā Airīn mino chitrī min yā dān

Mazda worshipping divinity Narses King of the Kings of Iran of spiritual origin from the sacred beings

Reverse —The fire altar supported on the left side by the king wearing crown and globe as on the obverse and to the right by the priest with the ordinary coronet both have swords inclined towards the altar and are facing the fire. To the left of the fire the *frōhar* symbol and to the right the *taurus* symbol. *Grenetis*. No legend. *Plate I, 4*

A portion of the coin is broken in front of the bust

F Another Drachm of the rare type of Shāpur II

In describing a similar type of drachm of this king (*Numismatic Supplement XLX* p 262) I remarked that while the Sassanian coins follow more or less fixed types they exhibit a pronounced variety in legends the study of which is a matter of continual interest. This remark is further substantiated by the drachm described below.

Hormizd II (303-310) was the first to take the epithet *vōhīdā* 'excellent' on his coins. His son Shāpur II (310-379) and grandson Shāpur III (383-388) took it only in their inscriptions at Taq-e Bostan (see De Sacy *Mémoires* 1793 p 5 and Flandin et Coite *Loyage en Perse* Vol IV Plate 6). But there is a solitary published exception in the case of a drachm of Shāpur II with this epithet described by Mordtmann (*ZDMG* 1880 p 109 No 574). Through the courtesy of Sir John Marshall, Director General of Archaeology in India I was able to examine in Bombay the Sassanian coins in the Lahore Museum among which I found a drachm of Shapur II exactly similar in type and legend to the one described by Mordtmann. The coins of this king apart from sub-varieties are of three main types. The above two coins are of the first type having the fire altar with two attendants but without the bust of *frōhar* issuing from the fire. The drachm which is the subject of this article is of the third type having the fire altar similar to that depicted on the coins of Ardāshīr I. So far as I know this is the only coin of the third type bearing the epithet *vōhīdā* 'excellent'.

*Description of the Drachm**Metal*—Silver *Size*—9 in *Weight*—64 grs*Obverse*—The bust of Shāpūr II to right wearing a mural crown with three points embattled surmounted by the traditional globe with the fillets of the diadem floating behind the head. The hair is brought back and arranged in flowing curls, a moustache and a short curly beard tied at the end with a jewelled pendant, an ear ring and bust draped. Gienetis.*Legend*—Commencing behind the globe *Ma.dāyasn tohī ī Shāpūr ī malkān malkā Āīrān* Mazda worshipping excellent Shāpūr king of the Kings of Īrān.*Reverse*—The holy *pyrum* on an altar with handles and fillets, a censer on each side. Gienetis.*Legend*—Commencing from the right *Nura ī Shāpūhrī* The fire of Shāpūr. Plate I, 5I I *A new Portrait of Shāpūr II*

The drachm described below exhibits a portrait of Shāpūr II differing from those hitherto known to us. By the test of the form of the crown, the style, the epigraphy and the legend itself the coin can safely be assigned to this king.

*Description of the Drachm**Metal*—Silver *Size*—1 in *Weight*—56.5 grs*Obverse*—The bust of Shāpūr II to left wearing his usual mural crown surmounted by the globe, with the fillets of the diadem floating behind. The hair is arranged behind in flowing curls, a moustache and a short curly beard tied at the point with a pendant jewel, an ear ring and bust draped. Gienetis.*Legend*—Commencing behind the crown, *Ma.dāyasn bagī Shāpūhrī* Mazda worshipping divinity Shāpūr.*Reverse*—The fire altar adorned with bands having the bust of *frōhūr* issuing from the flames. The supporters (correlly definitely) are flanking the altar with swords at guard. Gienetis.

No legend. Plate I, 6

I II *A New Sāsānīan Mint*

(Not illustrated)

A drachm of Yazdegerd I (399-420) in the Bartholomæus Collection (Plate XI fig. 17) bears the mint monogram KVN RIU. In the description of the coin Mordtmann (*Z D M G* 1880 p. 90 No. 389) pronounces this monogram to be unintelligible though the reproduction is quite clear.

Another mint monogram RIU which is the second part of the monogram under discussion first appeared on the coins during the reign of Kiroz I (409-484) and then is frequently seen on the coins of his successors till 629.

Noldeke (*ZDMG* 1877 p 150 and 1879 p 141) considers it to represent Rew Ardashir.

Mordtmann (*ZDMG* 1879 p 120 No 21) identifies it as representing Ra (Rhages) in the vicinity of the modern Taharān and compares it with the mint راي, Ar Rai of the Khalifs on their dirhams.

De Morgan (*Revue Numismatique* 1913 p 490 § 134) considers this identification as quite acceptable.

The Arabs preserved this mint as the monogram RIL is found on their drachms in the years A H 30 and 43.

ري Prā was one of the greatest and most celebrated cities of ancient Eran. It is the 'Payā' of the Creels. Various kings have been mentioned by different authors as founders of this city. The latest Sāsānian founder was Firoz I (409-484) son of Yezdegerd II (438-457) who named it رهم Ram Firoz. There are still remains visible at Rai but it is not certain whether they are those of the famous Rhages or not. That they are those of the Arabian Rai there can be very little doubt but whether the latter occupied precisely the same site as the Parthian and the Achaemenian Rhages is not certain.

In describing another rare mint monogram KVN BBA (*Numerical Supplement XXX* p 206 sq.) I explained the meaning of the word *kayan* as 'royal'. It was at the time doubtful whether this word was applied as an honorary epithet to the city represented by the monogram BBA or whether KVN BBA represented another city. Now it is possible to believe that *kayan* was an honorific epithet and that it was applied to the two cities represented by the monograms BBA and RIU.

III A Drachm of Bahram Gor

It is curious to note that Thomas (*Sassanians in Persia* p 77 sq. Plate VII Fig 10) has been led astray by a legend engraved evidently by an ignorant die-sinker into supposing a drachm of Bahram Gor (320-438) to be one of Bahram VI (401-421). All the known coins of the latter are exact copies of those of Hormazd IV (579-630) and are of his first regnal year displaying the indication of mint cities. Bahram who revolted on the death of Hormazd IV in the late summer of 401 was defeated by Khosrau II (400-428) in a decisive battle near the Zab in the summer of 91. (For the history of this rebel see Noldeke *Tabari* p 174 sq.)

On the piece described by Thomas, the name of the king is *Varahrān* written inversely, followed by three letters written in the direct way, which he reads *ghūp* taking them to be also inverted. Hence his mistake. But these letters should read *mal(kā)*. It is evident on the face of it that this coin is of Bahram V, from the style the epigraphy, from the head of the king appearing on the upper part of the altar and from the absence of the date. In support of my statements I would mention that Mordtmann (*Z D M G* 1850, p 98, No 442) as well as Drouin (*Les Legendes des Monnaies Sassanides* p 45) attribute it to Bahram V.

Five additional specimens in Col. Guthrie's Collection are mentioned by Thomas who remarks that it is important to note that none of these coins are from the *same* dies each has a slightly varying bust of the king and an independent rendering of the legend—which is ordinarily even less definite than that of Mr Stewart's specimen. Col. Guthrie's five coins were found at Kūlū, in the Panjab by Major Hay.

Another specimen is in the Lancutich Collection (see Tiezenhausen *Monnaies Orientales de M. Lancutich* p 3) and four more are in my cabinet.

In all my specimens the whole obverse legend is in inverted writing *Varahrān mal(kā)*. This additional testimony lends support to my statement that the coin published by Thomas is of Bahram V and not of Bahram VI, and that his reading of *Varahrān Ghūp* is not tenable, the correct reading should be *Varahrān mal(kā)*.

Description of the Drachm

Metal—Silver *Size*—1.15 in *Weight*—62.5 grs

Obverse—The bust of Bahram V to right, wearing a crown surmounted by a crescent and globe with the fillets of the diadem floating behind. The hair is brought back and arranged in a mass of curls, a moustache and a short curly beard terminating in a pendant jewel from which two cross bars project an earring and a necklace of pearls. Bust draped Grenetis.

Legend—Behind the crown a few illegible letters. Commencing in front of the crown, in inverted writing *Varahrān mal(kā)* "Bahram the king."

Reverse—The fire altar, adorned with bands, having the head of the king inserted in the upper section the pedestal immediately below the fire in the centre of the flames of which appear the crescent and globe of his tiara. On both sides is a figure of the king with sword raised and facing the altar Grenetis.

Strokes instead of the legend and mint monogram
Plate I, 7

IA Another Drachm of Bahram Gōr

Two other coins of Bahram Gōr have been wrongly ascribed to Bahram Chobin by Thomas (*Sassanians in Persia* p 81) the one in the possession of Col Guthrie and the other in the Bartholomaei Collection (Plate XII Fig 16) though the latter has been correctly attributed in the Catalogue of that Collection. No reason has been assigned save the similarity of the outline of the design on the coin with the legend in inverted writing just described. The two coins mentioned above and the one described below are much better in execution and design than the coin just described. Not only do these three coins present similar legends but also peculiarities similar to the coins of Bahram V. There is not the slightest reason whatsoever to assign them to any other king. In describing the coin in the Bartholomaei Collection Mordtmann (*Z D M G* 1880 p 97 No 435) also attributes it to Bahram V as had been already done by the Russian soldier-savant

Description of the Drachm

Metal—Silver *Size*—1 25 in *Weight*—64 grs

Obverse—The bust of Bahram V to right, having a crown surmounted by a crescent and globe with the fillets of the diadem floating behind. The hair is brought back and arranged in flowing curls; a moustache and a short curly beard terminating in a pendant jewel from which two cross bars project; bust draped. Grenetis.

Legend—Commencing behind the crescent *Mazdayasn bagi rāmshat(r) Varahrān malkān malkā* 'Mazda worshipping divinity rāmshat(r) Bahram, king of the kings.'

Reverse—The fire altar adorned with bands having the head of the king inserted in the upper section of the pedestal immediately below the fire in the centre of the flames of which appear the crescent and globe of his tiara. On both sides is a figure of the king with sword raised and facing the altar. Grenetis.

Legend—To the left, *Varahrān* and to the right, the mint-monogram in three letters. Plate I, 8.

In describing the coin in the Bartholomaei Collection (Plate XII Fig 16) Thomas (*op cit*) reads the mint monogram PRI but Mordtmann (*p cit*) reads it VR. Thomas is doubtful about his reading perhaps chiefly owing to the first letter not being properly formed. From my specimen as well as from that in the Bartholomaei Collection I have not been able to fix upon any definite reading of the first letter. The second letter is R and the third is I.

Rāmshat(r) is a compound of *rām* 'delight happiness' (*Ave ta rām*) and *shat(r)* 'a country a realm' (old Persian

khshathra) that is *rām* + *shatr* for *rām* + *khshathra* meaning the delight of the realm (Justi *Iranisches Namenbuch* pp 258 and 300) Drouin (*Les Lésions des Monnaies Sassanides* p 11) translates it by 'the prosperity of the empire'

This epithet is taken only by Yazdegerd I (399-420) and Bahram V (420-438) on their coins. On a drachm of Yazdegerd I II (438-457) Vincent Smith (*Indian Museum Catalogue*, Vol I p 226) reads this epithet. As this coin is not illustrated I secured casts of it through the courtesy of Sir John Marshall and I have no hesitation in saying that the words are *malikān nalkā* and not the epithet *rāmshatr*. On the reverse of this coin he reads the regnal year *nudak* nineteen but it is the word *nauak* the adorer generally found on the reverse of the coins of this king. Although there were some exceptions during the reign of Kiroz I (459-484) the usage of marking the regnal year on the coins was not established till the reign of Jamasp (497-499) in 497.

V *A unique One eighth of a Drachm of Jāmāsp*

To arrive at the subdivisions of the Sāsaniyan drachm is very difficult considering the scarcity and the worn state of the small pieces. The smaller the piece the more disturbing a factor wear becomes in our attempts to ascertain the normal weight. From the recorded weights of pieces smaller than the hemi drachm it will be seen that the following denominations are in existence. The weight of the obol ($\frac{1}{2}$ drachm) ranges from 8.33 to 11 grains the $\frac{1}{4}$ drachm from 6.33 to 8 grains and the hemi obol ($\frac{1}{8}$ drachm) from 4.30 to 6.50 grains. Mordtmann (*Z D W G* 1880 p 149) also suspected the existence of the $\frac{1}{8}$ drachm remarking at the same time that this supposition was based upon insufficient evidence to make it more than a probability.

To get a standard from known coins is difficult for recorded specimens are in every kind of condition. How often can we assert that a coin is in mint condition? Take a good specimen of any coin and almost always we shall find wear or clipping or sweating or boring. This means that we can very seldom know how far the actual coin is below the theoretical standard. Sometimes on the other hand the weight is higher than anything we are prepared to expect. But these are freak coins and they are by no means common. The weights of coins cut from the bar by hand never pretended to be more than approximate. It is unreasonable to expect agreement to a grain and the close approximation to an assumed standard is very remarkable considering the conditions. Attempts were made at exactitude but I do not believe that exactitude to a grain was ever obtained. The appliances available were scarcely delicate enough to admit of perfect exactitude in weighing.

so I believe that much reliance was placed on the principle of averages. The intention was not that coins should be struck of such and such a weight, but that so many coins should be struck out of such and such a quantity of metal.

The known coins of Jamasp (497-499) are all drachms. The small piece of this ling described below, weigh only seven grains and is in a very good state of preservation. From the weight it could be classed as one eighth of a drachm. Coins of denominations smaller than the hemidrachm are known up to the reign of Firoz I (459-484) but none after that period. The piece described below is unique in its way being the last known small silver piece struck by the Sāsaniāns and also the only known small piece of Jāmāsp.

On all his coins Jamasp is represented with a youth who tends him a crown. The historians do not make any mention of this particular person. The name of this king on coins is generally written *Zām* but on a drachm in the Bartholomaei Collection (Plate XVIII Fig 8) and on others described by Mordtmann (*Z D M G* 1865 p 440 No 100 and 1880 p 104) the name is written in full *Zāmāsp*. Drouin (*Jes Légendes des Monnaies Sassanides* p 39) seems to believe erroneously that this reading should be *Zām as(rut)*. Thomas (*Sassanians in Persia* p 66 sq) attributes the coins of Jamasp wrongly to Hormazd III (457-459) and Phipson (*J P A S* 1904 p 679 fig 10 of the Plate) assigns a drachm to Jamasp which in reality is one of Kobad I (488-497 and 499-531). Vincent Smith (*Indian Museum Catalogue Vol I* p 226) assigns erroneously a drachm of Jamasp to Firoz I (459-484).

Description of the $\frac{1}{8}$ Drachm

Metal—Silver. *Size*—45 m. *Height*—7 gr.

Obverse—The bust of Jamasp to right with crown having a smaller crescent and globe in the centre surmounted by a larger crescent and globe. The hair is brought back and arranged in flowing curls with the fillets of the diadem flowing behind. Facing him is the bust of a youth with crown surmounted by a globe who tends him a crown. *Gravetis*.

Legend—Behind the crown *Zām*.

Reverse—The fire altar adorned with bands having the king on both sides facing the altar on the right of the fire a crescent and on the left a star. *Gravetis*.

Legend—Left the date *ap(ki)* one and right the mint monogram *AS*. Plate I, 9.

Two mint monograms *AS* and *ASP* make their first appearance simultaneously during the reign of Bahram IV (385-388) and both cease to appear during the reign of Khusrau II (590-628) in 626 after figuring on coin for forty five different years. The question is whether the *AS* monograms represent

the same place or are distinct indications for different mints. Both the monograms have been considered as one by Mordtmann (*Z D M C* 1854 p 13 No 11 1865 p 398 No 4 and 1879 p 115 No 4 p 125 No 50) and he has proposed the reading ASpahān. In the opinion of De Morgan (*Revue Numismatique* 1913 p 169 § 2) there is no strong reason for a simulating AS with ASP. He (p 164) interprets them — AS for ASfāl ūr and ASP for ASPahān (Ispahān).

اسفندر Asfanabr is one of the seven towns of Irak known as the towns of Kesra. Its ancient name was probably اسفابر Asfabūr (see Barbier de Meynard *Dictionnaire Geographique Historique et Littéraire de la Perse* etc p 34).

It possesses a grand royal portico at present in ruins. It is rational to admit that this town having an *أوقاف* āwāf had at the same time a mint.

VI A rare type of Drachm of Ardashir III

Khusrau II (590-628) dispensed with the traditional globe surmounting the crown and adopted a peculiar form of winged head dress which continued in use, with only two exceptions to the end of the dynasty and was copied by the Ispahbeds of Tabaristan and the Arab Governors of Persia down to the closing years of the seventh century of the Christian era. But his son Kobad II (628) surmounted his crown with a crescent and globe instead of the two wings and this style was adopted by his son Ardashir III (628-630) in his first year and during part of his second after which the head dress of Khusrau II was again adopted. Only one coin of the early type of Ardashir III of the first year has been published (see Thomas *Sassanians in Persia* Plate VII Fig 2) but none of the second. This coin bears the mint monogram MR.

I have in my cabinet 50 drachms of this rare type 20 of the first year and 35 of the second.

For illustration I have selected only two specimens one of the first year and one of the second.

All coins of Ardashir III have the legend *Ardāshīr* and are dated the year *ayōk* one and *lāh* two with the indication of the city of issue. Although the name of the king was correctly read so far back as 184 by Mordtmann (*Z D M G* Vol VIII p 142) and in 1858 by Dorn (*Mélanges Asiatiques* Vol III October 1858 p 413) it is surprising to find Thomas (*Sassanians in Persia* p 92 Plate VII Figs 2, 3 and 4) reading it *Autahshat* Drouin (*Les Légendes des Monnaies Sassanides* p 53) has also given the correct reading.

This prince was seven years of age at the death of his father and reigned under the tutelage of Mihr Ādar Gūšnasp.

from September 628, to the 27th of April 630. With the consent of Heraclius Shahrbāz (Σαρβάρος) murdered the young king and usurped the throne to fall a victim to the envy of the peers and the spirit of legitimism on the 9th of June 630.

Description of the Drachms.

Metal—Silver *Size*—A 1.25, B 1.27 *Weight*—A 61.5 grs B 61.5 grs

Obverse—The bust of Ardashir III to right with crown surmounted by a crescent and globe. The hair is brought back and arranged in flowing curls without moustache and beard. An ear ring of a large pendant pearl, a pearl necklace having three large pendant pearls, and two strings of pearls reaching below the bust. The dress adorned with a crescent and star on each shoulder. In the field over both shoulders floats a fillet, a crescent over the left shoulder near the chin. Behind the crown is a star and in front a crescent and star. In the margin outside the grenetis are set three crescents and stars, to the left, right and at the bottom.

Legend—Commencing in front of the crown, *Ar'akhsatr*, 'Ardashir' and commencing behind the crown *afzūn* 'long live'.

Reverse—The fire altar adorned with bands, two personages facing front on both sides, wearing tiaras each surmounted by a crescent and a floating fillet, both hands resting on their swords. In the field to the left of the fire, a star, to the right a crescent, a dot on each side of the upper base of the altar. In the margin outside the grenetis are set four crescents and stars.

Legend—To the left the date—A *ayokī*, 'one' B *talīn*, "two" and to the right, the mint monogram—A AT B DA A Plate I 10, B Plate II, 1

27th April 1921

FURDOONJEE D J PARUCK


233 UNPUBLISHED MUHAR COINS

I *An Ujjain Muhar of Akbar*

The Ujjain mint is not known to have issued gold coins during the time of Akbar. In his introductory mint notes (*Punjab Museum Catalogue*, Vol II p. xxvi) Mr Whitehead says with reference to this mint that "no gold coins of Akbar have been found." But now with the find of the muhar described below the status of this mint can be raised to that of a gold issuing mint of Akbar.

Metal—A. *Mint*—Ujjain *Year*—988 A H *Weight*—187 grs *Size*—7 (square)

Obverse

In diamond formed by
elongating some of the letters
in the marginal legends the
Kalima Mark — 

Margins

بصدق انى نكر	|	بعدل عمر
بجای عثمان	|	بعلم على ۹۸۸

Reverse

جلد الله بما علكه
محمد اكبر بادشا
سلال الدین عارے
صرب احسن

Plate II, 2

II A *Burhānpur Muhar of Jahāngir*

Jahangir issued from the Burhānpūr mint rupes bearing a rare couplet but no similar muhar has hitherto been known (See Mr Whitehead *op cit* p lix). The muhar described below fills this gap.

Metal — *Al.* *Mint* — Burhanpūr *Weight* — 169 grs
Size — 7

Obverse — On flowered field

د د پناه
شاه
برهانپور
شهر
سکه در در

Reverse — On flowered field

بادشا
اکبر
نگران
حاکم
نور الدین
شاه

Plate II, 3

III A *Ten-rupee Piece of Surat*

Hitherto in the silver currency of the Mughals, no coin has been known intermediate in size between the double rupee and the gigantic piece at Dresden (B M C, Intro, lxxviii). A most interesting novelty, therefore, is the ten rupee piece described below which has recently come into my possession.

Metal — *Al.* *Mint* — Sūrāt *Year* — A H 1185, R Y. 6
Weight — 1786 grs *Size* — Dia 178, thick 28

Obverse

۱۱۸۵
شاه عالم
بادشا عار
سکه صدار

Reverse

عالموس
عممت
سکه حلوس

IV New Mughal Rupees

Alamgir II alone of the Mughal Emperors of India is known to have taken the *laqab* of 'Azizu d dīn on coins but here are two rupees of Shah 'Ālam II bearing this *laqab*. The legends are also otherwise unusual. The obverse one appears to be mainly a reversion to that adopted by Jahandār Shāh. Both these coins are illustrated as they bear legends which are complementary to each other.

Metal — R Mint — Shahjahanabad Year — 1181
Weight — A 174 grs. B 174.5 grs. Size — A 935 B 875

Obverse

شاه عالم عالم شاه
مور الدین
۱۱۸۱
بان مہر و ماہ عداک

Reverse

کد کو
حسانا
ارالعلقہ سان
صر
سلویں محمد بن مانوس
۱۱۸۱

The top line invites study

Plate II, 5 (A) 6 (B)

The tentative reading of the couplet is

سکہ عداک [محمد حونا] بان مہر و ماہ شاه عالم مور الدین عالم لسا

The blessed coin is like the shining Sun and Moon
[The coin of] Shah 'Ālam 'Azizu d dīn champion of the
faith, the Emperor

V Unpublished Silver Half Annas

The later Mughals in their monetary dealings with the South appear to have imitated its currency. This is evidenced from their minute gold coins and further supported by the silver half anna pieces described below. These coins number one hundred and thirty three and are of five different kings. Muhammad Shah Ahmad Shah 'Ālamgir II Shah 'Ālam II and Albar II. Unfortunately the dies are too big for the flans of these minute coins consequently several specimens have had to be put together to reconstruct the legends. Only three mints have been found. But there are different arrangements of the legends which suggest that the coins may have been struck in different places.

The three mints are Khujista Bunvad Haidarabad and Azabad. It is curious to note that *محمد بن* is written *محمد بن* Codrington in his 'Muslim Numismatics

p 132 quotes the mint *أمر* A'zabid from Lichen but does not indicate its situation. Now I think we are in a position to assign it at least to Southern India if not to indicate its exact position on the map.

These coins were found at Hyderabad (Deccan). They vary in size from 25 to 32 inch and range in weight from 4.5 to 5 grains.

For illustration only eight specimens have been selected representing the different types.

1	Obverse		Reverse
	شاه		شاه
	شاه		شاه
			شاه

This legend is reconstructed from four different specimens

Plate II 7

2	Obverse		Reverse
	شاه		شاه
	شاه		شاه

Plate II 8

3	Obverse		Reverse
	شاه		شاه
	شاه		شاه

4	Obverse		Reverse
	شاه		شاه
	شاه		شاه

5	Obverse		Reverse
	شاه		شاه
	شاه		شاه

6	Obverse		Reverse
	شاه		شاه
	شاه		شاه

From four specimens

Plate II, 9

7	<i>Obverse</i>		<i>Reverse</i>
	عالم كثر		با شاه
	۱۱۷۱		عار
	سنة		

From five specimens

Plate II, 10.

Other dates are ۱۱۷۲ and ۱۱۷۳

8	<i>Obverse</i>		<i>Reverse</i>
	عالم		لور

9	<i>Obverse</i>		<i>Reverse</i>
	عالم با		صوب
			خندور [اناد]

Plate II, 11

10	<i>Obverse</i>		<i>Reverse.</i>
	عالم		۴۶
	مس		سنة
	۱۲۱		صوب
			اسوا [با]

From two specimens

Plate II, 12.

NOTE—In the Plate the obverse and reverse of this and No 9 coin have been transposed

11	<i>Obverse</i>		<i>Reverse</i>
	شاه عا		شاه
	۱۱۷۸		۲

Plate II, 13

12	<i>Obverse</i>		<i>Reverse</i>
	سلا عالم		خلوص
			سنة

From three specimens

13 *Obverse*عالم
—*Reverse*۲۴
سند
—14 *Obverse*

محمد اندر شا هـ

*Reverse*حیدر [راناد]
۸
منصب
مانوس
خلوس
سند

From seven specimens

Plate II, 14

12th May, 1921.

FURDOONJEE D J PARUCK

NOTE—All the coins described in this article are in Mr Paruck's collection—EDITOR

234 THE COINS OF THE BAHMANI KINGS OF KULBARGA

The following is an attempt to collect in one paper all available information regarding the known monetary issues of the Bahmani Kings of Kulbarga. The list had its origin in a previous one drawn up by Mr C J Brown who, while compiling it had the advantage of inspecting personally the fine collection of the late Mr Framjee Jamasjee Thanawala. The list has been revised and extended by me, and I now publish it in the hope that numismatists in India will assist by adding, in notes in subsequent issues of the Numismatic Supplement, information they have available of coins not included in the present list. The information so obtained will prove useful in the compilation at some future time of a full illustrated history of the coinage of the dynasty.

In addition to the catalogue of coins a bibliography of the coinage is appended. This, with the exception of the omission of auction sale catalogues is, I believe, exhaustive of the literature bearing on the subject.

I *Nāṣiru d dīn Isma'īl Shāh*

A H 748

Copper

Obverse

Reverse

1 الدین
ناصر
والدین

ابو القاسم
اسماعيل شاه

Weight, 58 grs, cf Rodgers J A S B, 1895 and Codrington
ton pl 17, fig 1

2 سلطان با
صرا لدا والد
الله

In a double circle

شاه
اسماعيل

Marginal legend illegible

Weight 53 grs of Codrington, No 2

II *'Alāu d dīn Bahman Shāh I*

(Hargan Gāngū)

A H 748 760

Silver

Obverse

Reverse

3. السلطان الاعظم
علاء الدین والدین
ابو المقربین شاه
السلطان

In a square inscribed in a
circle top and right side
of square consisting of two
lines lower side a single line
and left side missing in
top and right segments 3
dots date in lower seg
ment

سکندر الثاني
حسن العلاء بن ناصر
امير المومنين

Date

Marginal legend

بعضر احساناد

Weight about 170 grs

Dates known — A H 757, Thanaivala Collection

A H 758 (758 and 58) Collection H M
Whittell

A H 759, Thanaivala Collection

A H 760 of Whittell J A S B 1915

4 السلطان
الاعظم علاء الد
نبا والد
ابو المظفر
نبا والد
سلطان

Size 1 Weight, 26 grs, Codrington pl 17 fig 2
Size 2 Weight 15 grs Codrington

Copied

5 علاء الدنيا
والدين
سلطان

Size 1 Weight 27 grs Codrington pl 17 fig 4
Size 2 Weight 15 grs Thanawala Collection

III Mulammad Shah I (bin Bahman Shāh)

A H 760-777

Gold

	Obverse	Reverse
6	سلطان العهد والرحمن الحامى عليه رسول الرحمن	In a circle بمولى حسن محمد

Margin —

صلى الله عليه وسلم
سنة ثلث وستمائة

Height 197.5 grs
Gibbs Num Chr 1885 Brit Mus from Da Cunha Coll of

	In square area	In square area
7	سلطان العهد والرحمن ابو المظفر	محمد شاه السلطان اس السلطان

Height about 170 grs

Dates known — A H 763 Brit Mus from Da Cunha Coll
A H 775 Thanawala Coll of Gibbs
Num Chr 1885 No 2
A H 776 White King Coll

		<i>Silver</i>	
S	As on No 6		In a square in a circle
		ابو المظفر	
		محمد شاه بن	
		نعم شاه السلطان	
		Margin —	
		left صرف	
		top نصير	
		right احسانا	
		lower Date	

Weight about 170 grs

Dates known — A.H 760 to 762 765 771 772 774 to 777

9	خاء	ابو المظفر
	نعم الله	محمد شاه

- fig 5 Size 1 Weight, 24 grs Size 55, cf (Codrington, pl 17,
Size 2 Weight, 16 grs Size 45 British Museum

Copper.

10	المود	In a circle
	نصر الله	محمد شاه
	ابو المظفر	محمد شاه
		Margin —
		نعم

Weight, 77 grs, British Museum

11	المود	ابو المظفر
	نصر الله	محمد شاه

Weight, about 55 grs, Codrington, pl 17 fig 7

12	ابو المظفر	نعم
	محمد شاه	شاه السلطان

Weight about 55 grs

13	As above	نعم
		نعم
		السلطان

Weight 45 grs British Museum

14 In a circle

الله

عدد

In a circle

شاه

محمد

Height 37 grs }
Height, 32 grs } Coll H M Whittell

II *Mujāhid Shāh* (bin Muhammad Shāh)

A H 776 780

Gold

Obverse

Reverse

10

السلطان

In a circle

لا عظم على

علا الدنيا

الله في العالم

والدس معاهد

شاه السلطان

Margin—

صوب هذا الدينار حصر احدا اباد (sic) سنة
صنع وسبعين وسبع مائة

Height 142 grs Brit Mus of Codrington pl 17 fig 8

Silver

16

السلطان لا عظم

In a square within a circle.

علا الدنيا والدس

المد نصر الله

ابو الفاري معاهد

بني الخليفة ناصر

شاه السلطان

امير المومنين

Margins as on No 8

Height about 170 grs

Dates known — A H 778 British Museum

A H 779 Gibbs No 7

17 In an irregular hexagon

ابو

معاهد

المعالي

شاه

fig 9 Height 14 grs, British Museum of Codrington pl 17,

I *Dī'ūd Shāh I* (bin Mahmud Khān)

No coins known

VI *Muhammad Shāh II*

A H 780-799

Gold

Obverse

18¹ المفتح باواصر
الرحمن الممد شد
ب الله المقل

Reverse

الناصر [لانو]²
لا حان ابو المظفر
محمد شاه السلطان

۷۹۶

Weight 168.7 grs British Museum

Silver

19 الناصر
الدان الحامى
لا مل الا مل

In a square in a circle

الواثق ماد
الرحمن ابو المظفر
محمد شاه السلطان

Margins as on No 8

Weight about 170 grs

Dates known — A H 791 to 799²

Copper

20³

عد
معنو-

In a circle

محمد
محمد

Margin —

و سعن

Weight about 80 grs Codrington pl 17 fig 11

VII *Ghiyāsu d dīn Bahman Shāh*

No coins known

¹ I have been favoured with a cast of this coin which is evidently a fine specimen. The inscription is very plain and complete with the exception of the top line of the reverse.

² It is noteworthy that no coin of Muhammad Shah II dated earlier than A H 791 has as yet been discovered.

³ I have followed Codrington in attributing this issue to Muhammad Shah II. The attribution however must remain doubtful until specimens bearing legible margins come to hand.

A H 793

Silver

Obverse

21 المصطفى بالله
الحق أبو المظفر
شمس لدنيا والد

Reverse

In a square in a circle

أو ساء
السلطان بن
السلطان

Height about 170 grs

Date — A H 799 of Gibbs No 7¹

Margins as in No 8

Copper

22² المود
بصر الله
أبو المظفر

In a circle

أو
ساء

Margin —

مع وسمعى

Height about 82 grs

Date — A H (7)99 British Museum

IX *Fīroz Shāh (Roz Afzun)*

A H 800-825

Gold

Obverse

23 الشدان لا
الله الا الله وحده
لا شريك له واشهد
ان محمدا عبده
ورسوله

Reverse

In a circle

الوانى بنام
الرحمن ابو
المظفر فبرور
شاه السلطان

Margin —

صوب مداد الدمار بحضرة دار الملك

احسانا سد ماها مده

Height 115 grs British Museum from Da Cunha Coll
of Gibbs No 8

¹ Other specimens were in the White King and Tiana Collections
² Codrington in the absence of a legible margin on a specimen attributed this coin to Da ud Shah I

Silver

24	السلطان	In a square in a circle
	العدد والرمز	ابو المظفر تاج
	الواقى بن ائد	الدنيا والدين
	الرحمن	مرو شاه
		السلطان

Margins —

right احسان باد

lower ٨ ٠

Height, 169 grs., Tharwala, J A S B 1904 No 7

25 ¹	سلطان	In a square in a circle
	العدد والرمز	تاج الدنيا
	الواقى بن ائد الرحمن	والدين مرو
	ابو المظفر	شاه السلطان

Margins as on No 8

Weight, about 170 grs

Dates known — A H 800 to 825 (except A H 809)

Copper

26	زاحى	In a circle
	دمرل	مرو
	ميمنى	شاه نيمى
		Margin —
		١ صرف بحضرة احسان باد

and date in Arabic

Height about 80 grs

Dates known — A H . 1 cf Burn, J A S B, 1907
A H 5, cf Burn J A S B 1907

27	الحاكم	مرو ²
	بامر الله	شاه

Height about 40 grs

¹ There are two varieties of this issue. In the earlier issues (A H 800 to 804) the loop on the ح on the reverse is short, on the later issue the loop is closed.

² This reading is not certain. On a coin in my collection the words

' ١ صرف بحضرة احسان باد ' are very clear

A. Ahmad Shāh Ist (Hafiz Bakhsh)

A. H. 825-838

*Silver**Obverse*

٢٨ السلطان
العادل اعادل الناصر
لدى ابدان ابو المعالي

Reverse

In oval area

شاه الدنيا والدين
احمد شاه سلطان

above (inverted) محصور

with m m 

below حسابد mint date

Height about 170 grs

Dates known — A. H. 826 Gibbs No 13
A. H. 827 Coll. H. M. Whittell
A. H. 828 White King Coll.
A. H. 829 British Museum

Copper

١ لمستورين
بالله الحسن
المنان الغنى

سلطان

احمد شاه بن احمد
بن الحسن السمنى

Date

Height about 250 grs

Dates known — A. H. 832 British Museum
A. H. 833 Burn. J. A. S. B. 1907
A. H. 838 Burn. J. A. S. B. 1907

30 اعويذ

بصر الله
املك الحسن

محصور (inverted)

ابو المظفر
احمد شاه السلطان

Date and محمد شاه

Height about 120 grs

Dates known — A. H. 827 (?) Burn. J. A. S. B. 1907 (but
mint not legible)
A. H. 832 Burn. J. A. S. B. 1907
A. H. 833 Thanawala Collection
A. H. 834 British Museum
A. H. 836 Codrington No. 1 (pl. 17 fig. 12)

¹ Ahmad Shāh I made Bāhar (M.ammad I. 3) the capital of
A. H. 825
² Therefore although Bāhar was made the capital of A. H. 826 the
first known date for a coin bearing the mint name is A. H. 832

A.H. 837, Coll. H. M. Whittell
A H. 838, British Museum

31.	المنصور	أبو المعالي
	ينصر الله	أحمد شاه السلطان
	المقان	Date

Weight, about 80 grs.

Dates known:—A H. 825 to 831, 834, 835 and 837.

X/ 'Alāu-d-dīn Ahmad Shāh II

A H. 838–862.

Gold

	Obverse	Reverse.
32.	سلطان	In a square in a circle.
	القوى الاسلام	أبو المعالي
	مع العدل والعدل	الدنيا والدين
	والاحسان	أحمد شاه بن أحمد
		شاه السلطان

Margins as on No. 8 but mint name probably محمد آباد.

Weight, about 170 grs

Dates known:—A H. 853, British Museum, cf. Delmerick, J.A.S.B., 1876.

A H. 855. Ind. Mus. Cat., No. 18.

33.	السلطان	In a square in a circle
	العلم الكريم	أبو المعالي
	الوفاء على عباد الله	الدنيا والدين أحمد
	العنى المسمى	شاه بن أحمد شاه
		الولى المسمى
		Lower margin - ١٦

Weight, 171 grs., Gibbs, No. 14.

Silver.

34	As on No. 32.	As on No. 32.
----	---------------	---------------

Weight, about 170 grs.

Dates known:—A H. 844, 845, 847, 850, 852 and 856 to 861

XII *Alāu d dīn Humāyūn Shāh (Z̄ilīm)*

A H 862 865

Cell

Obverse

Reverse

39 المبرک
على الله القوی
العدی ابو المعالی

علا الدین والدی
همای شاه بن احمد
شاه بن احمد شاه
الولی السیدی

۸۶۲

Weight 170 grs British Museum

Silver

40 As above

As above but

احسان باد

in right margin

Weight, about 170 grs

Dates known — A H 862 (?) Blevzby Collection (Sale Catalogue No 444)

A H 863 Ind Mus Cat No 32

A H 864 Codrington

Copper

41 As above

As above but no mint

Size 1 Weight about 245 grs

Dates known — A H 863 to 866

Size 2 Weight about 160 grs

Dates known — A H 863, British Museum

A H 865 Coll H M Whittell

Size 3 Weight about 115 grs, Codrington

Size 4 Weight about 77 grs, Codrington

42 المبرک
على کرم الله
الاحسان العنی

همای شاه
بن احمد شاه
الولی السیدی

Weight, about 120 grs, Ind Mus Cat, No 31

43 دارا
کا دما

همای شاه
بن احمد شاه
السلطان

Weight 80 grs, British Museum of Codrington pl 18,

VIII *Niām Shāh (bin Humāyūn Shāh)*

A H 866 867

Copper

<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
44 In a circle بصر الله المستصر اخوة العبد	احمد شاه بن عماد شاه الحملي — Date —

Height about 250 grs

Dates known — A H 866¹ British Museum
A H 867 British Museum Codrington
pl 18 fig 2

45 راجي الرحمن بن احمد Date —	ابوالمعصر احمد شاه السلطان
--	----------------------------------

Height about 165 grs

Dates known — A H 866 British Museum
A H 867, British Museum Codrington
pl 18, fig 3

46 ² اعطى العبد بامر الله	As above but date below
--	-------------------------------

Height about 125 grs

Dates known — A H 866 Codrington pl 18, fig 4
A H 867

47 الوحي الرحمن بالح	As on No 46
----------------------------	-------------

Height about 75 grs Codrington pl 18 fig 5

¹ There is one in my collection with date 878 (= 899)² A specimen in my collection of 17 grs wt has the obverse and reverse legends in circles and does not appear to bear a date

XII *Shamsu d din Muhammad Shāh III*

A H 867 to 887

*Cold**Obverse**Reverse*

48

ب الله

In a square within a circle

المعتمد

محمد شاه

ادو المعتمد شمس

معاوية شاه

الدنيا والدن

السلطان حلد ملكه

Margins as on No 8 but mint

محمد الاد

Weight, about 170 grs, Gibbs, No 18 "

Dates known — A H 868 873, 877 to 879

Silver

49 As above

As above

Weight, about 170 grs

Dates known — A H 876 to 880, 886

Copper

50

ب الله

محمد شاه

المعتمد

بن معاوية شاه

شمس الدنيا


السلطان

والدن

Date



Size 1 Weight, about 250 grs

Dates known — A H 868 (٨٦٨ and ٨٦٨) 869 (٨٦٩ and ٩٦٨), 870 to 872, 874 to 878, 879, 880, 882, 883 (٨٨٣) 884, 885

Some of these have the m m  on obverse after الدن

Size 2 Weight, about 170 grs

Dates known — A H 870 (٨٧٠) 871, 873, 874, 877, 878, 882, 886

Some of these have m m  on reverse and  on obverse

Size 3 Weight, about 120 grs

Dates known — A H 871 and 882

Size 4 Weight about 80 grs

Date — A H 87[×] Thanawala Collection

Λ V *Mahmud Shāh (bin Muhammad Shāh III)*

A H 887 to 924

Gold

Obverse

Reverse

51 المبرک علی
الله العزیز العلی
السلطان الاعظم

In a square within a circle
ابو المعاری
محمود شاه بن محمد شاه
الولی التیمور

Margins as No 8

Mint محمد آباد ?


Weight about 170 grs

Dates — A H, 889 Bleazby Coll (Sale Cat No 445)

A H 891 D. Cunha Coll

A H 895 British Museum

A H 898 British Museum

The mm  occurs on the obverse of some specimens,
(cf Delmerick, J A S B 1876)

Silver

52 As above

As above

Weight about 170 grs

Dates — A H 887 Thanawala Collection

A H [8]88, Thanawala Collection (This coin
has محمد آباد in right margin)

Copper

53 المبرک علی
الله العزیز العلی
ابو المعاری

محمود شاه
بن محمد شاه
السلطان

Date

Size 1 Weight about 200 grs, Codrington pl 18, fig 6
Dates known — A H 887 to 890

Size 2 Weight, about 200 grs

Size 3 Weight, about 120 grs

Date — A H 889, Coll Bombay Br R A S
A H 909 (?), Coll H M Whittell

Size 4 Weight, 84 grs, Coll H M Whittell

54 علی الله
المبرک

محمود
شاه بن
محمد شاه

Weight 78 grs, British Museum

- 53 الحمد لله على
 به العبد
 عنى
 محمود شاه
 بن محمود شاه
 الغنى
 ١٧

Height about 160 grs

Date — A H 887 British Museum Collington pl 18
fig 7

- 56 الحمد لله على
 الحمد لله على
 بنو المفا
 As above
 but no date

Height about 160 grs

- 57 As on No 55
 محمود شاه
 بن محمود شاه
 السلطان

Height about 160 grs

- 58 السلطان
 محمود
 الغنى
 الحمد لله

Weights 152 grs and 120 grs Coll H M Whittell

XVI Alauddīn Shāh III

No coins known

XVII 'Alāu d Dīn Shāh

No coins known

XVIII Balahallat Shāh (bin 'Alauddīn Shāh)

A H 923 932

Copper

- 59 بصر الله
 المود الملك
 الغنى اعنى
 ولي الله
 السلطان بن
 محمود شاه
 الغنى

Height about 200 grs Phanawar Coll Collington,
pl 18 fig 8

60 الله
نصر
المود
العنى
ولي الله
السلطان
السمنى

Size 1 Height about 165 grs Codrington pl 18, fig 9

Size 2 Height about 125 grs

61 As above but
without العنى

As above but
date in place
of السمنى.

Height 84 grs

Date —A H 930 cf Codrington, pl 18 fig 10

Kalīm ullah Shāh (bin Mahmud Shāh)

A H 932 to (?)

Copper

Obverse Reverse
62 الله الله
نصر كليم
المود السلطان
العنى السمنى
Date

Size 1 Heights, 166 to 176 grs

Date —A H 942, Codrington

Size 2 Heights 118 to 146 grs

Size 3 Height, 87 grs

63 نصر الله
المود الملك
القوى العنى
كليم الله
السلطان بن
محمود شاه
السمنى
Date

Height about 250 grs, Codrington pl 18 fig 11

Date —A H [93]3 Coll C J Brown

A H 950, Thanawala Collection

64 على الله
المود
العنى
الله
كل
السلطان
محمود
السمنى
Height about 250 grs

65	الله نصر عود	الله كلم السلطان ر
----	--------------------	-----------------------------

Weight about 40 grs Codrington pl 18 fig 12

66	الله كلم	الله السلطان ر
----	-------------	----------------------

Weight 45 grs of Codrington No 1

Bibliography

List of Rare Muhammadan Coins No II Coins of Kings of Dehli Bengal Malwa Gulbarga and Kashmir, J G Delmerick Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1876

Gold and Silver Coins of the Bahmani Dynasty, J Gibbs Numismatic Chronicle 1881

The Copper Coins of the Bahmani Dynasty O Codrington Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society 1883

Coins of the Muhammadan States of India in the British Museum S Lane Poole 1885

Coins of the Bahmani Dynasty O Codrington Numismatic Chronicle, 1898

Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta

Vol II Part I The Sultans of Dehli

Part II Contemporary Dynasties in India
H N Wright 1907

The Bahmani Kings (A report on 860 Copper Coins found in the Betul District C P) R Burn Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1907 Num Supp VII

Some Rare Silver and Copper Coins of the Bahmani Kings of Gulbarga or Ahsanabad F J Thanawala Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1909 N S, XI

On Two Find of Bahmani Coins C J Brown Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1914 N S XVII

The Reign of Alauddin Bahman Shah H M Whittell Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1918 N S XXII

Peshawar A H F P India
20th September 1922

H M WHITTELL Major
Indian Army

6)	الله بسم الله	الله كلتم السلطان ٩٣
----	---------------------	-------------------------------

Height about 90 grs Codrington pl 15 fig 12

6)	الله كانم	الله السلطان ٩٣
----	--------------	-----------------------

Height 45 grs of Codrington No 1

Bibliography

List of Pure Muhammadan Coins No II Coins of Kings of Dehli Bengal Malwa Kulbarga and Kashmir J G Delmerick Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1876

Gold and Silver Coins of the Bahmani Dynasty J Gibbs Numismatic Chronicle 1881

The Copper Coins of the Bahmani Dynasty O Codrington Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society 1884

Coins of the Muhammadan States of India in the British Museum S Lane Poole 1885

Coins of the Bahmani Dynasty O Codrington Numismatic Chronicle 1898

Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta

Vol II Part I The Sultan of Dehli

Part II Contemporary Dynasties in India
H N Wright 1907

The Bahmani King (A report on 869 Copper Coins found in the Betul District C P) R Burn Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1907 Num Supp VII

Some Rare Silver and Copper Coins of the Bahmani King of Culbarga or Ahsanabad F J Thirawala Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1909 N S XI

On Two Finds of Bahmani Coin C J Brown Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1914 N S XXII

The Reign of Alauddin Bahmani Shah H M Whittell Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1918 N S XXXII

Testament N H F P India
27th September 1923

H M WHITTELL Major
Indian Army

60 الله
نصر
المود
العنى
وله الله
السلطان
السمى

Size 1 Height about 165 grs Codrington pl 18, fig 9

Size 2 Height about 125 grs

61 As above but
without العنى
As above but
date in place
of السمنى.

Height 84 grs

Date —A H 930 cf Codrington, pl 18 fig 10

Kalim ullah Shāh (bin Mahmud Shah)

A H 932 to (?)

Copper

Obverse

Reverse

62 الله
نصر
المود
العنى
الله
كللم
السلطان
السمى
Date

Size 1 Height, 166 to 176 grs

Date —A H 942, Codrington

Size 2 Height, 118 to 146 grs

Size 3 Height 85 grs

63 نصر الله
المود الملك
القوى العنى
كللم الله
السلطان
محمود شاه
السمى
Date

Height about 250 grs, Codrington pl 18 fig 11

Date —A H [943], Coll C J Brown

A H 950 Thanawala Collection

64 على الله
احدوك
الموى العنى
الله
كل
السلطان
محمود
السمى
Height about 250 grs

6,	الله ناصر الممجد	الله كليم السلطان ر
----	------------------------	------------------------------

Height about 60 grs Codrington pl 18 fig 12

66	الله كاسم	ب السلطان ر
----	--------------	-------------------

Height 45 grs of Codrington No 5

Bibliography

List of Rare Muhammadan Coins No II Coins of Kings of Dehli Bengal Malwa Gulbarga and Kashmir J G Delmerick Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1876

Gold and Silver Coins of the Bahmani Dynasty J Gibbs Numismatic Chronicle 1881

The Copper Coins of the Bahmani Dynasty O Codrington Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society 1883

Coins of the Muhammadan States of India in the British Museum S Lane Poole 1881

Coins of the Bahmani Dynasty O Codrington Numismatic Chronicle, 1898

Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta

Vol II Part I The Sultans of Dehli

Part II Contemporary Dynasties in India
H N Wright 1907

The Bahmani Kings (A report on 869 Copper Coins found in the Betul District C P) L Burn Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1907 Num Supp VII

Some Rare Silver and Copper Coins of the Bahmani Kings of Gulbarga or Ahsanabad F J Khanwala Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1909 N S XI

On Two Finds of Bahmani Coins C J Brown Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1914 N S XXII

The Reign of Alauddin Bahmani Shah H M Whittell Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1918 N S XXXII

Presented by A W F P India
20th September 1923

H M WHITFELL Major
Indian Army

235 AN UNIDENTIFIED COIN OF GUJARAT



The coin which is the subject of this note is of good silver of the ordinary Gujarati Sultan type. Its weight is 110 grains, its diameter about .68 inch and it is round in shape. Plate III, 1. [Pandit Ratilal Antani's coin see Note (2)] On the reverse the inscription is clear beyond all dispute.

سلاطین
 بن محمود شاه
 مظفر شاه

On the obverse عرف بالله and the date 963 are also certain. The intervening letters have not been read. The word مر appears indicated as one would expect—but then something like امر or امر and شاه vide the plate illustration A¹. It is in very good condition and the letters are clearly struck. The

legends on the reverse of Gujratī coins are read from the bottom upwards. All the specimens shown in the Indian Museum Catalogue and Dr Taylor's article in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society 1904 p 278 agree in this. We know then that the ruler who struck this coin was Muzaḥfir the son of Muḥammad and that the coin was struck in Mandū in the year 963 Hijrī. The ruler of Gujrat from 961 to 968 Hijrī was Ghīyas-ud-dīn-wa-d-dīn Ahmad Shah III. Early in this reign a party headed by Ikhṭiyār-ul-Mulk espoused the cause of another aspirant to the throne a person named Shahū the Sultan's paternal uncle but in a battle fought near Mahmūdābad this Shahū and his supporters were defeated. The Mirāt-i-Ahmadi from which Dr Taylor's sentence above quoted is mainly derived calls Ahmad III son of Latīf Khan who was grandson of Shukar Khan son of Sultan Ahmad I. But this does not give the name of the grandfather of Ahmad III. In the genealogy given by Dr Taylor Ahmad III is put down conjecturally as the son of Mahmūd III who was son of Latīf Khan. In this case if the word uncle were used strictly Shahū would have been son of Latīf Khan. Shahū is *a priori* the person whom one might suppose to have issued this coin. Numismatists have debated about a Muḥammad Shah pretender who is supposed to have struck coin in 963 Hijrī. Mr Oliver in his article on Gujrat coins in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1889) attributed a billon coin to this Muḥammad and the British Museum Catalogue assigns copper coins to him. Dr Taylor in his article disbelieves in this alleged ruler Muḥammad. There seems no reason to read downwards the reverse of the coin now under consideration—if this were done it might be argued that it was the pretender Muḥammad re-appearing.

Dr Taylor points out that the Mirāt-i-Ahmadi specifically asserts that during the reign of Mahmūd III (who died in 961) a grandson of Ahmad Shah II was set up as Sultan. Coin was struck in his name and he took the title of Muzaḥfir Shah. It is possible that this coin may belong to him. No specimen of this alleged coinage has yet been found. But as Muzaḥfir's rebellion was crushed about 950 it is most unlikely that this coin can be his.

In Malwa Shujā Khan who had ruled the country for twelve years died in 962 A.H. His three sons Malik Bīvazīd Daulat Khan and Muḥṣafa Khan at first divided the country between them. Daulat Khan had the districts contiguous to Ujjain and Mandū. Malik Bīvazīd however treacherously killed Daulat Khan and was crowned King of Malwa under the title of Sultan Bīz Bahadur in 963 A.H. He soon after defeated his remaining brother Muḥṣafa Khan and also several rebellious officers. Bīz Bahadur's coins are well known in copper but follow the Malwa type and are quite unlike this coin.

Dr Taylor offered two alternative explanations, on the supposition that 963 is a mistake for 923. The first hypothesis is that the coin was struck by Muzaffar II of Gujarat. In 923 he was helping to restore Mahmūd III of Malwa to his throne and he actually captured Mandū in 924 A H and the date is given by the hemistich *قد فتح المندو سلطان* *Qad fath al Mandu*

Sultān nā. But he at once restored the sovereignty of Malwa to Mahmud although he might easily have kept it for himself and moreover Muzaffar II of Gujarat was *bin Mahmud* and not *bin Muhammad*.

Another guess is this. From 916 A H until 921 A H Salub Khan brother of Mahmūd II of Malwa assumed the title of Sultan Muhammad (White King, Num Chron 1903). It is possible that in the year 923, a son of Salub Khan called himself Sultan Muzaffar and struck coin in Mandū perhaps even while Muzaffar II of Gujarat was besieging it. This is perhaps more plausible although there was no reason for this pretender to adopt the Gujarati type of coin.

In conclusion I must express my grateful thanks to the late Dr Taylor who kindly corresponded with me about this coin and from whose letters or article nearly every fact in this note has been derived.

T B HORWOOD

236 AN UNPUBLISHED COPPER COIN OF JAHANGIR OF UJJAIN

I possess two coins of Jahangir apparently hitherto unpublished. They may be of two different types. Both are rectangular in shape.

Weights each about 100 grains.

Size B 55 × 52 C 6 × 50 inch

Legend Obverse

شاه
جہانگیر
سلطان

Reverse

وحد
ص

Provenance Ujjain in a batch with other copper coins of Ujjain of Akbar and Shah Jahan.

T B HORWOOD

237 ON SOME MALWA COINS

The coins described in this paper are commonly known as the Malwa coins. They were like all other similar coins hitherto collected found at Nagri in the Jaipur State and were given to me by Mr Nelson Wright.

The site of the ancient city of Nagar lies within the territories of the Raja of Unara, a feudatory of Jaipur. Unara is situated just south of Tonk.

Vincent Smith writes in this connection: "Here Carleyle found the remains of a city of high antiquity with a multitude of old temples and great embankments. The Malva coins occurred in large numbers in many spots, and he 'found the small green old coins in some places lying as the kash shells on the seashore.' Altogether he and the people employed by him gathered more than six thousand, out of which not more than about 35 coins were of outside origin or derived from a foreign source. With the exception of these few, the whole of the coins found at Nagar were exclusively of Nāgar mintage and belonged to Nāgar alone."

The coins described by Vincent Smith in his Indian Museum Catalogue are a part of that find. A large proportion of this find has been lost.

The date of these coins is disputed. Carleyle and Cunningham put the date at 250 B.C. to 250 A.D. Vincent Smith and Prof. Rapson are agreed that the initial date for the coins is about 170 B.C. But they are not agreed as to the respective dates of the various types or the date of the cessation of these local issues. Vincent Smith is probably right in attributing the cessation of this local coinage to Samudra Gupta's conquest of North India. According to his latest history this will fix the date of the latest issue at about 370 A.D. But I think that Vincent Smith is wrong when he says that the larger coin specimens 1-11 in his Catalogue are among the earliest. I am inclined to think that Prof. Rapson is nearer the mark when he puts them among the later Malva issues owing to their similarity to the coins of the Nagas of Padmavati. My reasons for agreeing with Prof. Rapson are—

(1) In the 2nd century B.C. (the date assigned for these types by Vincent Smith) Prākrit inscriptions were the order of the day. None of the inscriptions known to date from that period are in pure Sanskrit. The legend read on these coins is *Malvārājya Janāb*. This is pure Sanskrit. The terminative commonly used for the genitive plural in Prākrit is *inam* sometimes *inam* never *inām*.

(2) I am of the opinion that *Mālva* is the older form of the tribal name. This is a form found on some of the coins. Now there is a people mentioned in Sanskrit literature as living in the east of the Panjab called variously the Malva, the Malava or the Mālava tribe. They were the people who put up the stoutest resistance to Alexander during his campaign in the Panjab. The Greeks called them the Mallor. Had the name *Mālava* been in common use at that time I feel sure that the Greeks would have transliterated the word as the

Dr Taylor offered two alternative explanations, on the supposition that 963 is a mistake for 923. The first hypothesis is that the coin was struck by Muzaffar II of Gujarat. In 923 he was helping to restore Mahmūd III of Malwa to his throne and he actually captured Mandū in 924 A H and the date is given by the hemistich *قد فتح المدور سلطان* *Qad fath al Mandu*

Sultān nū. But he at once restored the sovereignty of Malwa to Mahmud although he might easily have kept it for himself and moreover Muzaffar II of Gujarat was *bin Mahmud* and not *bin Muhammad*.

Another guess is this. From 916 A H until 921 A H Sahib Khan brother of Mahmūd II of Malwa assumed the title of Sultān Muhammad (White King, Num Chron 1903). It is possible that in the year 923, a son of Sahib Khan called himself Sultān Muzaffar and struck coin in Mandū perhaps even while Muzaffar II of Gujarat was besieging it. This is perhaps more plausible although there was no reason for this pretender to adopt the Gujarati type of coin.

In conclusion I must express my grateful thanks to the late Dr Taylor who kindly corresponded with me about this coin and from whose letters or article nearly every fact in this note has been derived.

T B HORWOOD

236 AN UNPUBLISHED COPPER COIN OF JAHANGIR OF UJJAIN

I possess two coins of Jahangir apparently hitherto unpublished. They may be of two different types. Both are rectangular in shape.

Weights each about 100 grain

Size B 57 x 22 C 41 x 56 inch

Legend Obverse

سنة ۱۰۰۰
سنة ۱۰۰۰

Reverse

وحدی
صرب

Provenance Ujjain in a batch with other copper coins of Ujjain of Akbar and Shah Jahan

T B HORWOOD

237 ON SOME MALAYA COINS

The coins described in this paper are commonly known as the Malaya coins. They were like all other similar coins hitherto collected found at Nagari in the Jajpur State and were given to me by Mr Nelson Wright.

List of Coins

(1) *Obverse* — *Malaya* *Reverse* — Obscure marking in the shape of irregular dots. I cannot find this in either Rodgers¹ or Vincent Smith's Catalogue. If the theory put forward above is correct. This should be one of the earlier coins. It is thicker and of coarser workmanship than many of the coins.

(2) *Obverse* — *Malā* in clear letters written twice. On top from left to right below from right to left. Inscription complete.

I have mentioned this coin above. I consider it one of the older types. It too like No 1 is rather thicker than the majority of the coins for its size. *Malā* may be the name of some king named after the original founder of the tribe. *Mālaya* is probably a derivative from *mala* meaning simply the tribe of *Mala*.

(3) *Obverse* — *Malā* in the centre of the coin very faint. Probably the complete inscription. *Reverse* — Defaced. This is probably a kindred coin to No 2 but a later issue.

(4) *Jamapa* on obverse. *Reverse* — Obscure. This is probably the same coin as No 12455 in Rodgers Catalogue and No 99 in Vincent Smith's Catalogue. Possibly Vincent Smith is mistaken in reading a *ja* endwise and this mark is only a defect in the coin.

(5) *Obverse* — *Īama* on left and tree in railing on right. *Reverse* — Defaced. This coin seems to be connected with No 69 in Vincent Smith's Catalogue where *Īama* and a tree in a railing are found on the obverse. But it is differently arranged.

(5A) *Obverse* — (*Ma*)² — *Gaja* *Reverse* — Elephant facing right. This is probably the same as Nos 82 and 83 in Vincent Smith's book. *Gaja* is Sanskrit for an elephant. So the device on the reverse seems to have some connection with the name. The prefix *ma* in these coins may possibly be an abbreviation for *Maha* meaning great or it may be the mysterious name *Ma* applied to the three gods of the Trimurti. *Ma-gaja* would then mean elephant of *Śiva* or elephant of *Viṣṇu* etc.

(6) *Obverse* — Tree and *Na Jaja* *Mālāya* obscured. *Reverse* — Obscure but probably animal with horns facing left. Similar to Nos 49 to 58 in Vincent Smith's Catalogue and 12411 in Rodgers Catalogue. But I can find no exact parallel.

(7) *Obverse* — *Mālāya* only in bold characters set in an incuse circle. *Reverse* — Humped bull facing left in standing position. I can find no parallel to this coin in either Rodgers

¹ C. J. Rodgers Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum Part III Calcutta 189 p 15

List of Coins

(1) *Obverse* — *Mālaya* *Reverse* — Obscure markings in the shape of irregular dots. I cannot find this in either Rodgers' ¹ or Vincent Smith's Catalogue. If the theory put forward above is correct. This should be one of the earlier coins. It is thicker and of coarser workmanship than many of the coins.

(2) *Obverse* — *Mala* in clear letters written twice. On top from left to right below from right to left. Inscription complete.

I have mentioned this coin above. I consider it one of the older types. It too like No 1 is rather thicker than the majority of the coins for its size. *Mala* may be the name of some king named after the original founder of the tribe. *Mālaya* is probably a derivative from "mala" meaning simply "the tribe of Mala."

(3) *Obverse* — *Mala* in the centre of the coin, very faint. Probably the complete inscription. *Reverse* — Defaced. This is probably a kindred coin to No 2, but a later issue.

(4) *Jamapa* on obverse. *Reverse* — Obscure. This is probably the same coin as No 12455 in Rodgers' Catalogue and No 99 in Vincent Smith's Catalogue. Possibly Vincent Smith is mistaken in reading a 'ya' endwise, and this mark is only a defect in the coin.

(5) *Obverse* — *Jama* on left and tree in railing on right. *Reverse* — Defaced. This coin seems to be connected with No 69 in Vincent Smith's Catalogue, where *Yama* and a tree in a railing are found on the obverse. But it is differently arranged.

(5A) *Obverse* — *(Ma)²-Gaja* *Reverse* — Elephant facing right. This is probably the same as Nos 82 and 83 in Vincent Smith's book. *Gaja* is Sanskrit for an elephant. So the device on the reverse seems to have some connection with the name. The prefix 'ma' in these coins may possibly be an abbreviation for 'Maha' meaning 'great' or it may be the mysterious name 'Ma' applied to the three gods of the Trimurti. *Magaja* would then mean "elephant of Śiva" or "elephant of Vishnu" etc.

(6) *Obverse* — Tree and *Na Jaya* *Mālāya* obscured. *Reverse* — Obscure, but probably animal with horns facing left. Similar to Nos 49 to 58 in Vincent Smith's Catalogue and 12411 in Rodgers' Catalogue. But I can find no exact parallel.

(7) *Obverse* — *Mālāya* only in bold characters set in an incuse circle. *Reverse* — Humped bull facing left in standing position. I can find no parallel to this coin in either Rodgers'

¹ C J Rodgers *Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum*, Part III, Calcutta, 1895 p. 15

er Vincent Smith's though it belongs to the circular Bull type

(8) *Obverse* — *Mālata* only across the centre *Reverse* — Humped bull facing left. Somewhat similar to No 7

(9) *Obverse* — Palm branch with *Mālata* on one side and *Va Jaya* on the other *Reverse* — Animal facing right indotted border. This is possibly the same as No 28 or 30 in Vincent Smith's Catalogue

(10) *Obverse* — *Mālata* *Va Jaya* *Reverse* — Humped bull facing left recumbent Rectangular shape. I can find no parallel to this in Vincent Smith's Catalogue though it is somewhat similar to No 37

(11) *Obverse* — *Mālata* only in the centre of the coin *Reverse* — Bull facing left. I can find no exact parallel to this. Possibly same as 12466 of Rodgers Catalogue

(12) *Obverse* — *Mālata* *Vajaya* *Reverse* — Humped bull facing right. This coin is fairly large and square. I can find no parallel in the catalogues. The letters are fairly distinct and I am convinced that the first letter in the second line is not *na*. I read *su* which gives good sense. The inscription then reads 'The well conquering Malaya'

(13) *Obverse* — *Mālata* in incuse square *Reverse* — Animal facing left. This coin is cylindrical in shape. I can find no exact parallel to it

(14) *Obverse* — *Mālata* and tree. The part obscured is probably *na Jaya* *Reverse* — Lion facing left. Probably similar to No 28 in Vincent Smith's Catalogue

(15) *Obverse* — *Mālata* *Va Jaya* very faint *Reverse* — Lion facing right. This coin does not appear to resemble any of the Lion type coins in Vincent Smith's Catalogue

(16) *Obverse* — *Malaya* or *Mālata* in bold letters across the middle. The last letter is very badly formed if it is meant for a *va*. It looks very much like a *cha*. Perhaps we should read *Malacha*. I see in Rodgers Catalogue a coin of about the same size on which he reads *Mapacha*. It is possible that this is the same coin. The middle letter however looks to me more like a *la* as the second stroke is longer than the first. On the whole I am inclined to think it is a *va* turned sideways as in No 73 of Vincent Smith's Catalogue. Under a magnifying glass there are distinct traces of the upper part of the letter being turned back like the lower part. The whole coin has a distinct similarity to No 73 of Vincent Smith's Catalogue. In that coin too the middle letter looks to me more like a *la*. If *Malaya* is the correct reading this coin should be placed among the earlier coins. It is certainly like them in construction.

(17) *Obverse* — *Mālata* in centre *Reverse* — Elephant. I can find no parallel to this coin. It is in fairly good con-

dition and by the formation of the letters and general appearance I judge it to be one of the later types.

(18) *Obverse* — Mālāra only *Reverse* — Defaced

(19) Ditto

(20) Mālāra on top and traces of ya below *Reverse* — Defaced

(21) *Obverse* — Mālāra and tree *Reverse* — Defaced

(22) *Obverse* — Tree and ?—yaya *Reverse* — Defaced

(23) *Obverse* — Mala—? (va) *Reverse* — Tree in railing

(24) *Obverse* — Tree in railing on left right letters obscured *Reverse* — Animal in dotted border I can find no parallel to this in the catalogues

(25) *Obverse* — Tree with traces of inscription on each side *Reverse* — Small vase in dotted border Similar in type to Nos 14–22 in Vincent Smith's Catalogue and Nos 12426–12429 of Rodgers Catalogue

(26) *Obverse* — Tree and legend yaya *Reverse* — In distinct Possibly a figure between two sacrificial posts in a dotted square I cannot find anything with a similar reverse to this in the catalogues

(27) *Obverse* — Mala—? (ia) *Reverse* — Vase with handles There appears to be nothing exactly like this in the catalogues

(28) Legend in two lines somewhat obscure This is possibly the same as No 12 in Vincent Smith's Catalogue, i.e. *Obverse* — Mālāra and yaya *Reverse* — Lotā in dotted circle

(29) *Obverse* — Ujjain symbol *Reverse* — Obscure markings on one edge one of which resembles conventional sign for a lotus flower

(30) Open lotus flower on one side Other side defaced Possibly the same as No 12425 in Rodgers

(31) *Obverse* — Mālāra *Reverse* — Lotus flower

30th December, 1921

R. O. DOUGLAS

238 NOTES ON THE COINAGE OF TRIPURA

AR

AR



Rājadhara 1505 S

Fig. 1



Rājadhara, 1502 S

Fig. 2

اول فتح اسلام شهر عرصه سربعد بدست سکندر خان سال ۷۰۱ هجری
خروج سال قلمی صد و پنجاه و یک *

The first conquest by Islam of the town of Srīhat was by the hand of Sikandar Khan in the time of Sultan Firuz Shah Dhlawi in the year 701 H.

As regards the coin itself strangely enough Mr Banerji himself described some time ago in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1913-14 pp. 249-53 no less than nine coins of Tippera of this type two of them with precisely similar phraseology of legend. The photograph of the alleged coin of Gurugovinda published with Mr Banerji's note in the J A S B is much less distinct than the one published in the IMC.

The following appears to be the correct reading of the coin

Obverse — Srisriṣṭa
ta Govi
nda Devah

Reverse — Lion running to proper right. ॐ mark on his back. Between the two fore legs ॐ between the two hind legs ॐ between the hindmost leg and the upturned tail ॐ

V B. A small cross or four pointed star stands for ॐ. This form of eight may be seen on the first page of leaf 3 of the manuscript of Sri Krishna Kirtana in the Vāṅmīya Śhikṣā Paṇḍit edition of the book. The unit I believe is 1. But it may be a crimped 2 with the lower limb very short. It is difficult to understand how Messrs Banerji and Vidya Vinoda read the *ta* at the beginning of the obverse second line as *ni* or *nu* as exactly similar *ta* appears on two of the coins described by Mr Banerji in the report of the Archaeological Survey referred to above.

There is a dagger like perpendicular stroke between the second *tri* and *ya* which is very probably the trident of Śiva. Govinda Manikya was a renowned Śaiva (Rajamala by Kṛṣṇa Chandra Senha p. 93). The trident it may be noted is very clear in the same position in the coin of Ratnamikya described below.

The coin is therefore one of Govinda manikya of Tippera dated in the Śaka year 1581.

The omission of the term Manikya the title of the Tippera Rājās in the obverse legend is rather unusual. But we must remember that it is a quarter rupee and the space available for writing is rather meagre. Fortunately we can support the reading by an exactly similar coin of Kalvāṇi manikya father of Govinda manikya.

* The inscription is now in the Dacca Museum. Mr Stapleton has recently republished the complete inscription J A S B 1922 No 7.

2 4 Quarter Rupee of Kalyāna mānikya

This coin, along with a set of three other Tippera coins was obtained through the exertions of Babu Narendranath Chakravarti M A Sub Deputy Magistrate Comilla from Babu Brajendra Kumara Chatterji M A B L Asst Manager of the Tippera Raj Estates and the latter gentleman has kindly presented these coins to the Dacca Museum

(1) Coin of Kalyāna mānikya Fig

Silver Size, 66 Height 39 grs Date 1748 S

Obverse—In a square the margins outside it being occupied by decorative curves as in the coin of Govinda mānikya described above—

শ্রী শ্রী

ত বলা

৭ দেব

Reverse—In a circle within a circle of dots grotesque lion running to proper right, with the right fore paw raised A ✓ mark at the top

Between the two fore legs

২৬

Between the two hind legs

১৫

Between the hind most leg and the upturned tail

৪৮

The last figure of the date has a cross like appearance but the two lines of the cross do not cut each other at right angles This figure is already pointed out should be taken as 8

I should like to draw attention to certain other points referred to in Mr Banerji's note on the Coinage of Tippera in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1913-14 —

(a) The inexplicable syllables in the coins of Ratna mānikya which Mr Banerji reads as *ddi lu ddā* are in all probability *Sri Durgā* The reading of *Sri Durgā*, however is not altogether free from objection

(b) The date on the coins of Krishna mānikya (ASI, 191-14 Plate LXVII Nos 11 and 12) with his queen consort Jahannā are read by Mr Banerji as 1682 S The figures on the silver coin are not very clear but the second figure at least seems to be 7 In the case however of the gold coin (No 12) the succeeding figures appear to be 62 The Rajamāla does not mention any Krishna mānikya on the throne of Tippera in or about 1762 S but one significant fact needs to be considered in this connection The coin of Kalyāna mānikya in the Dacca Museum cabinet is dated in 1542 Śakābda The next reliable date appears to be 1573 S in a copper plate grant of Kalyāna mānikya published in the Rajamāla p 612 The

next date is 1581 S on the coin of Govinda manikya discussed above. There is also 1582 S on a coin of Chhatra manikya second son of Kalyana manikya noticed on page 39 of the Rajamala.

The history of the period is confused and very little known. Yasodhara manikya came to the throne of Tippera in 1535 S according to the Rajamala but his coin of 1522 S in the Dacca Museum cabinet (to be described below) shows that he must have come to the throne at least thirteen years earlier. He is said to have come into collision with Jahangir the Mughal Emperor in 1613 A D (Rajamala p 76) a statement which is shown to be very probable by the recent discoveries by Prof. Jadunath Sirkar in the Bahari Stān about Islam Khan's wars in Bengal. It is said that in his contest with the Mughal army Yasodhara was taken prisoner and sent to Dehli. The whole of Tippera was overrun by the Mughal army. Yasodhara was offered peace on easy terms provided he acknowledged the Mughal Emperor as suzerain but he preferred abdication and died in Varanasi a religious recluse worshipping Vishnu.

The throne according to Yasodhara's desire went to one Kalyana manikya about whose parentage nothing is known but who is said to have been a distant cousin of Yasodhara.

Kalyana manikya, as we have already seen reigned probably from 1548 S to 1581 S. The 1562 S which I propose to read on the coins of Krishna mānikya falls exactly between the two limits of Kalyana manikya's reign. The only suggestion I can make is that during the long reign of Kalyana manikya who did not belong to the direct royal line his authority was disputed by a relation who thought he had better claims to the throne and who styled himself Krishna manikya on his coins.

Coins of Pārajara Yasodhara and Ratna mānikya in the cabinet of the Dacca Museum

The coin of Kalyana manikya in the cabinet of the Dacca Museum has already been described. I take this opportunity of putting on record three other ancient Tippera coins in the cabinet of the Dacca Museum.

(2) Coin of Pārajara manikya. Fig 1

Silver. Weight 161 gr. S. 92. Date 1705 S.

Obverse—In Devanagari—

श्री श्रीवृत्त राज

एव माणिक्य दे

व श्री मन्त्र दे

श्री महामहोदय

The margins are occupied by scrolls

Reverse—In a circle within a ring of small circles with centres marked by points grotesque lion running to proper right with a trident fixed on its back and a mark like an inverted comma appearing near its bent tail—

Between the fore paws	৭৬
Between the hind paws	১৫
Between the tail and the hindmost paw	০৮

The date is written ১১০ + and the first figures are without doubt one five and zero Next is a solid cipher and then a cross If the cross is ৪ the solid cipher does not count and the date is 1508 S But if the cross is not a figure then the date is 1500 S

(3) Coin of Yaso manikya son of Rajadharma manikya
Fig 2

Silver Weight 163 grs Size 94 Date 1১২৫

Obverse—As in the previous coin in a square the margins outside being occupied by scroll work—

শ্রী কৃষ্ণদেব
শোভাশীল
ব শ্রীলক্ষ্মীনাথ
রী মহাদেবো .

Reverse—In a circle within a ring of small circles with centres marked by points as in the previous coin

The rampant lion running to proper right is much smaller than usual while the upper portion of the circle is occupied by the figure of Krishna playing on a flute two females stand on either side each with a hand raised towards Krishna

Between the circumference of the circle and the female figure to the proper right	৭
Between the fore paws of the lion	ক ১৫
Between the hind paws	২২

The appearance of Krishna with female figures on the coin bespeaks Yaso manikya's devotion to Krishna and agrees well with the statement of the Rajamala (p 76) that he died in Vrindavana worshipping Vishnu¹

(4) Coin of Ratna manikya grandson of Govinda manikya Fig 4

Silver Weight 163 grs Size 94 Date 1607 S

Obverse—Within a square open at the top the space there

¹ Five more coins of Yaso manikya have recently been presented to the Dacca Museum Cabinet by Brajendra Babu Each of them has slight variations in the obverse and reverse legends The date is the same on all of them viz 1522 Śaka

being occupied by the letters *त्रि*, with the representation of a trident between the two letters—

कालिकाप

पद्मधूप

श्री श्रीयुत द्र

नागिक्य देवः

The margins are occupied by scroll work

Reverse—In a circle within a ring of small circles with centres marked by points, grotesque lion running to proper right with a trident fixed on its back—

Between the fore paws शक

Between the hind paws १७

Between the tail and the hindmost paw ०१

I annex a pedigree showing the relationship and the dates of the kings dealt with

Name of king	Date given in Rajamala	Date from coins
Raja <u>lhara</u>	1533 35 S	1508 S
Ya <u>odhara</u> son of Raja <u>lhara</u>	1535-47 S	1522 S
Kalvana distant cousin of Ya odhara	1547-1581 S	1518 S
Govinda son of Kalyana	1581 82 S	1581 S
Chhatra, 2nd son of Kalvana	1582 87 S	1582 S
Govinda (2nd time)	1587 1591 S	(Rajamala p 86)
Ramadeva son of Govinda	1591 1604 S	
Ratna son of Ramadeva (minor)	1604-1605 S	
Narendra son of Govinda (usurper)	1605 1606 S	
Ratna (2nd time)	1606 1634 S	1607 S

Coins were usually struck in Tippera on the accession of a new sovereign and this custom is still followed. Some of the dates found on the coins may therefore represent the initial years of each sovereign.

Dacca Museum
The 16th Jan 1921

N K BHATTASALI

I have received some valuable suggestions regarding the reading of dates on the coins from Mr F Burn ICS and I record here my grateful appreciation of his assistance.

239 NOTES ON THE GUPTA AND LATER GUPTA COINAGE

1 *Coins of Samāchara Deva*

A copper plate inscription of a king of Eastern India who is called Samachara Deva on the plate was discovered in 1909 in the village of Ghugrihati under the Kotālipada Police Station of the Faridpur district of Bengal. It was edited by Mr R. D. Banerji, M.A. of the Archaeological Survey in J. A. S. B. August 1910. Mr Banerji tried to prove that the grant was spurious, while Mr Pargiter contended that it was a perfectly genuine one (J. A. S. B. 1911 June and August). The late Dr Bloch ridiculed the idea of a king with such a curious name as Samachara — Mr Decency' (A. S. P. 1907-8 p. 206). As a result Samachara Deva's existence and identity can hardly be said to have yet been satisfactorily established and any new light on the subject may be welcome. Now, if Samachara Deva actually lived and reigned? Mr Pargiter has already answered this question. Even if the grant were spurious, no forger would be so foolish as to date it in the reign of a king who never existed. (J. A. S. B. August 1911 p. 499). Fortunately we can adduce stronger proofs of his existence than mere reasons—proofs which have been actually in the hands of previous writers though no one has ever suspected their existence hitherto. I refer to the two coins described as uncertain on pp. 120 and 122 of the I.M.C. Vol. I and illustrated as Nos. 11 and 13 on Plate XVI. They are both of gold (considerably alloyed with silver). One of them of the *Rājātilā* or the throned king type was found on the banks of the Arunahali river near Muhammadpur in the Jessore district of Bengal. It was found along with a gold coin of Śasanka and another gold coin of the light weight Imitation Gupta type as well as silver coins of Chandra Gupta Skandagupta and Kumaragupta (Allan Catalogue of Gupta Coins Introduction Section 171 and J. A. S. B. 1852 Plate VII). The provenance of the other coin is unknown. It is of the common archer type of the Gupta coins. The king's name occurs below the right arm of the king but Dr V. A. Smith did not venture on a reading. A letter occurs between the feet of the king which Dr Smith recognised as *Cha*. The reverse legend he recognised as *Narendraditya* with some hesitation. Of the *Rājātilā* coin he read the name of the king on the obverse as *Samādā* written in characters of the close of the sixth century and the reverse legend as *Narendraditya*. Mr Allan in his Catalogue of Gupta Coins attributes the archer type coin to a period earlier than that of Śasanka (Introduction p. lxi), and from the supplanting of the Garuda standard of the Guptas by the Bull standard on this coin surmises that the coin was that of a devout *Śaiva*. The king's name he reads hesitatingly (Section 16a) as *Sādā* or

Samācha or *Īamācha* and thus desires to connect it with the *Rāṇalā* coin on which he reads the king's name as *Īamādha*. The reverse legend he reads on both the coins as *Narendhā ditya*.

In the Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1913-14 Mr R. D. Banerji discusses these two coins again and after a careful study he comes to the conclusion that the name of the king on the obverse of both the coins is the same viz *Īama*. The reverse legend is read as *Narenha* and *di*.

A careful study of the two coins will I believe convince any scholar that the name of the king is the same on both the coins and that it cannot be read as anything else than *Samāchā* and the reading is confirmed now that we know of the existence of a contemporary king Samachara Deva by name whose copper plate inscription was discovered not far from the find spot of one of these coins (the *Rāṇalā* coin) and the lettering of whose name as written on his copper plate, closely agrees with the lettering on these coins. The coins may therefore be assigned to the Samachara Deva of the Ghugrahati plate and they in their turn furnish proofs hitherto wanting of his existence and reign and of the genuineness of the Ghugrahati plate. These coins may be described thus.

(1) Coin of Samachara Deva

Metal alloyed gold Weight 148.2 grs. Size, 9 Provenance unknown

Obverse—The king a powerful figure in traditional Gupta dress standing in *Tribhanga* pose. A halo is seen round the head and he looks to his own right to the left of the head curls are shown. A necklace of pearls or golden beads is prominent round the king's neck. A bow is shown in the left hand while the right hand is offering incense at the altar. Below the left hand in characters of the close of the sixth century A.D. *Samā* between the feet *chā* and above the bull of the standard probably *ri*. The first *ā* in *mā* is a super script angular stroke and the second *ā* in *chā* is a short perpendicular stroke to the proper left exactly as found on the Ghugrahati plate of Samachar Deva but in this plate *hā* has the angular stroke and *mī* the perpendicular one. The 2 methods of marking *ā* appear to have been indiscriminate.

To the right of the king app are a standard firmly planted in the ground surmounted by a bull. The Bull standard undoubtedly shows that the king was a devout Śiva.

Reverse—A goddess ambate seated on a full blown

11. Dist. between *Mā* and *mī* and *Gl* and *gr* is about 3) notes the latter (e.g. to the S.F.S.) of the former.

(4) The *Rājahlā* coin may be later than the other coin as it shows a distinct change from the almost conventional type of the latter

2 Gupta and Later Gupta Gold Coins from East Bengal

A large number of these coins have been found in different parts of East Bengal notably in Kotahpada in the Faridpur district and in Sabhar in the Dacca district. The Dacca Museum may now claim to have the largest collection of later Gupta gold coins there being as many as eight of these coins in its cabinet

The coins are described below

(1) Gold coin of Chandra Gupta II discovered at the village of Guakhola about three quarters of a mile west of the south west corner of the fort at Kotahpada in a field locally known as Sonakandari. *Weight* 127.5 grains. *Size* 8. Now in the Dacca Museum. Presented by Babu Nibaran Chandra Chakravarti

Obverse — King nimbate looking to his right, a bow in the left hand and an arrow held near its head in the right. Standard surmounted by Garuda visible on the back ground between the arrow and the king. Below the left arm *Chandra* written vertically

Reverse — Goddess nimbate seated on a lotus throne within a circle of dots. A flower with a long stalk in her left hand and a noose in her right. On the left margin of the coin in a straight line *Śrīvikramah*

(2) Gold coin of Skandha Gupta found in the same place as No. 1. *Weight* 112.3. *Size* 8

Obverse — King nimbate looking to his right, a bow hanging from the left wrist, right hand placed over the point of an arrow, the fingers slightly raised as if using *abhaya* (protection). The Garuda standard on his right from which a pennon is floating in the air. Below the left arm *Śrīndi*. To the right of the face the *η* of *ṭya* visible. On the left margin (*pa*) *rahitakāra* — — o

Reverse — Goddess nimbate sitting on a lotus seat, still holding flower in left hand, noose in the right. Legend on the margin *Kramaditya*

Belonging to Babu Ramesh Chandra Sen, Head Clerk, Madaripur Municipality

(3) Gold coin of Skandha Gupta. *Weight* 141.0. *Size* 8. Found in the same place as Nos. 1 and 2

Obverse — Same as No. 2. *ṭya* visible to the right of the king's face. Legend in the left margin (*pa*) *rahitakā*

Reverse — Same as No. 2

Belonging to Honble Sy. Ambica Charan Mazumdar of Faridpur

place Circle of dots round the edge Below the left arm, in very small and rude letters what appears to be *Śrīkramā*

Reverse —The same goddess as in No 4 above but very rude Appears to have been struck twice (The obverse however has the look of being cast) On the left margin, letter like scrawls

(6) Unattributed gold coin of very debased Gupta Archer type *Metal* gold very base perhaps baser than the foregoing one *Height* 86.9 *Size* 93 Found at Rājāsar near Sābhār in the mound to the south east of Katāganga

Nothing is distinct on the obverse which appears to have been cast The reverse shows the same type of goddess as the above two but she seems to be only six armed The garland (of skulls?) very prominent and hangs just above the ankle Circle of large dots on the edges of both sides

(7) Unattributed gold coin of very debased Gupta Archer type but superior in design to No 6 and like No 5 *Metal* Gold much alloyed *Height* 75 grs *Size* 74 (smaller and lighter than any hitherto met with) Found at Bhatpār to the north of Sābhār

Obverse —King nimbate looking to proper right The bow hardly touches the left hand The right hand seems to be offering incense on an altar The standard surmounted by a curious S shaped head from which floats a banner Beneath the right arm there is a letter which appears to be *Śrī* Cf *Śrī* in No 5

Reverse —Six armed goddess with garland the two sides of which descend straight to the earth The feet of the goddess point to her left Legend on the left margin of which only the middle letter *dha* is recognisable Circle of dots on both sides

(8) Unattributed gold coin of debased Gupta Archer type *Metal* gold much alloyed *Height* 87.1 *Size* 78 Found at Sābhār

Obverse —King looking to right as in the above coin The standard has the same S shaped head Below the left arm *Śrī* Between the legs of the king appears a cross shaped mark which is a Gupta *ma* if it is a letter It may however be an altar as above it is represented a tiny tapering figure resembling a flame The bow hardly touches the king's left hand Circle of large dots or undulations on the edges

Reverse —The same six armed goddess as in the above coin The garland is very prominent

(9) Another coin of the same type and perhaps of baser gold *Height* 86.5 *Size* 82 Found at Sābhār

Obverse —Very crude but like the above *Śrī* to the proper right of the king's head The same undulated border

Reverse —The same six armed goddess but crude

(10) Another coin of the same type and material but better executed Height 84 Size 76 Found at Sahhar

It resembles No 5 in having what appears to be *Śrī* *Āyamā* below the left arm of the king The find of a second specimen of this class confirms the supposition that these are actual letters though the reading is still doubtful A monogram resembling a four bladed fan appears to the proper right of the king's head The goddess on the reverse appears to be eight armed which is perhaps her correct appearance the debasement of the later coins being responsible for her appearance with six arms

(11) Another coin of the same type Metal alloyed gold Height 86.8 Size, 76 Found in a village under the Lalām police station of the Tippera district

Obverse — Sharply executed Standard S shaped A very prominent *Śrī* below the left arm of the king and another less prominent to the proper right of his head

Reverse — The same goddess six armed garland prominent

3 *The Origin of the Imitation Gupta Coins*

In order to attempt an attribution of these light weight coins in imitation of Gupta types it will be well to take note of other coins of this class noticed elsewhere

(12) B M C Gupta Dynasties J Allan p 104 No 620 Metal base gold Height 86.5 grs Size 85

A dagger like thing in the right hand of the king standard spiral headed like our No 4 But a distinct *Śrī* to the right of king's face and a horse below his left arm Eight armed goddess on the reverse like No 4 holding a tapering fruit in proper right hand rude legend on the left margin *Sudhanyā* The horse suggests a claim on the part of the king who issued the coin to universal sovereignty by the performance of a horse sacrifice

(13) Ibid No 621 Metal base gold Height 92 Size 85

Standard the same as in above King's right hand plucking at the arrow (or sword hilt?) on his right The same eight armed goddess on the reverse with the fruit in proper right hand The legend on the left margin more distinct and appears to read *Śrī Sudhanyāditya*

(14) Ibid No 622 Metal base gold Height 81.7 Size 85

Similar to the above Crescent between king and standard Legend on the reverse *Sudhanyā*

(15) Archaeological Survey Report 1913-14 Notes on Indian Numismatics R D Banerji p 208 Imitation Gupta coin of base gold Height 93.3 Size 9 Found with a coin of Sasānka and another coin of Samāchīra Deva (the

Rājahlā coin already described) as well as some silver coins of the Imperial Guptas near Muhammadpūr in Jessore

Exactly like No 12 above Legend on the reverse the same suggestive of a horse sacrifice

(16) Ibid Imitation Gupta coin of base gold Height 8½ Size 9 Found in the Bogra district (in Mahasthān?) and now in the possession of Babu Mitunujay Pay Choudhuri Zamindar of Sadia pusharni in the Rangpūr district of Bengal

The outline of the king's figure rather distinct, the execution of the bow in the king's left hand very good A letter or monogram appears between the standard and the king's face Mr Banerji reads it as pa A stroke like ra appears between the bow and the king's waist The figure of the eight armed goddess in a circle within the circle of dots Legend the same *Suahanyā*

(17) J A S B April, 1910, pp 142-143 History and Ethnology of North eastern India by Mr H E Stapleton Imitation Gupta coin of base gold Height 87.6 Size 8 Found in Manesar in the western suburbs of Dacca

No lettering on the obverse The same eight armed goddess on the reverse and apparently the same legend

(18) Ibid Imitation Gupta coin of base gold Height 88.3 Size, 88 Provenance unknown but probably somewhere in the Dacca district

Exactly like No 12 above Śrī between the king's face and standard, and horse below his left arm as in Nos 14 and 15 The same eight armed goddess on the reverse and apparently the same legend

(19) History of Vikramapura (in Bengali) by Babu Jogen Nath Gupta First edition p 69 Imitation Gupta coin of base gold Height and Size, not recorded Appears to be like our No 6 I have seen two more coins of this class one in the Nāhār collection at 4, Indian Mirror Street Calcutta and the other in the possession of Rai Mani Lal Nihār Bahadur of 5, Indian Mirror Street Calcutta I was told that these two coins were procured by purchase from Lucknow

Allan (ibid § 127) is of opinion that these are undoubtedly ancient coins "These coins are connected by weight and by the border of large dots with the coin of Śaśāṅka illustrated on Plate XXIV, 2 and must be dated about the middle of the 7th century A D We have considerable evidence that these are actual coins which circulated in Eastern Bengal, probably about the 7th century A D" Mr Stapleton also is of opinion that they were Bengal coins of a somewhat later date than Śāṅkagupta (J A S B April, 1910, p 143, foot note)

The following comparative study of the weights of the coins is interesting —

No 4	85.4 grains	No 12	86 grains
5	87	13	92.5
6	86.9	14	81
7	75	15	81.3
8	87.5	16	8
9	86.5	17	87
10	84	18	98.3
11	86.8		

It appears pretty clear from the above that these coins were struck on the *70 rati* or half *Suvarna* standard of a *rati* of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ gram i.e. an original weight of about 90 grains. From Sasanka's coin referred to by Allan above which weighs 85 grains and from a coin of Kacha (*Samudragupta*?) of debased gold (I M C Vol I p 102 Kacha No 2 foot note No 2) which weighs 87.4 it appears that the standard was not unknown but very seldom used. The coin of Sasanka seems to have been the immediate prototype of the other coins. The following facts regarding these coins may be emphasised —

(a) These were undoubtedly East Indian coins and had circulation only in Eastern India.

(b) They are inter connected by weight by the border of large dots on the two sides and the figure of the eight armed standing goddess looking to her left on the reverse, consequently they were issued by the same family or in the same period.

(c) They cannot be attributed to any of the Imperial Guptas even to the last kings of the line or to Samachara Deva or Sasanka. The crude execution and the figure of the goddess on the reverse the uniform light weight—all tell against this.

(d) They imitate Gupta coins and were probably issued by a family who had veneration for Gupta traditions and meant to keep them up. The spiral standard in place of the Garuda standard and the substitution of the eight armed goddess on the reverse show however that the family was not connected with the Imperial Guptas.

(e) They were not issued by the Palas or the Senas of Bengal as apart from the fact that no coins that can be attributed to them are known no one of these coins except the one illustrated in the History of Vilimapur (found in Rimpal the ancient capital of the Senas) was found near the ancient seats of the Palas or Senas. Moreover it is not probable that the other coins are so late. The few letters that appear on them here and there appear to be older in form than the letters on the earliest Pala inscriptions.

(f) They cannot be attributed to Harshavardhana as his coins are known and these coins do not resemble them in any way.

(1) The horse sacrifice class of these coins was evidently issued by a king who claimed paramount power and had celebrated a horse sacrifice.

(2) One of these horse sacrifice coins was found with both a coin of Sasanka and one of the Samachara Deva. Judging from the debased character of these coins it would appear that they were issued by a king who claimed paramount power and who had celebrated a horse sacrifice after the disappearance of Harshavardhana and Sasanka from the political arena.

The only reasonable conclusion that can be deduced from the above points is that the dynasty that satisfies all these conditions is the Gupta dynasty of Magadha whose first king Aditya Sena Deva rose to paramount power in Eastern India immediately after the death of Harshavardhana and celebrated a horse sacrifice. The Deoghar inscription which mentions this king (Fleet p. 213) though much later in date is evidently based on a contemporary inscription and appears to record a genuine tradition about him. It says that Aditya Sena was the performer of the Asvamedha and other sacrifices that he having returned from the Chola country, performed three Asvamedha sacrifices and consecrated a temple at the expense of three lakhs of *tankakas* of gold.

The origin of the Gupta kings of Magadha is traced from one Krishna Gupta in the Apsad inscription of Aditya Sena (Fleet No. 42). This line had matrimonial alliances with the Vardhanas and the Maukharis kings. Prabhakara Vardhana being son of Mahasena Gupta, sister of Mahasena Gupta Mahasena's son was Vardhana who threw in his lot with his nephew Harshavardhana and Madhava's son was Aditya Sena. Krishna Gupta eighth in ascent from Aditya Sena it has been suggested was identical with Govinda Gupta (R. D. Benerji, History of Bengal Part I p. 76) second son of Chandra Gupta II but except that the name Krishna and Govinda are synonymous and the fact that the time of Krishna Gupta may be pushed back to the time of Govinda Gupta there is no other ground for the identification.

The Deoghar inscription says that Aditya Sena spent three lakhs of gold *tankakas* in consecrating a temple. The meaning of the word *tankaka* is given in the Dictionary as a stamped coin especially of silver. A weight of silver equal to four *māśas*. Four *māśas* are equal to only 32 *ratas* or about 56 grains the standard weight of the punch marked silver coins of India. The gold coins of the Imitation Gupta type are of course heavier but the use of the word *tankaka* ordinarily employed for silver coins in the statement that three lakhs of gold *tankakas* were expended possibly shows that the writer meant to denote these light weight gold coins current during the time of the Guptas of Magadha and

it is perhaps by this name that these coins were known in contemporary times.

The fall of the Guptas of Magadha was followed by a century long anarchy in Eastern India during which the fabrication of the type went on until it finally became extinct. In the long drawn agony all civilised arts and crafts were forgotten including the art of striking coins and in consequence we meet with the unique spectacle of a country going without any minted money whatever for four long centuries for it has yet to be proved that the Palas and the Senas struck coins. We have the evidence of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nasiri* that the Muhammadans on their first entry into Bengal saw no other currency in the country except *courie* shells which they found sufficing for all transactions of life. The contemporary Tibetan account of the adventures of the Tibetan scholar who was sent by the king of Tibet to take Atisa Dipankara to Tibet translated by the late Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur in his *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow* records an interesting picture of monastic life during the rule of Navapala in 1040 A D. It shows that all monetary transactions were made in gold measured out in small quantities and in *couries*. No minted money is referred to anywhere in the narrative.

N K BHATTASALI

240 PERSIAN COUPLETS ON THE MUHAMMAD AND SUBSEQUENT COINAGE

The couplets inscribed on the coins of the Mughal Emperors are often the merest trash when considered as poetry but they are not for all that altogether devoid of interest or utility. They illustrate the overweening conceit and self-esteem of these rulers and the servility and adulation of the court poets. At the same time the metrical arrangement and rhythm often makes it easy for us to supply on worn crudely executed or otherwise defective specimens letters and even words which are but partly visible. But though the metrical nature of the legends is universally acknowledged and the individual words have in almost all cases been deciphered correctly they have not always been ordered in our catalogues as the rules of Persian prosody require.

It is now more than fifty years since Blochmann drew attention to this shortcoming in Marsden's *Numismata* and showed how necessary it was even for numismatists to take care of the *Art Poetica* when describing the coins of the Moghul dynasty of India and the Safawis of Persia (Proceedings A S B 1869 p 260). More recently Mr John Allan has laid stress on the same point in connection with the metrical inscriptions on the coins of the Guptas. He has not

it yields sense, but it will not scan and he appears to have known it. The truth is that the measure is one of those rarely used, viz, معرول فاعلات معاعل فاعلات

and the metre that which is known in books on Persian prosody as *Muzari'a* & *Akhrab* & *Maqsur*. In the circumstances the correct reading of the distich must be

درو دمد دور جهانى چون مهر و ماه

سکه ممدو نام جهانگير شاه

No 70 is another difficult couplet and I am unwilling to say anything positive about it, as the coin itself has not been figured. But as the metre is in all probability, *Ramali Musaddas* & *Maqsur* فاعلات فاعلات فاعلات the true order of the words must be as follows

سکه يا امن و امن رد درجهان

نابى صاحب قران شاه جهانى

Before leaving the subject it may be as well to point out some minor mistakes or oversights. In No 10 اى is a typographical or clerical error for رب. The first word of the first line of Nos 8 and 41 is جهان منور (not منور جهان) and should in both cases, be rendered by some such phrase as "world illuminating". In the second hemistich of No 18, the *ah* of the initial word ار is redundant and should be deleted, and the word شاه should be added, so that the line would read, like the closely parallel verse (No 35)

ر نفس نام جهانگير شاه شاه اکبر

In No 47, مالک is a misprint for ملک and the words are best ordered as

نهاد ملک دى شاه جهانگير اس شاه اکبر

Permit me to give one more instance. On the muhrs and rupees of Tipū Sultan the following words have been deciphered

دى احمد درجهان روشن اسم ر ملى حيدر

and the rendering offered by Dr Taylor is 'The religion of Ahmad is illumined in the world by the victory of Haider' (Coins of Tipū Sultan, p 24). This is an improvement of the old Latin version of Marsden as well as the more recent English paraphrase of Capt Tufnell (Catalogue of Mysore Coins, 1889, No 112), but it still leaves much to be desired in the way of accuracy.

inscription as a common noun and absurd to translate it as "the victory of Haidar was manifested or born to conquer the world" This clinches the question and it is quite clear that the coin legend should be translated thus 'The Faith of Ahmad (i.e. Muhammad) has received lustre from (or been illumined or glorified by) *Fath Haidar* in the world'

But if the building up of these metrical legends is often difficult then correct interpretation is at times no easy task. To give an instance, the rendering of the Jammū rupee couplet which was first given by Rodgers (J A S B, 1885 p 66 also J A S B, 1888, p 33), and which has been transcribed into his own catalogue by Mr Whitehead is, to my mind absolutely indefensible. The Persian distich is—

حاجه رحمت ديو آباد كرد

لحمى نراني دل شاه كرد

and Rodgers translates it thus —

"Ranjit Deo peopled this part

Lachmi Narain made glad its heart'

The English words hardly yield any sense and are at best only 'sounds signifying nothing'. But if they mean that the city or district of Jammū was first peopled by Ranjit Deo it is historically false. The antiquity of Jammū and its long line of kings is matter of common knowledge. Their indigenous chronicles are summarised and can be read in Major Smyth's 'History of the Reigning Family of Lahore' (pp 219-263) by any one who cares to do so. *Vide* also Elliot and Dowson III 467, 471 517, 519, IV, 56 58, 415.

Again *حاجه آباد كرد* does not mean 'to people a part'. *حاجه آباد* is a common exclamation or mode of salutation and means according to Steingass, "May you flourish" (Dictionary 81). It seems to me that the order of the lines must be reversed and that the following would be a fairly faithful version in English of the *Bait*

Lachmi Narain gladdened hearts

And made the family (lit house) of Ranjit Deo prosperous (or flourishing)

I have elsewhere (Num Sup XXXV, p 57) adduced reasons for holding that Ranjit Deo died in 1781 A C. His known coins bear the dates 1841 Samvat and XXVIII. Now the 28th year of Shāh Alam II lasted from 5 V 1200 to 4 V 1201 A H i.e., from 6th March, 1786 to 22nd February 1787 A C [Mr Whitehead has 1199-1200 A H but this is an error]. Vikram Samvat 1841 commenced on 14th October 1784 N S and ended on 1st November, 1785 N S. The discrepancy cannot be explained except on the supposition that 28 is an error, for

26 Julās i.e. 1108-1109 A H, 26 III 1784 to 15 III 1785. Mr Whitehead has 28 in one column but 27 in another. Rodgers has figured three coins the dates on which are 1841 27, 1841 28 and 1841 28. Can it be that the Samvat date on the 28th Julās issues has been wrongly read, 1841 for 1843? (Rodgers J A S B 1885 Pl I, Figs 2-3-4). In any case these coins supposed to have been "struck by Ranjit Deo," must be held to have been issued in his name by his son Brij Raj Deo or some one else¹. But this has little or no bearing on the general purport or significance of the verse. The crux of the matter is who was this 'Lakshmi Nārāyaṇ' and why is he said to have 'gladdened hearts etc.' I have not been able to discover the name in the list of Ranjit Deo's ancestors and descendants given by Major Smyth (Op Cit p 18) or quoted by Rodgers from the Urdū *Tārīkh-i Makhzan-i Panjāb* J A S B 1885 pp 63 66.

The only conjecture I can offer is that 'Lakshmi Nārāyaṇ' was the patron deity of Ranjit Deo's family, and that the object of the striker (whoever he might have been) was to avow his devotion and publicly make his grateful acknowledgments to the god for the favours bestowed on the Dogra prince during his chequered and eventful career. It is hardly necessary to labour this point and the little that is known of the history of Ranjit Deo will be found in the Num Supp article referred to. See also Smyth *loc cit* 239-247, Journal Punjab Historical Society Vol III 1914, pp 117-8. It may be pertinent to observe that Viṣṇu and his consort, Lakshmi, when jointly worshipped as they very commonly are, in temples specially consecrated to them, receive the name of Lakshmi Nārāyaṇ. The rationale of this adoration is thus stated in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa. Lakshmi or very commonly Sri is the wife of Viṣṇu and under various names appears in this relation in his various incarnations. As the lord of the worlds, the god of gods Janarddana descends among t man kind in various shapes so does his coadjutor Sri. Thus when Hari was born a dwarf, the son of Aditi Lakshmi appeared from the lotus as Padma or Kamala, when he was born as Rama (Parasurama) of the race of Bhṛigu, she was Dhṛani, when he was Raghava (Ramchandra), she was Sita, and when he was Krishna she was Rukmini. In the other descents of Viṣṇu she was his associate. If he takes a celestial form she appears as divine. If a mortal she becomes a mortal too.

¹ Major Smyth says that Brij Raj Deo died in 1786 A C and was succeeded by his son 'Sefurim Delu' a young boy who after a reign of seventeen or eighteen months died *** and Jey Sing the only son of Dele Sing (the second son of Ranjit Deo) was created Rajah. Op Cit 47 8. Later authorities however, declare that Brij Raj was killed in battle in 1757 and was succeeded by his son Sampuran Deo (Hutchinson and Vogel, Journal Punjab Historical Society, Vol III 1914 p 112).

transforming her own person agreeably to whatever character it pleases Vishnu to assume (H. H. Wilson *Vishnū Purāṇa* p. 80)

We learn from the Imperial Gazetteer that the town of Chamba (the capital of a state which was in old times dependent on Kashmir and connected closely with Jammu) contains a temple of Ishmi Narayan dating possibly from the tenth century (N 134) see also *Journal Punjab Historical Society* 1915 pp. 93 and 85. Kashwar also another of the Punjab hill states boasts of a Ishmi Narayan temple which is as old at least as the time of Shah Jahan and is now the site of the *Zīnat* or tomb of a famous Muhammadan saint (Hutchinson and Vogel *History of Kashwar State in Journal Punjab Historical Society* Vol IV 1915 p. 42)

In a word it would appear that Ishmi Narayan was one of the favorite deities of the Dogra Rajputs and this fact would go far towards explaining the allusion in the couplet

P 8—Mr Brown's rendering of the *But* incribed on some rare rupees of Bandhū (No. 5) also leaves considerable room for improvement. The words themselves are

رواح سکن الله اندر
و دناطه اندر دوار

and the translation offered is

May the current coin of Akbar the Divine
Be equal to (the name of) the fort of Bandhu

I venture to say that this cannot be accepted and that it is very far from representing the real meaning of the couplet which seems to be

May the Coin [stamped with the words] Alkhu
Akbar

Be current as long as the fortress of Bandhu

Bandhū was one of the most formidable strongholds in Hindustan and Abul Fazl devotes more than half a page to its description. It was taken only after a siege which lasted for more than eight months in the 4th year of the reign 1005 A.H. (*Akbarnāma* Text III 72) and the point of the line lies in the prayer that the mintage of Akbar might continue to circulate among men as long as the fortress should stand upon earth.

10th Dec 1922

S. H. HODIVALA

241 THE MINT NAME SITEÜR (SUTAI)

One of the most tantalizingly obscure of the problems connected with the study of the Mughal mint system is the

determination of the *aleli* which has been variously located at Sitpūr, Sitāpūr, Peshāwar and even Sīnor. It is now nearly six years since I suggested to the late Dr. Taylor that the puzzling issues were the products of the Sūrāt mint, and I am still inclined to believe that this decipherment (which he expressed his readiness at the time to accept) has more to be said for it than any other that has been suggested, although it may not be incontrovertible or even susceptible of proof.

All the coins of the alleged mint of 'Sitpūr' in our Museum are round, the years being 47, 48 and 49 R. and the month Muḥr. I do not think that the curious coincidence of everyone of them having been uttered in one and the same Hāhī month—Muḥr—has received the attention that it deserves. The late Mr. Irajī Hūmāwālā had several round Rupees of 'Sitpūr' of two other types, illustrations of four of which are through the kindness of Mr. Vicaji D. Faraprewala reproduced in this supplement. I may observe that on the undoubted issues of the Sūrāt mint of 38 R., the terminal letter of the place name is disjoined or separated from the سور and written *above* it. My submission is that the symbol which is inscribed just *below* the letters that have been taken to stand for *Sitpur* is not the — of صر (as has been supposed) but the — of سور. The only difference between the square rupees of 38 R. and the round rupees of 47–49 R. is that in the former this final — is written *above* in the latter *below* the سور. The foundation of the error lies in the supposition that this symbol is the — of صر. The untenable character of this assumption is shown by two of the coins illustrated, Plate III, 2, 4. In them the — can be distinctly seen in the lower part of the field, in the immediate proximity of the سور. This — is visible on only two out of these four rupees—on the two of which the larger diameter permits its coming off on the flan.

It may be also noticed that the decoration of these rupees is unequal. The omission of the superimposed square and other ornamental features has made it possible for the engraver to add some letters and it has been supposed that the word ——the denominational epithet especially devised by Akbar for the half rupee—was stamped by error on these whole rupees for two years (47 and 48 R.) by the Mintmaster. One error always begets another. If we take it for granted that the symbol below — is the — of سور it is impossible to read the other — except as the terminal letter of —. But there is no necessity whatever of postulating any such thing.

The true reading of the coins on which the additional letters — are inscribed is — — — — —. I venture to say that

this simple solution removes all difficulties. There is nothing irregular or incorrect in this interposition of *د* between *مر* and the mintname of the Anhrwālī Pattan rupee of 984 A H, Num Supp XXVI, 193. Briefly the admittedly questionable reading *مر* is the inevitable result or corollary of a fundamentally erroneous postulate. The corollary is on the face of it startling and incompatible with facts. If we deny the postulate it falls of itself and our minds are disabused of a double error.

I am aware that there is still one difficulty and as I have no desire to ignore or even slur over it I will set it out as clearly as I can. The total number of the coins of this mint registered in the catalogues of the British Indian, Panjab and Lucknow Museums is 14. They are all of one and the same type and of the 48th or 49th Regnal year (Plate III, 3, 5). They all show the same month—*Mahr*. Mr Tārāpore wālā possesses four more of two other types. On two of them the month and year are identical (*Mahr*—49) (Plate III, 6) but the flans are smaller and the ornamentation less elaborate. Besides these there are two specimens of a distinctly different or third type. The flans are as large as those of B M C 177 or I M C 250 but there are three additional letters. One of them is of *Mahr* 18 R (Plate III, 4) and apparently a duplicate of the coin in the White King Cabinet (Catalogue Pt III No 3527). The other is a sub variety of this type. The mysterious or mystifying additional letters can be clearly read, but the date is 17 *Mahr* (Plate III, 2).

It is in regard to the last coin that the difficulty arises. On it the third or last tooth of the *Sim* is given a turn or twist so as to form the head of what looks like a *Uim* and make the letters read *Samur* or *Simur*. The tens figure *al o* is written somewhat peculiarly and is so like the usual symbol for *o* that had it not been for the other issues the date might have been read as 57. (But this is a minor matter.)

It cannot be denied that this coin lends no support to my suggestion and even runs counter to it but then it runs counter to all the other proposed decipherments also, and the difficulty is far from being so formidable as it appears.

The matter stands thus. We have altogether nineteen rupees of this class. On all of them except this one the head of the *Uim* is conspicuously absent. On everyone of the eighteen others the name whatever it may be is written in one and the same way and in such a manner as to render the reading *Samūr* or *Simur* absolutely unthinkable—although these 18 coins belong to three different types. In the circumstances we are driven to one of only two conclusions. Either this particular coin is of a totally different mint and has really nothing to do with the 18 others although it apparently

resembles them. Or, it is the bungled production of some practice workman who was ignorant of Persian or had an imperfect mastery of his gaver. In other words either this coin was uttered by the same mint as the 18 others or it was not. If it was it is a blunder. If it was not it can have no bearing on the point at issue. In either case i.e. whether it is or it is not the only surviving relic or proof of an error which was corrected in the subsequent issues of 48 and 49 the result is immaterial.

S. H. HODINATA

in Lyallpūr (Punjab), a fifth in Rae Bareilly and sixth in Mambhum and Gobindpūr is also given as the old name of Bhandā. The difficulty here lies in this that all these localities are *equally* insignificant and obscure. They are all with the single exception of Gobindpūr in Mambhum (the comparative importance of which is demonstrably of very recent origin) Branch Offices which in the phraseology of the Department tantamount to saying that they are mere villages. It does not follow that some one or other of them was not a town of considerable importance in Albirdy. It probably was only we cannot prove it. If we knew of any Gobindpūr which could be shown to have been a place of note during the last decade of the sixteenth century the matter would be considerably simplified. The difficulty is just this that we do not

S H HODIVALA

243 THE MINT NAME KANAN (BAJANAN)

The reading Kanan of the mint name on a copper coin of Shah Alam II in the Indian Museum (No. 2492) has been characterised by Mr Nelson Wright as a 'doubtful one'. It is to be regretted that this coin reached him too late for illustration (I M C II 299 note). For the plaster cast of the *julus* from which the figure in the plate (Plate III, 11) was produced I am indebted to the courtesy of the Trustees of the Indian Museum. There is a drawing of this copper piece in the Catalogue of Indian Coins compiled by Mr Rodgers in 1894 also (Part II Pl III). An examination of this illustration seems to show that the name is not *Kānān* but *Bajānan*. The two *Auqīs* on the extreme right are perfectly distinct. If they are not ornamental and have any connexion with the letters of the mint name the reading would appear to stand in need of revision.

The coin is of the 40th year of the reign of Shah Alam II (1799 A C). The ornaments are a quatrefoil of a peculiar type and a fish surmounted by a five pointed leaf. All these three symbols the quatrefoil (or cross made by triangular shaped dots), the fish and the *ghār* are found on two Jaipur copper coins described and illustrated by Webb (Currencies of Rajputana p. 79 Pl VII Nos 5 and 6). The first of them is said to have been struck in the name Shah Alam and the second between the years 1786 and 1806 i.e. about the same time as the coin under discussion.

The coincidences can be scarcely accidental. The family resemblance between the Jaipur coins and this *julus* is undeniable. The difficulty is that no town called 'Bajanan' can be traced on our maps in the state of Jaipur itself or the neigh-

S H HODIVALA

244 THE MINT PANJAGAR (BHUJNAGAR)

In Num Supp XXXIII I made an admittedly tentative attempt to locate an obscure mint name which had been read as Panjnagar by Rodger and acquiesced in by Mr Whitehead and others only because it was not possible to suggest any other.

It was merely the conduct of a forlorn hope and I felt then that the true reading was still to seek. Indeed I declared that the attempt had been made only in the hope of its helping towards a satisfactory identification of *the real thing* *not* *the correct* (Ibid, p. 9).

I have since had the question very frequently under consideration and am inclined to think that in these six minute and beautifully inscribed but cryptic symbols lies hidden the name of the capital of the Rao of Cutch—*Bhujnagar*.

followed the accession of Jahāngir. The details, which I do not propose to reproduce here can be perused by any English reader in Mr Rogers' translation of the *Tuzuk* (I 368-380).

Ahmadnagar was restored at some time in 1117 A H, Jumada II 1026 A H (*Tuzuk*, Trans, I 380). Jahāngir informs us that Afzal Khan and Rāy Rāyan (Sundar) were the persons employed in these negotiations and that he promoted both of them as they had "performed the duties of *Wakils* to * * * Shah Jahan in a becoming manner" (Ibid I 368-387-402).

The dated coins of Ahmadnagar are of 1027 and 1036 A H (P M C, No 946, I M C, III No 637), and we may take it for certain that the issues of 1027 were stamped in commemoration of this restoration. The undated mintages may be fairly supposed to belong to the same period as they resemble them closely in almost all respects. The issues of 1036 A H are of a very different type.

Turning now to the similar and at least equally rare mintages of Zafarnagar, it is sufficient to refer to the note on that place name in Num Supp XXXIV pp 240-49. The upshot of the matter is that Sundar or Raja Bikramajit was ordered to return to Tanam with his entire army and encamp there during the rainy season of 1030 A H. "The Raja in accordance with the Shah's (i.e. the Prince Shāh Jahan's) commands selected a spot in the vicinity of the above named Qasba * * and laid the foundations of an exceedingly strong fortress * * to which he gave the name of Zafarnagar" (Ibid, 242).

The very few known coins of Zafarnagar exhibit no date, but it is clear that they were struck under the directions of the Raja, to commemorate the glorious termination of his master's campaign, and the foundation of the fortress which continued to be a place of strategical importance throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Ibid 247, note 2).

The connection of Sundar with Bhujnagar rests, and can be established on at least equally good evidence. It is common knowledge that Rāi Bhara or Rao Bharmaji, the ruler of Kachh *pud nolens volens* his respects to Jahāngir, while the latter was encamped at Ahmadabad in 1027 A H.

"On Sunday, the 24th, (1117 A H) Rāy Bihari had the good fortune to kiss the threshold there is not a greater Zamindar than this in the country of Gujarat. His country is close to the sea. Bihari and the Jam are from one stem * * * At the time when Ahmadabad was adorned by the presence of the retinue of fortune for a short time, he did not come to wait on me. His country was somewhat distant and time did not admit of the appointing of a force (against him). When it happened that I returned there my son Shah Jahan appointed Rājā Bikramajit with an army (for this purpose) and he seeing his own safety in coming in, hastened to receive

Brief notes relative to the Kutch State,' published by the Government of Bombay in 1855 (Bombay Government Selections New Series, No XV), His Highness the Rāo saying in reply to a question put to him by the Political Agent of the Province " *Bhooj* Nuggur is the name of the Capital founded by Rao Shree Khengarjee * * * in Samvat 1605 (A D 1548) " p 206 The author of the ' *Rās Māla* ' also, in telling the tale of Jug Dev Parmār, speaks of " *Bhoojnuggar* " as the place " where Raja Phool reigned " (A K Forbes, op cit, Reprint 1878, p 114)

The generality of Anglo Indian authors employ the shorter form and write ' Booge ' or ' Bhooj ' or Bhūj (Hamilton, East India Gazetteer, Ed 1815, p 322, Mac Murdo Transactions, Literary Society of Bombay, II 229, Thornton, Gazetteer, Ed 1858, s v, Imperial Gazetteer, Ed 1908, s v), but James Burgess leaves no doubt as to his preference for ' Bhuj ' with the vowel short (Antiquities of Kathiawar and Kachh, pp 200, 212) It is not easy and perhaps hardly worth while to say which form, ' Bhuj ' or ' Bhūj ' is correct But it may be pointed out that the etymology of the name is in favour of shortening the vowel The Rao of Cutch informed Mr Ogilvy, the Political Agent of the State in 1850 that the town was so called because it was founded after the Rāo Khengarjee expelled Jām Rāwal from Kachh by the force of his arm (भुज) (Memoirs relative to the Kutch State, Bombay Government Selections, New Series, XV, p 207) James Burgess derives the name from the City having been dedicated to the snake divinity, *Bhujanga* or *Bhujya* (loc cit, 200) The Jesuit Tieffenthaler and Captain Macmurdo say the same (*Description de l'Inde*, I, 396¹, Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Reprint 1876, II, 229-30²) Whatever derivation is held to be correct, it is certain that भुज, *arm* and भुजग, *snake* are both spelt with the short vowel in *Gujarātī* as well as in *Sanskrit* As for the form *Bhujnagar*, I may say that ' Bhuj ' is not the only Indian place name to which the adjunct *nagar*, *ghar*, *gad*h or *pur* is indifferently prefixed or affixed at times Thus Dhar is sometimes called " Dharanugger ", Forbes, *Rās Māla*, Ed 1878, p 147,

¹ Tieffenthaler says " Bhoudj (ou Bhodj) est la capitale du district de Catsch * * Cet endroit a reçu son nom d'un serpent car beaucoup de personnes assurent le fait est même très certain que l'on revera un Serpent et que tous les jours on lui sert du lait et du ris. Il a le nom de *Bhoudj* *baran*, ce que signifie le serpent long de cinquante-deux aunes Burgess adds that *Bhujanga* is one of the five snake-brethren mentioned in Hindu Mythology

² " The city is situated on a plain on the S W side of the hill called Bhooja, * * * On the summit of the mountain * * * is a temple dedicated to the worship of the Nag or hooded snake " (Macmurdo loc cit)

Ujjain	Ujjain nagar
Vallabhi	Vallabhinagar
Bhim	Bhinnagar (Elliot and Dowson II 444 445)
Tatta	Nagar Tatta
Pirām	Pirāmgur (Tod (1) Reprint 1898 p 119)
Ābū	Ālūgarh (Forbes Rās Mālā Reprint 1888 p 150)
Chitor	Chitorgadh
Āsir	Āsirgadh (Imp Gaz s v Tod Ed Crooke III 1446 1461)
Mandī	Mandūgadh (Rās Mālā ibid 296 294)
Dulām	(Dogaon of Akbar's Coins) Dukampur (Elliot and Dowson I 56)
Jalna	Jalnāpūr (Ibid VI 102 VII II 305)

It is hardly necessary to multiply instances! Nothing can be further from my thoughts or intentions than to speak positively on such a matter but it seems to me that when the Numismatic evidence is looked at in the dry light of history the new reading has much more to be said for it than the old one

S H HODIVALA

245 TWO GOLD GULFA COINS

Among the coins which I purchased last year for the Provincial Museum Lucknow are two gold coins of Chandragupta II which present some uncommon features and can well be treated as new varieties. I should therefore like to publish them for the information of those interested in the subject.

(1) Chandragupta II Lion slayer type *Metal & Weight* 119 grains *Size* 8 *Provenance* (Purchased at Lucknow)
Plate III 7

Obverse — King stands to left wearing waistcloth with sash which floats behind ornamental head dress and large ear rings and shoots with bow at lion which falls backwards. As apparent on the coin the king perhaps does not trample on the lion which only falls gaping to the ground.

So far as the legend is concerned it is a poor specimen because only the concluding portion viz *Kramah* is distinct but the chief interest centres round *Chandra* which figures vertically to right above the sash and *amr* free of novelty to the c.

Reverse—Goddess (*Lakshmi Ambikā*) seated nimbate facing on lion couchant to left holding fillet in outstretched right hand and lotus with stalk in left To left is a symbol lurred and to right *Sinhavikramah*

This specimen cannot be treated as Var B of Allan's Gupta Catalogue¹ because of the position of *Chandra* on the obverse and the goddess holding lotus instead of cornucopia in the left arm on the reverse

(2) Chandragupta II Horseman type Metal, *N* Height 121 grains Size 85 Provenance (Purchased at Lucknow) Plate III, 8

Obverse—King is riding on fully caparisoned horse to right He wears waistcloth with rushes and jewellery (ear rings armlets etc) and holds (?) a bow in right hand A crescent appears behind the head Portions of the legend *Parambhā garata Mahārājādhirājā Śrī Chandraguptah* are clear

Reverse—Goddess seated to left on wicker stool is sowing seed with her outstretched right hand and in the other holds a lotus with a long stalk behind To left is a symbol and to right the legend *Ayitarikramah*

This coin bears a close resemblance to Var A of Allan's Gupta Catalogue² but the difference lies in the bow being so held in right hand as if it were resting on the back of the horse and in the goddess sowing seeds instead of holding a fillet

17th November 1922

PRAYAG DAYAL

246 TWO MUḤĀL MUḤARS

I Shāh Ālam II 1176-4 R Jahāngīrnagar

A comparison of this coin of Shāh 'Ālam II with the Murshidābad coin of the same year (Lucknow Museum Catalogue No 4498) leaves little doubt as to the location of the mint That coin agrees in mark size arrangement of the inscription and above all mint marks on both sides They were both struck under the same ruler viz the Nawāb of Bengal—one at Murshidābad and the other at Dacca (ie Jahāngīrnagar) The only difficulty is that there is no sign of the 'Alif' of ھ which makes one a little doubtful

The coin does not agree exactly with the British Museum Catalogue No 1167 because the latter was struck later and it is of silver, and was probably struck under British influence, when the mint mark on the obverse was changed (See Lucknow Museum Catalogue No 5094 and 5095 of Murshidābad,

¹ Cf Allan B M C Coins of the Gupta Dynasties p 39 Plate VIII
13

² Cf Allan B M C Coins of the Gupta Dynasties p 45 Plate IX,
14 and Plate X 4

which have the same mint mark on the obverse as BMC, No 1157 of Jahāngirnagar)

There is no other gold coin of Jahāngirnagar of Shāh 'Ālam II known (see Mr Whitehead's list of Mughal Mints). Even the silver coins of this mint are very rare there being only one shown in the British Museum Catalogue. The mint was taken over by the East India Company three years after this coin was struck.

<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
الہ حامی دہی	مانوس
شاہ	محمد
سا ا فصل شاہ عالم باد	۴
سکہ	سندہ حلرس
۱۱۷۴	صرب
[رد] در نقب کشور	[حبا] نگار نگار

Plate III, 9

II A Square Muhar of Akbar dated 999

I cannot make out the mint. The obverse is not unlike the obverse of the Kalpi coin of 966 (see Indian Museum Catalogue No 206)

It is also like the obverse of the Ahmadabad and Āgra coins of 981 (see Indian Museum Catalogue No 71, 78 and 79)

I cannot find a similar reverse in any of the Catalogues. It may turn out to be a unique specimen in its way, being probably an old type continued late in some out of the way mint perhaps in Central India or Malwa.

<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
In square, the Kalima and date 999, in lower left corner	In double square, inner one of dots —

بادشاہ عاری
اکبر محمد
حلال الدہی

Plate III, 10

D V TARAPOREVALA





1



2



3



4



5



6



7



10



9



8



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12



13



14



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



NUMISMATIC SUPPLEMENT No XXXVIII

ARTICLES 247-248

*Continued from Journal and Proceedings Vol XIA
New Series No 6*

247 OBSERVATIONS UPON THE COINAGE STRUCK FOR THE BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SETTLEMENT OF PENANG OR PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND (1786 TO 1828)

It has been at a liberal estimate only during the last fifty years that the coins of the British overseas possessions have established a popularity amongst collectors. As a result of this interest their value has greatly advanced. Although unable to claim any marked beauty of design the coinage specially minted for the little Island of Penang has well shared in this general appreciation. These issues were spread over but a short period (1786 to 1828) and the quantities of the earlier coins struck were so far as is known very small. Pulau Pinang (in the Malay language the word Pulau means Island and Pinang is the name for the Arecanut palm) was the first British settlement in the Malay Peninsula. It is but 15 miles long and 9 broad with an area of 108 square miles and is situated in 5° N Latitude off and quite close to the west coast of the mainland at the entrance to the Straits of Malacca.

Uninhabited then except by a few fisherfolk and covered with a dense growth of tropical forest it was ceded in the year 1786 by the Rajah of Kedah (whose domain lay on the adjacent Peninsula) to the British East India Company. The cession was arranged through the instrumentality of one Captain Francis Light who had been the Company's representative in the State of Kedah with which country the Company had long maintained commercial relations. To the Rajah as payment an annual subsidy of 6 000 dollars was promised.

The establishment of this new Settlement (of which Light was appointed the first Administrator) was one of the moves in the long protracted struggle for trade supremacy in the East waged between the British and Dutch.

The highest and, as it seems now, over sanguine hopes were entertained of the venture. The name of Prince of Wales Island was bestowed upon the place in honour of the then holder of that title. The site of the capital was called George Town. An extensive and expensive civil and military administration was set on foot and in 1805 Penang

(with which had in 1800 been incorporated a strip of the opposite littoral and which, subsequently enlarged was designated 'Province Wellesley') was raised to the dignity of becoming a separate Indian Presidency equal in rank to those of Bombay or Madras. But although a large business was done with Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula and a considerable trade further afield with the Celebes Borneo Siam China and other places not under the excluding control of the Dutch the result was not for various reasons ultimately altogether entirely favourable. The exigencies of the confused and shifting political situation in Europe made deep impressions even in these distant lands the handing over to the Netherlands of the British interests in Sumatra as an exchange for the already moribund Malacca the return of Java to the Dutch and the foundation by the famous Stamford Raffles in 1819 of the—at once successful—settlement of Singapore soon set the seal on Penang's most palmy days.

In 1825 the three posts (Penang Malacca and Singapore) were administratively amalgamated and although the seat of Government was then retained in the old locality about ten years later headquarters were transferred to the more prosperous and populous southernmost settlement.

The Straits Settlements remained under the control of India until 1867, in which year they were passed over to that of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

It may well be wondered, as a result of merely casual consideration why it should have been thought desirable by the Company to issue special coinage for its new Settlement particularly in view of the fact that for many years that body had kept up stations in the Malay Archipelago (from which it had traded) without finding it necessary to mint any currency peculiarly appropriate to such neighbourhoods and it is perhaps requisite in order to try to understand the apparently feeble—and as it turned out certainly ineffective—efforts made by the Company to introduce new coins for or from Penang to appreciate properly several factors which are not superficially at once noticeable. In the first place there was no such thing as free commerce both the great British and Dutch East India Companies enjoyed from their respective Governments in Europe exclusive rights so far from countenancing trade by a rival nation in any place in which it purported to exercise its privileges each Company protected its monopoly by prohibiting any business except by its own duly accredited agents.

Whilst the former had primarily been devoting its energies to the consolidation of its position in India the latter had exploited the rich areas further to the south and east and when the British secure in their hold in Hindustan began to contemplate paying more vigorous attention to the Archi-

pelago, they found there firmly established in many of the choicest centres the Dutch fortresses and an elaborate Dutch currency of both local and European manufacture. Against the familiarity of the Dutch copper Doit and silver Stiver pieces of low denomination, the British had nothing to match except their own Indian coins, which bore no direct relation to the Spanish Dollar, which was recognized as the principal basis of commercial transactions in every part of Malaya not under direct Dutch influence.

In those places where trade was more or less free from monopolistic restriction almost any coin circulated for commercial purposes, and a bewildering medley of monies of different intrinsic and often of varying exchange value was more or less current; for the volume of business was great and the demand for metallic currency of low denomination never equalled by the supply. In order to foster its transactions, the Treasuries of the British Company were, no doubt with great reluctance, compelled to accept and use this heterogeneous mixture, but the loss occasioned by its conversion for transmission to India or England was very serious. For years, both before and after the end of the 18th century, the Company strove to oust the foreign Dollar and the Doit and to introduce its Rupee and copper coinage; but all these efforts completely failed: the Dutch Guilder and Doits and the silver Dollar were the Europeans' pieces with which the indigenous races of Malaya had been first acquainted, and to which they had become accustomed, and to them with Oriental conservatism they firmly clung.

It would be easy, but outside the purview of this paper, to amplify greatly the foregoing remarks, and they must be concluded with the suggestion that the student of general history must be aware that the period under consideration (1786-1828) was one which witnessed the break up of the Dutch East India Company, the subjugation by Napoleon of almost the whole of Europe, the formation of the Batavian Republic, the capture by the British of Java from the French and its return to the Hollanders, and the incessant, and, though constantly hampered, victorious efforts of Raffles to acquire ascendancy for his country over the Malay Peninsula.

Coming then more closely to the position of the coinage for trade purposes as it presented itself to the Penang official, the bald facts stood evident, that the silver Dollar was the basis of the commercial transaction, that the Company had no coins of lesser value bearing to the Dollar any simple relation and that, to carry on trade satisfactorily, it had to utilize (and realize at a great loss) such widely different materials as Guilders and Stivers, Doits and Ducats, Chinese Cash, gold and silver Rupees of Batavia, many kinds of Dollars and even American Eagles. The Company, however,

made use so far as it could of its own numerous forms of Indian Rupees and copper money

That the Dutch too had their currency problems may be realized from a table of values extracted from The Almanack for the Netherlands Indies for the year 1817 and quoted by Millies (pp 73 and 74) part of which reads thus —

4 dots	= 1 stiver
10	= 1 dubbeltje
30	= 1 schelling
60	= $\frac{1}{2}$ rupee of Batavia Surat or Arcot
63	= $\frac{1}{2}$ Sicca rupee
120	= 1 rupee of Batavia Surat or Arcot
126	= 1 Sicca rupee
132	= $\frac{1}{2}$ Spanish dollar
160	= $\frac{1}{2}$ ducatoon
192	= 1 riksdollar
240	= 1 American or Austrian dollar
264	= 1 Spanish dollar
312	= 1 old ducatoon
320	= 1 new ducatoon
328	= 1 gold ducat
960	= $\frac{1}{2}$ gold rupee
1920	= 1 gold rupee
10 Spanish dollars	= 1 American gold eagle
16	= 1 doubloon
16 Silver Java rupees	= 1 gold Java rupee

Captain Light lost no time in pointing out to his superiors in Bengal the unsatisfactory nature of the currency position. He deplored particularly the want of silver coins of lower denomination than the dollar and from what he wrote he clearly contemplated that the coinage which he required was to consist of equivalents of fractional parts of that coin. He suggested silver pieces of the value of $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$ and $1/10$ th and copper pieces worth respectively $1/100$ th, $1/200$ th and $1/400$ th of the Spanish dollar.

By the year 1788 he had already met with some response for in a letter dated the 20th June of that year he writes to the Governor General of Bengal stating that though the piece of $1/10$ th of a dollar had been such a success that he wished for a further issue to the value of 5 000 rupees yet the $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ dollar pieces which he had received showed little sign of being put into use.

The text of this letter which is given in the Journal of the Indian Archipelago Vol IV 1850 p 647 reads

I have been honoured with Your Lordship's letter of the 21st March and have received the silver coin struck off for the use of this settlement together with the mint master's letter of 27th December, 1787 relative to it

The silver coin of ten to a dollar is the most useful—a further supply is required to the amount of five thousand rupees value. The quarter dollars and half dollars are not yet come into much use therefore I cannot determine what quantity may be demanded in future, but at present there appears to be enough in store to last a considerable time."

Light in this letter is presumably referring to the silver coins of the values mentioned which are dated 1787 these are all known to Numismatists but appear to be of the utmost rarity.

There was a second issue of similar coins dated 1788 and of these the 1/10th Dollar piece is by far most frequently met with, though even that is but seldom seen.

Although so clearly spoken of as fractions of the Dollar these coins present in common with the whole series issued for Penang, the remarkable peculiarity of having on them nothing whatever either in words or figures to indicate what denomination of value they purported to represent. Milnes was careful to avoid nomenclature but Atkins possibly because of the fact that 2 Sicca Rupees were roughly reckoned as the equivalent of 1 Spanish Dollar (though actually they were rather less in value) calls the $\frac{1}{2}$ Dollar a Rupee the $\frac{1}{4}$ Dollar a Half Rupee the 1/10 Dollar a Quarter Rupee, the largest copper piece a Cent, the intermediate sized copper piece a Half Cent and the smallest copper piece a Quarter Cent and these designations have usually been adopted by others. It may be, perhaps, pointed out that although it may not be convenient now to revert to more correct names for these coins, Atkins nomenclature was apparently incorrect. Howorth (p 33) aptly draws attention to this misnomer and, in writing of the coinage of the Straits Settlements remarks "The early acceptance of the Spanish (or Mexican) dollar in Oriental trade has already been mentioned and it is further confirmed by the use in these States of coins which are divisions of this cosmopolitan medium of trade. Even the earliest coins are usually denominated cents etc, although they preceded the adoption in the United States of a decimal system with the dollar for standard and they may possibly have been multiples of the 'Cash'." It may be noted that the decimal system was adopted in the United States in 1786 and 1792. The silver pieces therefore, undoubtedly should be properly designated as $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, and 1/10th of a Dollar. As for the copper coins (which in England and in India were usually spoken of by the generic name of 'Pice' indicating generally copper currency, much in the same way as one speaks now a days of 'coppers') the non Dutch copper currency was reckoned in "Keping" of which 400 went to the Dollar. The Dutch did not adopt a Cent currency for their East Indian possessions.

until their issue in 1833 whilst the Indian Government which for Sumatra minted 4 3 2 and 1 Keping coins up to the year 1804 only commenced a proper Cent currency for the Straits Settlements in 1845. Neither amongst the numerous issues of copper tokens by the British merchants in Penang and Singapore from 1804 to 1840 nor in the extensive mintage by Raffles from 1811 to 1816 when Java was under British rule does a single coin of Cent—so designated—denomination occur they are all Keping Stiver or Doit. I think therefore that it is probable that though bearing a definite decimal relation to the Spanish Dollar the three denominations of copper coins issued in 1786 and 1787 would most properly be designated as 4 (though their weight is equivalent more to 3) 2 and 1 Keping pieces or possibly in familiar terms as Pice Half Pice and Quarter Pice. Thurston (1893) mentions that all the records of the Calcutta mint for the period 1760 to 1792 have been lost and this fact accounts for the uncertainty and lack of particulars obtainable with regard to the 1786 88 issues for Penang.

One must certainly regard the issues of silver in 1787 for Penang as of a very experimental character what number of these coins were minted I have not been able to ascertain but it was without doubt exceedingly small and they are as I have mentioned of very great rarity. The silver issued in 1788 disappeared almost immediately (vide Jour Ind Arch Vol IV 1850 p 649). As for the copper money of 1786 and 1787 all that I have as yet been able to discover is that in 1787 Mr Herbert Harris the master of the Calcutta Mint applied to the Government of Bengal for an advance of 2 000 Sicca Rupees to meet the expenses of setting up the machines for and the cost of coining copper money for the Prince of Wales Island i.e. Penang (Offg Keeper of Records of the Government of India in lit 10 7 22). In the Imperial Record Department at Calcutta there exists a letter dated December 12th 1787 addressed to Mr Herbert Harris the Mint Master which reads as follows

Sir

Having stated to the Governor General in Council the Information which you communicated to me regarding the Copper Coin remaining to be sent to Prince of Wales Island of the Quantity prepared last year I am directed to acquaint you that you are to embark it in the 'Speedwell' and to settle the Terms of Freight with the Commander Captn Fearse

I am etc

E HAY

Secretary to the Government

The so called Cents (of which there are three very different types) and Half Cents (of which there are two forms)

went into circulation and some varieties are not uncommon in poor condition. but the Quarter-Cent (1 Keping) was so extremely small as to be useless for practical purposes and it is a rare coin. The currency position was little improved by these small tentative issues: indeed, as, intrinsically, they were of excellent metallic value, they were, in accordance with the well-known economic law, rapidly pushed out of circulation by the inferior coinage which it had been hoped they might replace attempts made prior to 1800 to prohibit this process by a regulation interdicting the introduction into the Island of copper coinage of lower intrinsic value were, as might have been anticipated, futile

In a letter dated May 10th, 1800, Sir George Leith, the then Lieutenant-Governor of the Island, writes — ' On the "Union", Captain Burgh, which sailed on the 27th April, I sent to the Resident of Bencoolen copper pice to the amount of Spanish dollars 500, which were not current here. Some years ago the Superintendent found it necessary to prohibit all copper money from passing in the bazar that was not coined for the Island, it having been discovered that the pice of Bombay and Bencoolen had been imported to considerable amount, which though 50 per cent less in value, passed current on the Island, so that in a few months the copper of the Island was carried off, and none current but that of inferior value this was the occasion of having so large a quantity of Bencoolen pice in the Treasury It being useless here I judged it better to send it to the Resident of Bencoolen, requesting him to give credit for the amount to the Bengal Presidency; it has been written off the books of the Establishment' (vide Journ Ind Arch, Vol. V, 1851, pp 161 and 162): and Millies (p. 98) remarks that, after these issues of 1787 and 1788 had shown themselves to be of little practical use, the gold and silver (and presumably copper) coins of British India were freely admitted into currency in the Straits Settlements Sir George Leith's period of office closed with the year 1803 when he was relieved by Mr R. T. Farquhar This gentleman held large and somewhat grandiose ideas regarding the development of the Settlement and, in one of certain Appendices to a Report on his administration of the Island which was prepared by him and submitted to the new form of Government, by which he was superseded in 1805, he writes with regard to the coinage as follows :

"Copper Coins"

"I propose 50,000 rupees worth of such size as to have.—

' Rupees 25,000 of cents 4,000 whole pice from a maund of copper :

"Rupees 20,000 of 1 cents 8 000 of half pice from a
'maund of copper, and

' Rupees 5,000 of $\frac{1}{4}$ cents 40,000 of these 10 pice to
"one large

"the design on the coin as heretofore circulated at Prince of Wales' Island

"The Company will gain on the issue upwards of 50 per cent, even at the present high rate of copper

Small Silver Coins (doubtful)

Rupees 25 000 of Cupangs	19 Cupangs to a dollar
	20 half Cupangs to a dollar

20 half Cupangs to a dollar

These may also amount to 50,000 rupees in design precisely like the piece the alloy may be 25 per cent copper which will be all gain as the coinage is the Company's but there may be objections, which I am not fully aware of, to depreciating the silver and which may render it inexpedient to establish the coin.

[NOTE — Mr Farquhar is here, I think using the word 'Cupang' merely to signify a fractional piece of money.]

^c Gold Coin

	Gold Coin
'Any quantum	1 gold dollar equal to 10 silver dollars
	$\frac{1}{2}$ gold dollar equal to 5 silver dollars
"As three	$\frac{1}{4}$ gold dollar equal to 2½ silver dollars

$\frac{1}{2}$ gold dollar equal to 5 silver dollars

$\frac{1}{4}$ gold dollar equal to $2\frac{3}{4}$ silver dollars

"As these may be used in merchandize their fineness must quadruple with the exchange, and as gold is cheap here the saving of 15 per cent will be made by having the mint and dyes here

"The more our copper and silver coins (if the latter be established at all) are carried away, the greater will be our gain from the supply. Copper is now dear, but when it falls to 40 and 45 rupees per maund there will be a gain of more than one half."

"The coinage of pice and doublekies or cupangs has been a great source of revenue to the Dutch Company. They gain nearly 100 per cent on the issue and if we can spend annually one lakh of rupees, we should in like manner make a very considerable increase to our revenue."

"The design of the gold coins may follow that of the copper and silver, excepting that they must be milled at the edges.

"If the Government be authorized to establish a mint at 'Prince of Wales' Island I am convinced it would yield a revenue from the Company's and private coinage, of from 20 to 30,000 dollars per annum, besides paying the expense which is trifling. Assays and one or two artists may be procured at Calcutta

"As every coinage will yield revenue, no means are necessary to prevent export so long as we keep pace with the circulation by coinage without overloading the market with any one coin.

"I should think it advisable to rent the exchange of all coins in the bazar and fix the discount; which will always prevent any depreciation of value, and yield a surplus revenue to government." (Vide Jour Ind Arch, Vol V, 1850, pp 418-19)

Farquhar's actual proposals do not seem to have met with a cordial reception although the currency difficulties continued to form the subject of constant discussion: but nothing effective was done for some years

About 1804, merchants in Penang, unable to obtain any adequate supply of small copper currency, commenced in despair to issue their own tokens: these were minted in England their example was followed latter by Singapore traders, but the series has no direct concern with the coins of Penang and is usually referred to as that of "Malayan Merchants' Tokens"

In September, 1805, the Instructions framed for the new system of administration of Penang arrived in the Island from England, Mr. Dundas was the Governor and in paragraph 61 of the despatch from the Court of Directors establishing the Government, they write:—

"Coinage.

"We are not sufficiently acquainted with the coins current to give any directions upon this subject The dollar we understand is the principal current coin and we have reason to believe that the introduction of a copper coinage, of various denominations, would be of much public advantage We wish to receive your opinion upon this subject, that we may take measures accordingly. A gradual division of coin, from the dollar to the pice, would be of singular convenience to the inhabitants; you will acquaint us whether you think it advisable that we should provide copper coins for the use of your island and of what value and description" (Vide Jour. Ind. Arch, Vol. VI, 1852, p. 29)

In his reply, dated the 12th November, 1805, Mr Dundas remarked:—

"Coinage.

"74. The only coins at present in circulation are the Spanish dollar and a pice of tin, 100 of which are equal to a dollar On the best enquiry, it appears that—

"a silver coin of 50 pice,

"Ditto of.....20 pice,

"Ditto of.....12½ pice,

which ought to be of 10 per cent more alloy than the dollar would be highly convenient for the internal use of the island. The introduction of the alloy is recommended to meet the expense of the coinage and to obviate the exportation of the coin as bullion.

75 We earnestly recommend to your Honble Court that a sum to the amount of £15 000 be sent out in such coin for this island which we are convinced would much benefit the inhabitants in reducing the price of the smaller articles of consumption without loss to the Honble Company.

76 In addition to the above a small copper coin may easily be made on the island sufficient for the general use to which it can be applied without the Honble Company being at any expense thereby. (Vide Jour Ind Arch Vol VI 1852 p 90)

With Mr Farquhar's suggestions the new Governor in a later despatch (as one from himself in Council) under date February 28th 1806 dealt very summarily it reads —

9th Coinage agreeably to a note on the subject by the late Lieutenant Governor

Sicca rupees 50 000

23 On this subject the 74th, 75th and 76th paragraphs of the general letter to the Honble Court of Directors under date the 12th November last are sufficiently explanatory of our opinion and are consequently subjoined in Appendix No 12 from which it will appear that any resources the Lieutenant Governor might have calculated upon by establishing a Mint at Prince of Wales Island are in a great measure done away with except in the coinage of copper which we intend to bring to the test of experiment so soon as a sufficient supply of the material can be procured.

Thus much we have thought it necessary to remark on such parts of Mr Farquhar's report and appendix as contain particular statements or where we have been enabled to reduce to some one point or other his observations which are for the most part too general and speculative either to be strengthened or confuted by the test of calculation upon fixed or even reasonable principles. (Vide Jour Ind Arch Vol V 1851 p 427)

The Directors of the Company do not seem to have approved of the idea of minting any silver coins specially for the Island and so far as I can gather the coining of any such gold currency was never seriously considered. It seems clear from later documentary evidence that the Court of Directors was determined contrary to the advice of their represen-

tatives in Malaya (who knew full well how firmly rooted was the Silver Dollar) to establish the India Rupees as the Company's silver currency in an effort which, although sustained for over a quarter of a century ended in complete failure. With regard however, to copper coinage and stimulated, perhaps by the immense numbers of copper tokens issued without Government permission by the merchants of the Island the Directors apparently in 1809 approached the Royal Mint in London asking that 25 tons of copper might be used there for coining bronze currency for Penang this request was referred to the Lords of the Committee of Council for Coin. The resolution of the Coin Committee of the Privy Council was according to Ruding (*Annals*, Vol II, p 106) passed on April 16th 1810 and was to the effect that 25 tons of copper coins should be executed for Penang and they were accordingly struck at the Mint. Their Lordships' authority sanctioning the proposal was conveyed to the Master of the Royal Mint by a letter dated April 17th 1810.

An old manuscript book at the Royal Mint at London shows that pieces designated as Pice and Half Pice were struck the weight of the Pice piece was at the rate of 48 to the avoirdupois pound 17 tons of Pice (i.e. 1 827,840 pieces) and 8 tons of Half Pice (i.e. 1 720,320 pieces) were minted. The Royal Mint on Tower Hill in London had been supplied in 1805 with his new patented steam driven coining presses by the famous Matthew Boulton of the Soho Mint Birmingham, who, incidentally, had minted the tokens for the Penang merchants it was said that a single engine could turn out from 30 000 to 40 000 coins in one hour. The design adopted was one chosen from several patterns (which are of great rarity) and was of artistic appearance and excellent workmanship a vast contrast to the somewhat crude and clumsy issues of 1786 and 1787.

I am indebted to Colonel R. A. Johnson C.B.E. Deputy Master of the Royal Mint London for much of the information given above with regard to this Penang issue of 1810.

That year was notable in the history of the Island, as in December it was visited by Lord Minto, the Governor General of India on his way to Malacca where 6 000 British and 6 000 Indian troops were concentrated for the invasion of Java the capture of which from the French (and Dutch) was effected in the succeeding year.

No further coinage was issued for the Island for some years but in March 1824 Malacca which had since 1818 been in the hands of the Dutch was (for the third time in thirty years!) again transferred to British rule, this time in exchange for the British Settlements in Sumatra (a poor bargain for Great Britain) and was in the following year amalgamated with Penang and Singapore into a single Presidency. In 1824

appeared a pattern of a piece of the denomination of one third of a Cent designed for, but never adopted by the British East India Company it is of the highest rarity and was no doubt intended for use (had it been accepted for currency) in all the newly linked Settlements. It did not bear the name of any place and was, probably, for that or other reasons rejected but it carried the value in English, Persian Chinese and Malay character.

No clear information has so far as I know yet been published with regard to the production of this pattern but in the Imperial Record Department, Calcutta there has as the result of the searches there undertaken on my behalf, been found a letter dated 14th February, 1824, addressed by Mr Crawford, the Resident of Singapore, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal the material portions of which read as follows

“6 In keeping accounts the Spanish Dollar will be most convenient divided into cents or hundredth parts, but it does not seem necessary that there should exist any actual Coin of this Value As a Spanish Dollar will contain 300 copper coins—each of the latter will constitute $\frac{1}{3}$ of a cent and I think, may be conveniently so denominated. The silver coin will consist of 10 of the Copper Coins and 30 will be equivalent to one Spanish Dollar.

“7 With respect to the inscription it should be the same on both coins. On one side, may be inscribed the value of the coin in the English, Chinese, Malay, and Bugis Languages, and on the reverse may be inserted the crest of the East India Company, without the arms or supporters which are not only too large for the coin, but what is of more consequence bear no resemblance to the devices on the coins assumed as models, and to which habit has rendered the native partial. Under the Company's arms, may be inserted the date in which the coins are struck, and perhaps the motto of the East India Company's arms may find room without inconvenience. Enclosed I have the honor to forward sketches of such inscriptions, as I now venture to recommend. The characters may be written either diagonally or horizontally as may be found best, but I should conceive the first preferable.

I have no knowledge as to where this pattern was minted except that it was not produced at the Royal Mint London (Deputy Master, in lit 17-12 23,) and, as a matter of comment, it could hardly, properly, be regarded as a coin having in fact or in design any special attribution to Penang. [Since writing the above I have ascertained that the dies for this

coin were made at the Calcutta Mint where they still exist
[some sample coins were struck and sent to Singapore]

At any rate no further results seems to have emerged from Mr Crawford's letter of 14th February 1824, but in 1825 a new series of copper coins of the value of 1/50th 1/100th and 1/200th of a Dollar (or Double Single and Half Pice) made its appearance.

They are of design generally similar (except in size value and date) to that of the 1810 issue. They were not minted at the Royal Mint, London but at Madras.

Thurston (pp. 57 and 58) makes some observations upon and quotes two letters which refer to this 1825 issue. The first is dated April 9th 1825 and is from the Acting Secretary to Government Fort Cornwallis (i.e. Penang) to the Secretary to Government Fort St. William (i.e. Calcutta). It reads thus —

Sir,

The copper coin sent out by the Honourable Court of Directors [this no doubt refers to the 1810 issue J A B] having been all issued from the treasury, and great inconvenience being likely to arise before a supply can be received from England I am directed to forward specimens of the coins in use the pice and half pice in the hope that it may be found practicable to manufacture the same at the mint in Calcutta. These coins are issued the first at 100 the second at 200 to the dollar, and pass at Singapore and all over the Malay Peninsula where they are much sought after. A coinage of a double pice, 50 to the dollar, bearing the same stamp would also be convenient should the measure be found practicable, and not attended with inconvenience. The transmission of the above coin to the amount of 10,000 dollars in value would prove extremely useful to the general circulation of the island.

"at Fort St George if practicable and transmitted to
 "Penang

"2 Specimens of coins are herewith transmitted

I have the honour to be

Sr

Your most obedient servant

HOLT MACKENZIE

Thurston adds —

The mint records show that in consequence of the correspondence, new punches and dies were made and 130 300 double pice 136 700 single pice and 145 000 half pice struck for the Penang Government

They are not rare They bear on the reverse in Arabic script Pulau Pinang (i.e. Malay for Island Penang)

In 1828 there were further important administrative changes in the Island as a result of a visit thereto in 1827 of Lord William Bentinck (at that time Governor General of India) who reduced most materially both the Military and Civil establishments indeed in 1829 the Straits Settlements ceased to be an independent Presidency and were placed under the control of the Government of Bengal At any rate in 1828 appeared the final issue of Penang coinage it was similar (save for date) in design and denominations to that of 1825 and was probably also minted at Madras was somewhat coarsely executed and seems to me to be made of a rather soft and easily abraded metal

With the issue of 1828 the Penang series ends and it was not until 1845 after every effort to force upon a protesting community its inappropriate Rupee and Anna currency had failed that the British East India Company reluctantly accepting the Dollar standard began to coin for the Straits Settlements as a whole Cents Half Cents and Quarter Cents These the similar succeeding issue of 1862 and the later long lines of silver and bronze issued under the Colonial Office Administration constitute another—the Straits Settlements—series and do not form any part of the subject matter of the present observations

The following is a short descriptive account of the Penang issues There is no actually unpublished piece mentioned in reference to them all can be collected from the joint pages of Ruding Millies Atkins or Howorth The diameters and weights given are those of the best preserved specimens in my own collection

1786 (?)

Copper

1 *One Cent* Diam, 29 mill Weight 231.1 grs Plain edge Probably struck at Calcutta Plate I, 1

Obverse—Within a plain line circle, the Bale mark (i.e. Trade mark) of the British East India Company. This here consists of a heart shaped shield surmounted by the figure 4, within which are the letters V (at top) E (at left railed off by a plain semi circular line) I (at right similarly enclosed) and C (at bottom). The letters are the initials of the United East India Company.

Reverse—Blank

NOTE—There is neither legend nor date on this rather rough piece but Atkins attributes it to Penang and Howorth gives it the date 1786, though the Island was only actually annexed on August 11th of that year. It is possible (see Mr Hay's letter quoted above) that Captain Light took part of this money with him when he went to assume possession of the place. I have however, at present, been unable to obtain any definite information about this coin either from the Indian Mints or the Indian Imperial Record Department, but it may be taken as fairly certain that it was struck in or near Calcutta, where a mint was established in 1757. The coin must, I think, have been turned out in considerable quantity as it is not rare though very seldom found in first class condition. I had several worn specimens brought to me on my periodic visits to Penang during 1914-20. Fair examples can be bought in London for from 1s to 2s. It is Atkins' No 7, p 206, vide Howorth, p 33.

1787

Silver

2 *Half Dollar* Diam 32 mill (?) Plain edge

Obverse—Within a circle of strokes close to the edge the Bale mark of the Company date thus "J787" below, a five pointed star between the centre figures.

Reverse—Within a circle of strokes close to the edge an inscription in Arabic script, reading, according to Millies' description of No 6 Djezirah Perrinsa ab Wailis' i.e. 'Island Prince of Wales' a truly barbarous phonetic transliteration," says that learned numismatist.

NOTE—This is the so called 'Rupee' of Atkins. It seems clear from Captain Light's letter (quoted above) of June 20th, 1788 to the Governor General of Bengal that these ½, ¼ and 1⁄8th Dollar silver pieces both of 1787 and 1788 were coined at the Company's Mint in Calcutta. The issue of 1787

must I think have been a very small one as all of the three denominations seem extremely rare no specimens of this issue are in the cabinets of the British Museum or the Indian Museum Calcutta and none appeared in the sales of such well known Colonial collections as those of Messrs Montagu (1899) Colmley (1902) Lt Col Leslie Ellis (1902) Murdoch (1913) or Caldecott (1912) Value probably £10 Neither of the two silver issues (i.e. of 1787 or 1788) is mentioned by Ruding

This coin is Atkins No 1 p 205 vide Howorth p 33

3 Quarter Dollar Diam 24 mill (?) Plain edge

Similar to the Half Dollar piece save for size

NOTE — Value probably £5 This coin is Atkins Half Rupee No 2 p 205 vide Howorth p 33

4 One Tenth Dollar Diam 17 mill (?) Plain edge

Similar generally to the Quarter Dollar save for size but on the *Reverse* the inscription is shortened and according to Milhes describing the similar coin dated 1788 reads (evidently through lack of space) Djezirah ab Wailis i.e. Island of Wales

NOTE — Value probably £2 10 0 This coin is Atkins Quarter Rupee No 3 p 205 vide Howorth p 33

Copper

5 One Cent Diam 16 1/2 mill Weight 177.9 grs Plain edge Plate I, 2

Obverse — Within a circle of strokes close to the edge the Bale mark of the Company date thus J787 below a rosette of eight dots between the centre figures

Reverse — Within a circle of strokes close to the edge an inscription as on the Half Dollar piece

NOTE — It is as well here to observe with regard to the copper coinage issued under this date that it would seem that (besides a peculiar variety mentioned by Milhes) there were two very distinctly separate issues both of the One Cent and Half Cent pieces but only one issue of the Quarter Cent piece which was probably too small in size to be of practical use as a coin

The main difference between these two issues is that in the one the centre figures of the date are separated by a rosette of dots but in the other by a six pointed star Judging from the fact that the rosette type seems markedly rarer than the star form I have concluded that the former is the earlier and less numerous issue For some of the issues more than one die was used as there is noticeable variation in some pieces

From the application (referred to earlier) for a monetary advance for the minting of this coinage made in 1787 by the

Mint Master of the Calcutta Mint to the Government of Bengal, it seems clear that these issues were struck there

The one Cent piece of this issue from its weight evidently corresponds roughly to the three Kaping piece issued in 1786 for the British Settlements in Sumatra

This coin is Atkins' No 8, p 206 vide Howorth, p 33 Marsden (p 809) mentions "a small specimen in copper" bearing this date, but does not state the denomination but this coin is mentioned by Milnes, p 99 The 1787 copper issue is not mentioned by Ruding Value about 5s

6 *One Cent* Diam, 25.5 mill Plain edge Plate I, 3 (obverse)

Similar, generally, to No 5, but in this coin the last figure of the date (i.e. "7") lies with its top towards the edge of the coin also the shield is less pointed and the design in higher relief the rosette has seven dots

NOTE—I have not seen this coin but it is described and figured by Milnes, p 99 and Plate II, fig 20 It is not mentioned by Atkins or Howorth

7 *One Cent* Diam, 25 mill Weight, 146.9 grs Plain edge

Similar, generally, to No 5 but the centre figures of the date are separated by a six pointed star

NOTE—There was more than one die used in connection with this coin e.g.

7A From the top of the figure 4 to the bottom of the shield, the length is 21 mill the letters and figures are large and coarse Plate I, 4 (obverse)

7B From the top of the figure 4 to the bottom of the shield, the length is 18.5 mill the letters and figures are small and fine Plate I, 5 (obverse)

There are very likely further varieties of die, but I have not had the opportunity of examining together any large number of specimens It is more often met with than the "rosette" cent value from about 2s 6d to 5s

This coin is Atkins' No 9, p 206 he does not refer to any differences in die Howorth does not even distinguish the specimens of these (or of the Half Cent) pieces, in which the centre figures of the date are separated by a star, from those in which they are separated by a rosette

8 *Half Cent* Diam 18 to 20 mill Weight, 75.2 grs Plain edge Plate I, 6

Similar, generally, to No 5, but, of course, a smaller coin, the rosette has six dots

NOTE—There are very likely die variations, but I have not noticed any marked difference in the few specimens which I have compared together

This coin is described and figured by Millies p 99 and Pl II, fig 19 It is Atkins' No 10, p 206 vide Howorth p 33 Value about 2s 6d

9 *Half Cent* Diam, 20.5 mill Weight varies from 87.0 to 66.6 grs Plain edge Plate I, 7 (obverse)

Similar generally to No 7 but of course, a smaller coin

NOTE — This coin is Atkins' No 11 p 207 Value about 2s 6d

10 *Quarter Cent* Diam 13.5 mill Weight 14.6 grs Plain edge Plate I, 8

Obverse — The Company's Badge mark with date "1787" below no rosette or star

Reverse — Abbreviated legend as in the One tenth Dollar Silver piece (No 4)

NOTE — This minute piece is very hard to find in good condition and is generally, rather rare value about 10s

This coin is Atkins' No 12, p 206 vide Howorth p 33 it is not mentioned by Millies

1788

Silver

11 *Half Dollar* Diam, 32 mill Weight 205.4 grs Plain edge Plate I, 9

Similar to No 2 save for date the two centre figures are separated by a six pointed star

NOTE — This coin is Atkins' 'Rupee,' No 4 p 204 where it is figured vide Howorth p 33 not described by Millies

This is a very rare piece and seldom in the market the present value is about £8 Specimens in the auction room have fetched £5 12 6 (Lot 172 Montague Sale 189) £4 14 0 (Lot 334 Cholmley sale 1902 where it is figured in the catalogue Pl II) £6 (Lot 225 Ellis sale 1902) £5 5 0 and £5 12 6 (Lots 301 and 302 Murdoch sale 1903) and £7 17 6 (Lot 231 Caldecott sale 1912)

12 *Quarter Dollar* Diam 24 mill Weight 103.9 grs Plain edge Plate I, 10 (obverse)

Similar to the Half Dollar piece of the same date but of course smaller

NOTE — In Marsden (p 809) appear the following observations which evidently from the weights given refer to the Half Dollar and Quarter Dollar pieces Pulo Pinang or

Prince of Wales Island There are in the collection a few specimens of small silver coins struck in Bengal for the English Settlement at this place On one side is the customary mark of the East India Company, with the date of 1788,

"and on the other, in the Arabic character, the barbarous words 'Jezirah Prans ab Wailis' for 'Prince of Wales' Island' The weight of the larger coin is 4 dwt $4\frac{1}{2}$ gr and of the smaller, 1 dwt 18 gr"

This coin is Atkins' "Half Rupee", No 5 p 205 vide Howorth, p 33 not described by Millies

This seems to be met with even more seldom than the Half Dollar present value about £5 At the Montagu sale (Lot 173) a specimen with one of No 13 fetched £4 6 0, a similar lot at the Ellis sale (Lot 226) £4-10 0, another (with three examples of No 13) at the Murdoch sale (Lot 303) £4 12 0, a fourth at the Caldecott sale (Lot 233) £5 12 6

13 One Tenth Dollar Diam 17 mill Weight, 40.9 grs Plain edge

Similar to the corresponding piece of 1788 but the two centre figures are separated by a six pointed star

NOTE —There are at least three impressions from different dies e.g.

13A The date figures are high up on each side of the shield which is sharply pointed Plate I, 11.

13B The date figures are smaller and much lower down on each side of the shield which is rounder, the star is also smaller Plate I, 12

13C I have not seen the third form, but, three specimens of these coins were sold at the Murdoch and Caldecott sales where they are described as being from three varying dies but I gather that this third variety has a small star and a broad toothed border

This coin is Atkins "Quarter Rupee," No 6, p 206 vide Howorth, p 33

It is described and figured by Millies, p 98 and Pl II, fig 18 It is also described and figured by Marsden p 809 and Pl LIV, No MCCCXXXVIII This is the only silver coin of the Penang series which can be regarded as other than extremely rare but even so it is very seldom met with present value about £1

Three specimens at the Caldecott sale (Lot 233) fetched £1 17 6

I think it is fairly certain that the number of Half and Quarter Dollar pieces of 1788 which was struck was very small and that they hardly if at all, ever passed into circulation but, although such few specimens as I have personally seen have been in almost if not quite perfect condition, Messrs Spink and Son Ltd inform me that they have had worn examples through their hands With regard however, to the One Tenth Dollar of 1788 it is obvious again, from what Captain Light wrote that it enjoyed a considerable popularity and was coined in some quantity, and the great majority of the

dozen or more pieces which I have handled have been clearly already in many pockets

1810

Copper

No more coinage appeared for Penang until this year and I have already detailed above so far as my information extends, the events which gave rise to its introduction

The design of the two denominations (i.e. One Cent and Half Cent) of coin which were adopted for circulation was the same for both it was selected from three Patterns two of which (including the one chosen) were by Lewis Pingo and the third by Matthew Boulton

Colonel Johnson informs me (in lit.) that in the Museum at the Royal Mint London there are sets of obverse and reverse matrices and punches corresponding to the One and Half Cent (or as he calls them Pice and Half Pice) pieces which went into currency and also that Pingo engraved the dies

The two unadopted patterns are very rare and valuable

14 *One Cent (or Pice)* Diam 28 mill Weight 148.6 gr
Plain edge Plate I, 13

Obverse — Within a circle of strokes close to the edge the Arms Crest Supporters and Motto of the British East India Company date in small figures in a curve below The design of the arms portrayed consists of a heart shaped shield carrying the cross of St George in the left hand upper quarter of the shield is a minute representation of the crowned shield of Great Britain, the supporters are lions rampant each bearing between the fore paws a standard the flag of which carries St George's Cross the lions stand on a scroll work ribbon on which is the motto 'AUSPICIO REGIS ET SENATUS ANGLIÆ' above the shield is the crest i.e. a lion rampant to left standing on a rope pediment and holding a crown between its fore paws

Reverse — Within a circle of strokes close to the edge a circle wreath of lily cups which do not overlap each other and run counter clock wise within this wreath, in Arabic script "Pulau Pinang" (i.e. Malay for "Island Penang")

This coin is only found either as a copper or bronze Pattern and is rare it was never adopted for circulation It was according to Ruding designed by, or rather in the work of, the great mint master Matthew Boulton of Birmingham (1728-1809)

This coin is Atkins' No 15 p 207, where it is figured it is not referred to by Howorth but is described and figured by Ruding, Vol II p 450 and Supplement, Part II, Pl XVI fig 9, and by Milles, p 100 and Pl II, fig 21 Milles who

apparently described this coin from the figure in Ruding, states that under the right foot of the lion of the crest is a ball. This ball certainly appears in Ruding's engravings of both this coin and of No 16 and is reproduced by Millies in his figures of the same coins and by Atkins in his drawings of Nos. 14 and 16. But, in the twenty or more actual specimens (patterns, proofs and currency) of Nos. 14, 15 and 16 which I have examined, there is no sign of any such ball; and I do not think it was engraved on any die.

Value about £2 now. a bronzed specimen at the Ellis sale (Lot 229) fetched £1-6-0

15. *One Cent (or Piece)* Diam, 28 mill. Weight, 144.5 grs. Plain edge Plate II, 1.

Obverse — Within a beaded circle close to the edge, the Arms, Crest, Supporters and Motto of the Company. The general design differs very greatly from No. 14. The Arms, etc. are all larger. the shield more elaborate: the riband carrying the motto differently arranged and the letters of the motto bigger: the figures of the date are in a straight line and are also larger.

Reverse — Within a beaded circle close to the edge, a circle wreath of lily cups which, besides having more petals than those in No 14, overlap each other and run clock-wise. Within this wreath is an inscription as in No. 14. The wreath in this coin is much further from the rim of the coin than in No 14.

NOTE — This coin is rare and is only found as a copper or bronzed pattern: it was not adopted for circulation. It was produced at the Royal Mint in London and was designed by Mr Lewis Pingo. This gentleman, a British subject, was well known as a medallist and coin-engraver: was born in 1743 and died at Camberwell on August 30th 1830, at the age of eighty-seven. He was a son of one Thomas Pingo, whom he succeeded as Assistant Engraver at the Royal Mint, London, in 1776. three years later he was appointed Chief Engraver and remained in that position until 1815 when he was superannuated.

This coin is Atkins' No. 14, p 207 present value about £2. A specimen in copper (from the Atkins collection) at the Ellis sale (Lot 227) brought £1-10-0 and a bronzed example (Lot 228) £1-1-0. It is not mentioned by Ruding, Millies or Howorth.

16. *One Cent (or Piece)*. Diam. 28 mill. Weight, 146 grs. Plain edge Plate II, 2.

Obverse — Similar, generally, to No 14, but the design is enclosed within a beaded circle lying some little distance from the edge. The shield is also differently shaped and the flags held by the lion Supporters are larger.

Reverse — Similar, generally, to No 14 but the inscription

lies within a beaded circle some little distance from the edge. The wreath is composed of lily cups and leaves which overlap and run clock-wise.

NOTE—This coin was produced at the Royal Mint in London, being designed by Pingo, and was the type which was minted for circulation. Bronzed and copper proofs are known and are worth about £1 each. The circulated coin is fairly common and worth from 1s to 2s.

This coin is Atkins' No 13, p 206, where it is figured vide Howorth, pp 33 and 34, on which latter page the Reverse is figured. It is also described and figured by Ruding, Vol. II, p 405 and Supplement, Pl XVI fig 10 and by Millies, p. 100 and Pl II, fig 22.

17. *Half-Cent (or Half-Pice)* Diam, 23.5 mill Weight, 71.9 grs Plain edge Plate I, 14.

The design is similar to No 16 but, of course, the coin is smaller.

NOTE—This coin was produced at the Royal Mint, London from Pingo's design and was put into circulation; copper proofs are known and are worth about £1 each. A proof specimen in copper at the Ellis sale (Lot 230) brought 15s. Circulated specimens are fairly common and are purchasable from 1s to 2s 6d.

This coin is Atkins' No 16, p. 207. vide Howorth, p 33. It is not referred to by Ruding or Millies.

1824.

Copper

18 *One-Third Cent.* Diam, 21 mill Plain edge Plate II, 6.

Obverse.—The Crest of the East India Company with the motto of the Company around; (for description see No 14).

Reverse—The value " $\frac{1}{3}$ cent" in four scripts arranged in the form of a cross, i.e. on the left, in English; above, in Bengali (the writing of the Celebes Islands); on the right, in Arabic; and below, in Chinese.

NOTE.—This is an extremely rare coin. It is described and figured by Atkins on p 191 as No 213 under the heading "Miscellaneous Indian Coins". and of it he writes: "This is an exceedingly rare piece, and as it only occurs in proof condition was most probably only a pattern, and never issued. From the value being expressed in Chinese and Malay as well as Persian, it was doubtless intended to circulate either in one of the Straits Settlements or in some portion of the Eastern Archipelago." See Introduction: Letter dated 14-2-1824 from Resident, Singapore, to Secretary to Government, Bengal. It never was adopted for circulation. The

Master of His Majesty's Mint, Calcutta, informs me (in lit. 7-3-24): "In an old register in the Die Department of this Mint I found rubbings of the dies prepared here and this enabled me to find the dies themselves. Both dies were marked in the register as 'unknown' and were not in juxtaposition as being the obverse and reverse of one particular coin. I enclose rubbings of them for your information." [These rubbings showed the coin accurately. J. A. B.] The Master of this Mint adds: "Dies (for this coin) were prepared here (i.e. Calcutta) and sample coins struck therefrom and sent to Singapore. The Mint Master, however, gave various reasons why the coins should not be supplied from this Mint. It appears that his recommendations were accepted and that coins of a different kind were really struck at Madras." A specimen was sold as Lot 237 at the Caldecott sale in 1912 for £1-16-0; whilst an example which formed part of Lot 236 in the Murdoch sale was figured in Plate II of the Catalogue.

1825.

Copper.

I have, in the Introduction, shown from contemporary correspondence the reasons why, so far as I can ascertain, the issue of 1825 was projected. It consisted of three denominations namely of Two, One and Half-Cent pieces. Until recently, it does not seem to have been accurately noticed where they were minted and Atkins, in referring, p. 207, to the Two Cent coin of this date remarks: "Although several years later (i.e. than the 1810 issue) this is not nearly such fine work as those preceding, and is most probably of Colonial fabrication."

I think it is now clear that, from what appears in the Introduction, this issue was struck at Madras.

The issue is not mentioned by Ruding or Millies.

None of the three pieces of this issue nor of the three similar pieces struck in 1828 are, in worn condition, uncommon: but none of them are seen often in extremely fine state. During my residence in Singapore from 1914 to 1920, I frequently came across abraded specimens of the Two and One Cent pieces of both issues in the rouleaux of modern One or Half Cent coins of the Straits Settlements; these latter, wrapped up in newspaper in neat rolls to the value of one dollar or fifty cents, were obtainable anywhere in the markets or bazaars as small change, and this wrapping often concealed and included strange coins which were thus passed on to the chagrin of the general public, but to the pleasure of the collector. I found, in this way, several examples of the old Penang Two Cent pieces, pierced by natives with a large central circular hole, for enabling them conveniently to be carried

(with Chinese cash or other centrally pierced coins) on a wire or cord

19 *Two Cents* Diam 31.5 mill Weight 202.7 grs
Plain edge Plate II, 4

This coin is save for date similar in design to the One Cent currency piece of 1810 (No 16) but is of course much larger. It is of coarser workmanship. This coin is Atkins No 17 p 207 vide Howorth pp 33 and 34 Value about 2s

20 *One Cent* Diam 28 mill Weight 130 grs Plain edge

Similar generally to No 18 but of course smaller. This coin is Atkins No 18 p 207 vide Howorth pp 33 and 34. It is common value about 1s

21 *Half Cent* Diam 24.5 mill Plain edge Plate II 3

Similar generally to No 19 but of course smaller. This coin is Atkins No 19 p 207 vide Howorth pp 33 and 34. It seems a difficult coin to find value 2s 6d

1828

Copper

This issue consisted like that of 1825 of Two One and Half Cent pieces and save for the date the coins of both issue are almost exactly similar. I do not, at present know with certainty where the 1828 issue was minted but Colonel Johnson informs me that he has not found any evidence that it was struck at the Royal Mint London and that it has hitherto been assumed that it was executed at Calcutta but I think that it was struck like the 1825 issue at Madras

22 *Two Cents* Diam 31.5 mill Weight 290.4 grs
Plain edge Plate II, 7

Similar generally to No 18 save for date. This coin is Atkins No 20 p 107 vide Howorth pp 33 and 34. It is fairly common value about 2s

23 *One Cent* Diam 28 mill Weight 146 grs Plain edge Plate II 8

Similar generally to No 19 save for date. This coin is Atkins No 21 p 207 vide Howorth pp 33 and 34

It is fairly common value about 1s 6d

24 *Half Cent* Diam 24.5 mill Weight 69.7 grs Plain edge Plate II, 9

Similar generally to No 20 save for date. This coin is Atkins No 22 p 207 vide Howorth pp 33 and 34. Not often met with value about 2s

It is unfortunately in Patna not possible to consult at present full Numismatic Publications as the Library of the

Patna Museum is still in its infancy : in consequence the author has had, largely, to rely upon his own works of reference. He would like to record his most cordial thanks, for the help accorded to him in the compilation of this paper, to the authorities of the London, Calcutta, Bombay and Madras Mints; to the Governments of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras : to the British Museum, and the Indian Museum, Calcutta; the Raffles Museum, Singapore, Straits Settlements; Mons. J. Schulman of Amsterdam, and many other private correspondents who, by their kind help, have enabled the author to produce what, after more than five years' investigation, is hoped to be the most full account of the coins of Penang which has yet been put together

Patna, India.
February, 1924.

JOHN A. BUCKNILL.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

- 1 Atkins, (J.) "The Coins and Tokens of the Possessions and Colonies of the British Empire." (London, 1889.)
- 2 Howorth, (D. F.). "Coins and Tokens of the English Colonies and Dependencies" (London, 1906)
- 3 Marsden, (Wm.). "Numismata Orientalia: the Oriental Coins of his Collection described and illustrated" (London, 1801.)
4. Mercer, (Sir W. H. and others) 'The Colonial Office List for 1922.' (London, 1922.)
- 5 Milhes, (H. C.) "De Munten der Engelschen voor den Oost-Indischen Archipel." (Amsterdam, 1852.)
- 6 Ruding, (The Rev. R.). "Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain and its Dependencies" (London, 1840)
7. Swettenham, (Sir. F.). "British Malaya: an account of the origin and progress of British influence in Malaya" (London, 1908)
8. Thurston, (Edgar) 'Note on the History of the East India Coinage" (Madras, 1893)
- 9 Thurston, (Edgar) "History of the Coinage of the Territories of the East India Company in the Indian Peninsula and Catalogue of the coins in the Madras Museum" (Madras, 1890)

248.¹ SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE METROLOGY OF THE EARLY SULTANS OF DEHLI.

On pages 73 and 74 of his "Coins of India," Mr C. J. Brown has incorporated certain conclusions which have been arrived at by Mr. Nevill and myself in regard to the metrology

¹ Read at annual meeting of the Numismatic Society of India at Patna, January, 1924

of the early Sultāns of Dehli. As these conclusions are radically different from those laid down by Thomas in his "Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi" and accepted without demur during the last fifty years we wish to put before the Numismatic Society of India our reasons for challenging the pronouncements of that distinguished numismatist. "Some new evidence" writes Mr Thomas (p 3) has lately come to light in the journals of western travellers in India during the first half of the eighth century of the Hijrah which coincides in a singular manner with the data afforded by the weights and intrinsic contents of existing coins so that we are now in a position to maintain with confidence that the scheme of coinage, adopted by Altamsh from possibly conflicting native traditions recognised the use of gold and silver pieces of equal weights. The intentional mint standard must have ranged very closely upon the 17½ grains Troy which amount can be nearly told in the balance by the better specimens to be found in modern cabinets. A definite weight also for which there was high authority in the *Sata śaktika* or one hundred ratī divisional term which appears in early post Vedic Commentaries. The silver tankā which although it was anomalously composed of 100 Indian Gunja seeds (*Abrus precatorius*) was never divided in practice by any number than 64. The favourite subdivisional current piece in more advanced times seems to have been 1/8 or 8/64 which latter denomination it preserved in the *Hasht kām* or 'eight kams, the counterpart and correspondent of eight *śatals*, 64 of which also fell into the general total of a *tankah*. And here it would seem that more purely indigenous traditions had to be reconciled to intermediate Arvan innovations. The new *Tankah* might rule and regulate its own subdivisions but it does not seem to have been able to emancipate itself from the old silver *Purāna* of 32 ratīs of Manu's code which maintained its own weight of 36 grains in independent isolation, down to the time of Muhammad bin Tughlaq. So intuitive in the native mind was the idea of reckoning by *fours* the 'Gundā' of the modern indigene that gold and silver were supposed to conform to some such law, being estimated theoretically whatever the current rate may have been at any given moment at 1/8. So also the silver piece was divided into 8 (or primarily 8 × 8) and the copper exchange against silver commenced with 4 *śals* to the 1/64th of a *tankah*. The Quaternary scale in short was all pervading, there was no escaping the inevitable 4s, 16s, 32s and 64s, which having survived alike Arvan intrusion and Muhammadan conquest, still flourish undisturbed by the presence of British decimals.

On p 220 Mr Thomas further writes. The retention by Altamsh so unreservedly, of local systems of reckoning in the

"minor sums up to the measure of the *tanka*, would seem necessarily to imply that the latter weight itself formed a definite unit, both theoretically, and practically, in the pre-existing monetary computations. This is a concession which could not previously have been claimed, as Altamsh might have been supposed to have retained a leaning to Ghaznavi standards, and the new *tanka* might well have stood for a double *dirham*. The turning point however in this identification depends mainly upon the authentic weight of the true Indian unit, the *raṣi* as recognised at the period in the exact locality of the metropolitan mint, and it is not impossible that the coins themselves may aid in fixing this still indeterminate quantity. The query then presents itself as to how many *raṣis* of gold and silver this *tanka* was estimated to contain. The first answer within reasonable limits suggested by the progression of *fours* in the table just given (from the *Masālik-ul-absār* by Shaikh Mubārak) would be 96; but it is a very singular fact that the old tables of weights in Manu do introduce a decimal element after 32 *raṣis* in the silver weight and after 320, *raṣis* in the gold weighments, the latter having already felt something of the decimal action in the initial use of 5 *raṣis* to a *māṣā*, and finally we have an absolute silver *satamāna* or 100 *mana* weight. A very important bit of collateral evidence is contributed by the subsequently devised *ādālīs*, whose weights are much more closely defined both in the beautiful silver coins of Muhammad bin Tughlaq and in the better specimens of the brass tokens which were designed to replace these 50 *kānī* pieces in the general circulation. These coins as a rule, touch very closely upon the exact 140 grains and it is scarcely possible to doubt that this weight represents the 80 *raṣi* gold *suvarna* equally with the copper *Kārsha* of Manu's tables. . . . If the former association is conceded, my estimate of the *raṣi* at 1.75 grains falls in with singular evenness, for the *ādālī*, $80 \times 1.75 = 140$ for the silver *tanka* or *satāraktika* $100 \times 1.75 = 175$ "

Thomas in effect lays down the following principles —

- (a) The gold and silver *tankas* are of equal weight
- (b) The *tanka* weighs 100 *raṣis*.
- (c) The *raṣi* = 1.75 grains, giving a *tanka* of 175 grains
- (d) The *tanka* is divided into 64 parts, each part being known as a *kānī* or *jītal*.
- (e) The ratio of gold to silver is 1 : 8
- (f) The ratio of silver to copper is 1 : 64.

With (a) there can be no disagreement—the coins themselves supply conclusive evidence on this point.

(b) Thomas's reasons for adopting this standard appear to be that the *tanka* was a local unit found in existence by Altamsh and adopted by him, that a "hundred *raṣi*" divisional term

'appears in early post Vedic Commentaries' and that the old tables of weights in Manu do introduce a decimal element after 32 *ratas* in silver weights and after 320 *ratas* in the gold weights the latter having already felt something of the decimal action in the initial use of 5 *ratas* to 1 *māsha* and finally we have an absolute silver *satamāna* or 100 *mana* weight. We may admit that the *tanka* was based on an existing local standard but the application of post Vedic and Manu weights to the metrology of the thirteenth century Muhammadan conquerors appears to us singularly fanciful and unconvincing. Nor is it consistent with the evidence of the coins themselves. In this connection however it has to be remembered that Thomas had not the advantage of dealing with such an extensive series of coins as now exists. At the time he wrote the *Chronicles* there were no fractional silver pieces of the early Sultans known to him. It is these fractional pieces which assist us materially in disposing of the 100 *rafi tanka*. A paper published in *Numismatic Supplement* No XXVII (1911) gives a summary of the early small silver pieces then known and few have been discovered since. They fall very clearly into four categories —

- 1 Half *tanka* about 83 grs
- 2 One third of a *tanka* about 56 grs
- 3 One sixth of a *tanka* about 28 grs
- 4 One twelfth of a *tanka* about 14 grs

A small gold piece of 55.7 grs in the British Museum (*Num Chron* 1921 Pts III and IV p 346) goes to show a similar division in the gold coinage. These indicate the introduction of division by 3s as well as by the traditional 4s and open the way to the acceptance of a 96 *rafi tanka* which Thomas himself admits is the standard which would first suggest itself to one enquiring into the number of *ratas* composing a *tanka*. With a 96 *rafi tanka* the four classes of small coins would be pieces of 48 2 16 and 8 *ratas*. They would not fit into a 100 *rafi* scale. Further they provide a place for the 32 *rafi purana* which Thomas's theory admittedly isolates as a concurrent piece of money detached from the ordinary currency.

That this scale 96 *ratas* = 1 *tola* was no stranger to Indian currency we know from the memoirs of Babur who found it in existence when he arrived in India. It is permissible to hold when the view is corroborated by the coins themselves and there is no evidence to the contrary that the same scale was in force two and three centuries earlier whether the official weight of the *rafi* had undergone any change or not in the interval. We know from Ferishta whose evidence on this point there seems no good reason for doubting that in the days of Alau d din Muhammad at any rate (i.e. early in the fourteenth century) the *tanka* weighed a *tola*.

We may therefore assume with confidence that the imperial metropolitan *tanka* weighed 96 *ratīs*. We say 'metropolitan' advisedly, for the weight of a *tola* in *ratīs* differs largely in different contiguous districts at the present time and may well have done so in the earlier days.

(c) The translation of the weight standard of Indian coinage from *ratīs* to grains Troy is of secondary importance and is mainly useful as a check. The Indian unit was a *raṭi* (the red or white seed of the plant *Ibrus precatorius*). The weights of the *raṭi* are not constant and may vary from $1\frac{1}{4}$ grains to 2 grains. For the Delhi coinage the *raṭi* weight adopted was probably the one current in the locality. To decide what this weight was in grains it will be sufficient if we can select the most convenient weight within certain limits imposed by the coins themselves. There can be little doubt that the weight adopted by Thomas for his *tanka*—17½ grains—was too high. Recent experiments conducted with 65 gold *tankas* in fine condition covering the period 161 to 1799 A.H. give an average of 168.74 grains, the highest individual weights being 170.02 grs. in the case of a coin of Ibroz Shāh Zafar and 170.01 grains yielded by a particularly brilliant coin of Ibroz Shāh. The same weight is reached by a solitary silver *tanka* of the latter Sultan which barely outweighs a *tanka* of Alauddin Muhammad but the average of the same number of silver coins to all outward appearances in equally good condition and covering the same period is only 166.63 grains. There is also a solitary gold coin of Muhammad bin Sam in Mr. Nevill's cabinet—the earliest known gold piece of the revised Muhammadan standard—which weighs 172.18 grs. It may be conceded that all Indian coins owing to the absence of any milled edge and the somewhat crude methods of striking, lend themselves to sweating. It is always necessary therefore to allow for a small loss of weight even in coins of apparently brilliant condition. The maximum weights given above indicate that the *tanka* of 96 *ratīs* weighed something between 171 and 173 grs. Within those limits it is permissible to adopt an arbitrary *raṭi* weight in grains provided that it fits in with the ascertained weights of the coins themselves. We have come to the conclusion that the weight that should be adopted is 1 *raṭi*=1.8 grain at any rate up to the invasion of Timūr. The official weight of the present *raṭi* is 1.875 grains. We know that in Calcutta in 1845 the official weight of the *raṭi* was 1.796 grains. According to Prof. Holivalt the Mughal *tola* weighed between 185 and 186 grains giving a *raṭi* of 1.9375 grains. There is good reason to suppose that the imperial *tola* was raised in weight after 800 A.H. and again by Sher Shāh. The weight we have chosen would give a *tanka* of 172.8 grains an 80 *raṭi* piece of 114 grains and a 32 *raṭi* piece of 57.6 grains. This scale accords with known con-

"appears in early post-Vedic Commentaries" and that "the old tables of weights in Manu do introduce a decimal element after 32 *ratīs* in silver weights and after 320 *ratīs* in the gold weights the latter having already felt something of the decimal action in the initial use of 5 *ratīs* to 1 *māsha* and finally we have an absolute silver *salamāna* or 100 *mana* weight." We may admit that the *tanka* was based on an existing local standard but the application of post Vedic and Manu weights to the metrology of the thirteenth century Muhammadan conquerors appears to us singularly fanciful and unconvincing. Nor is it consistent with the evidence of the coins themselves. In this connection, however, it has to be remembered that Thomas had not the advantage of dealing with such an extensive series of coins as now exists. At the time he wrote the *Chronicles* there were no fractional silver pieces of the early Sultāns known to him. It is these fractional pieces which assist us materially in disposing of the 100 *ratī tanka*. A paper published in Numismatic Supplement No XXVII (1916) gives a summary of the early small silver pieces then known and few have been discovered since. They fall very clearly into four categories —

- 1 Half *tanka* about 83 grs
- 2 One-third of a *tanka* about 56 grs
- 3 One sixth of a *tanka* about 28 grs
- 4 One-twelfth of a *tanka* about 14 grs

A small gold piece of 55.7 grs in the British Museum (Num Chron, 1921, Pts III and IV, p. 346) goes to show a similar division in the gold coinage. These indicate the introduction of division by 3s as well as by the traditional 4s, and open the way to the acceptance of a 96 *ratī tanka*, which Thomas himself admits is the standard which would first suggest itself to one enquiring into the number of *ratīs* composing a *tanka*. With a 96 *ratī tanka* the four classes of small coins would be pieces of 48, 32, 16 and 8 *ratīs*. They would not fit into a 100 *ratī* scale. Further they provide a place for the 32 *ratī* "purāna" which Thomas's theory admittedly isolates as a concurrent piece of money, detached from the ordinary currency.

That this scale, 96 *ratīs* = 1 tola, was no stranger to Indian currency we know from the memoirs of Bābur, who found it in existence, when he arrived in India. It is permissible to hold, when the view is corroborated by the coins themselves and there is no evidence to the contrary, that the same scale was in force two and three centuries earlier, whether the official weight of the *ratī* had undergone change or not in the interval. We know from Ferishta that in the days of 'Alau-d-din Muhammad at the earliest in the fourteenth century) the *tanka* weighed

weights better than that adopted by Thomas. For example a *rali* of 175 grains means an 80 *rali* piece of 140 grains and a 3-*rali* piece of 56 grains, and in support of his standard Thomas points to the 140 grain piece (*adali*) of Muhammad bin Tughlaq and the 56 grains *pirani*. Unfortunately for this view, however we know from the coins themselves that the 'adalis' frequently weigh more than 140 grains (vide Num Supp XXXV article 220) and similarly the 'purana' is often met with weighing over 56 grains. We know of no instances where weights of 144 grains and 57.6 grains are exceeded by these coins.

(d) The assumption by Thomas that there was a coin denominated *kāni* illustrates his tendency to look for some archaic derivative for his metrological standards rather than accept the explanation which lies nearest to hand.

He concluded that the *tanka* was divided into 64 *jitals* or *kānis* and adduced in support of his conclusion the fact that in Telugu and Canarese the word *kāni* means 1/64th. Professor Hodivala has however pointed out that *kāni* is nothing more than a termination misread for 'gani'. Thus *yagāni* means a single piece, *dugāni* 'a double piece', *hashtgāni* 'a piece of eight', and so on. 'Yagani', 'dugani' are ordinary Persian expressions and Persian names were chosen for the subdivisions of the *tanka* e.g. *hasht*, *shash* etc. The questions then are—What was the unit for which *yagani* stood and eight of which were represented by the *hashtgāni*? And how many of these units went to make up the silver *tanka*? The first point is settled by Shamsi Mubarak in his *Masālik al-ʿabsār* extracts from the French translation of which are quoted by Thomas on p. 238 (n) of the "Chronicles" and later by Shamshi Siraj (Thos., p. 278).

The former writes—

'Une piece qui est la moitié du dirhem Sultanī, se nomme *yagani* (piece d'un) et vaut un *djital*.' "Le dirhem Sultanī vaut le tiers d'un dirhem *shashgani* qui equivaut aux trois quarts du dirhem *hashtgani*." "Le *tanka* d'argent comprend huit dirhems *hashtgani*."

It is on this last passage that Thomas relies to support his conclusion that the silver *tanka* was divided into 64 *jitals* or *kānis*, a division which had the attraction of the inevitable 4s from which he thought there was no escaping in Indian metrology. And at first glance it certainly does suggest a *tanka* of 64 *jitals*. Some colour is also given to the same view by the list of coins current in the time of Firoz Shah given by Shamshi Siraj in his *ʿIrāqih*. Firoz Shahi next in the scale to the *tanka* : *nuqra*, he mentions a *sikka* : *chahal o hashtgāni*, which if the *tanka* were 64 *jitals* would be a 1/4th *tanka*.

It is our considered view on the other hand that the

evidence when examined does not warrant the assumption of a tanka of 64 *gānā*.

In the first place the passage in the *Misaliku l'absār* le tanka d'argent comprend huit dirhems *hashtgānā* is definitely contradicted by another passage in the same work which runs

800 Tournais dont chacun vaut 10 000 dinar (*inā*r was the term applied to silver as well as gold *tankas*—here silver is meant) et le dinar 6 dirhems en sorte que cette somme se montait à 8 millions de *inā*r's courants ou 48 millions de dirhems. This is very precise and the equation is doubly repeated. We are therefore justified in thinking it possible that either the huit in the former passage was a mistake for six or that the word *hashtgānā* should have been *shashgānā*. There is in Persian writing considerable similarity between *hasht* and *shash* and the suggested emendation of *shashgānā* for *hashtgānā* is not far fetched. Having regard to the very definite equation given elsewhere in Sharīkh Mubārak's work. It would seem too that the *shashgānā* was a popular coin in Muhammad bin Tuglāq's reign as well as in that of his successor for Sharīkh Mubārak goes on to say. Ainsi les monnaies d'argent (note the metal) en usage dans l'Inde sont au nombre de six savoir le shanzdagani le luzdagani le *hashtgānā* le *shashgānā* le sultani et le yagani.

Ces trois espèces de dirhems (presumably he refers to the last three mentioned by him) ont cours dans le commerce et sont reçues universellement.

The passage in the *Tārīkh-i Firo Shāhi* is a little more difficult to explain. The 48 *gānā* piece appears to be described as a coin distinct from the *tanka-i nūgra*. There is however the significant addition to the word 48 *gānā* of *sikka*. Now *سکه* and *سکه* in Persian manuscripts where dots are generally omitted are very similar and are very likely to be mistaken one for the other. Thomas himself has misread *sikka* as *tanka* on the coin No 301 of his chronicles. It is therefore not impossible that the word used by Shams-i Sirāj was *tanka-i 48 gānā*. In the alternative as in Persian the word may mean or as well as and the passage may perhaps be interpreted the *tanka* of silver is a coin of 48 *gānā*. It is to be noted also that while the term *sikka* (commonly applied to the silver *tanka*) is used for the 48 *gānā* piece the term applied to all the other lesser denominations is *muhr* *مهر* [query an expression to denote billon coins of token value?]

Moreover on the assumption of a 64 *gānā* *tanka* a piece of 48 *gānā* would be almost meaningless. It is natural enough to suppose that the first division of the *talāla* would be into halves and it is significant that while we have the 20 *gānā* (Southern) and 24 *gānā* (Northern) there is no mention at all of a 32 *gānā* piece.

Ferishta has told us in writing of Alau d din Muhammad's reign that the *tanka* comprised 50 *ṣitals*. We get a remarkable corroboration of this in Muhammad bin Tughlaq's token coin (No 196 of the 'Chronicles') which is described as a *tanka* : *panjāghāni* i.e. 50 *ṣitals*. These coins all hail from the mint of Daulatabad in the Deccan. Similarly the *nise* —the half piece (No 204 of the Chronicles) which would correspond to Shamsh-i Sirāj's 25 *ḡāni* piece was also struck at Daulatabad. Was then the *tanka* differently subdivided in Daulatabad and Delhi? We think that the evidence is clear that it was. Leaving aside the 48 *ḡāni* piece Shamsh-i Sirāj gives the following coins as current in Feroz Shāh's time—2 *ḡānis* 24 *ḡānis* 12 *ḡānis* 10 *ḡānis* 8 *ḡānis* 6 *ḡānis* and one *ṣital*. They will not all work into one scale of 50 *ṣitals* to the *tanka*. We cannot contemplate a currency with subdivisions of 24 30ths 12/50ths 8/50ths or 6/50ths. The 20 *ḡāni* and 10 *ḡāni* on the other hand clearly fit in with the 50 *ṣital* scale whereas they are highly inconvenient subdivisions of either a 64 or a 48 *ṣital tanka*. Similarly the 6 *ḡāni* piece will not go well with a 64 *ṣital tanka*. We are therefore driven to the conclusion that there were two different scales in force in Delhi and the Deccan the former of 48 and the latter of 50 *ṣitals* to the *tanka*. We have shown that Shāikh Mubārak's evidence is to the effect that under the Delhi scale the *tanka* consisted of six *dirhams*. These *dirhams* could hardly be anything but *hashtḡānis*. This would also lead us to a *tanka* of 48 *ṣitals*. Ferishta was a Deccani. He would therefore be likely to be more conversant with and more likely to record the scale in force in Daulatabad than the Delhi scale.

To sum up we are of opinion that in the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq (possibly in that of 'Alau d din Muhammad though this has yet to be proved from the coins) the *ṣital* was in Delhi 1/48th of a *tanka*, i.e. 2 *raṣis* while in the Deccan 50 *ṣitals* went to the *tanka*.

We cannot however assume that on this account the *ṣital* was of the same value in the time of the earlier Sultans. On the contrary such evidence as there is indicates that it was not. There is nothing extraordinary in the fact that Muhammad bin Tughlaq when he—if it was he—remodelled the coinage should adopt the term *ṣital* to express a lower value than it had hitherto borne. In Akbar's time the *ṣital* had fallen still further to 1/25th of a *dam* i.e. 1/1000th of a rupee. The *tanka* itself became a copper denomination. Such changes are not

1 Thomas thinks these 50-*ḡāni* pieces are meant as shown by the weight to represent the *adli*. But in the first place the word used on the coin is definitely *tanka* and secondly a 50-*ḡāni* piece on Thomas's own standards of weight could not have weighed more than 170 or 11 *ḡānis*.

unusual. The English £. s. d. descendants of the copper *libra* the gold *solidus* and the silver *denarius*, are a familiar example.

The testimony in Indian histories that the *ḡīṭāl* was a current coin in the seventh century A H and not merely a money of account is abundant and we do not propose to elaborate this point. The nature of the frequent references to *ḡīṭāls* in the extracts from the Indian historians published by Elliot and Dowson makes this conclusion inevitable. The question for discussion is—what was the value of the *ḡīṭāl* in the 7th Century A H? Thomas came to the conclusion (p 47 of the *Chronicles*) that the *ḡīṭāl* was merely a continuation of the old Hindu *Dehliwāls* without however accepting any necessary identity between the palpable coins and the money of account. The reason for this reservation is not obvious.

We agree with the view that *ḡīṭāl* and *Dehliwāl* were merely two names for the same coin the former being the later. As Thomas points out the author of the *Lajpūt Maṣnū* who lived in the first half of the seventh century A H refers his money value nearly exclusively to *Dilliwāls* while Muḥājir &

Sirāj who had more extensive and later experiences reckons

his totals in *ḡīṭāls* and *ṭankas* of silver. The origin of the term *ḡīṭāl* is obscure. Some light may perhaps be thrown on it by a small anonymous copper coin which has recently come to light. It came from the Kurram valley and bears the legends *ḡīṭāl vaḡānī* and *zarb Akramīn* in what appear to be early seventh century A H characters. There is also

some reason on palaeographical grounds for doubting the ascription of the *ḡīṭāl vaḡānī* figured as No 207 in the *Chronicles* to the time of Muḥammad bin Luḡlaḡ.

In type as well as script this coin appears to belong to an earlier period.

The possibility is indicated that the *ḡīṭāl* was the unit of the copper currency in the frontier regions and that the name was

introduced by the *Mulān madāns* and applied by them to the unitary coins they found current in Hindustan viz the *Dehliwāls*.

When Altamsh laid the foundations of a fresh coinage with a *ṭanka* of 96 *ratīs* the *Dehliwāls* had become too firmly

established as current coin to be ignored and had to be incorporated into the new currency their weight of 32 *ratīs* readily

falling into the revised scheme. What subdivision of the *ṭanka* they formed cannot be laid down with any confidence. But

judging from the results of an assay made by Thomas (*Chronicles* p 127) of 12 billon coins of *Nāṣir dīn Maḡmūd* of the

72 *ratī* class which gave an average yield of silver per coin of nearly 12½ grains we hazard the opinion that the *Deḡḡīṭāl* or

ḡīṭāl represented 1/12th of the *ṭanka* or in other words was the equivalent of a *nāṣla*. Thus they would correspond to the tiny silver pieces of 14.4 grains which have been already

noticed. Thomas's view seems to be that these coins of mixed

silver and copper were not definite subdivisions of the *ṭanka*.

but relied for their value in every day use on the determination in each case by buyers and sellers of the amount of silver in the coin (Chronicles p 229) From this view we wish to record our complete dissent Not only is it both inconceivable to European ideas as Thomas admits and without parallel in the East but we refuse to believe that the Indian public would tolerate a state of affairs which would be a source of perpetual confusion and place the ordinary person entirely at the mercy of the money changer In article 215 of the Numismatic Supplements to the J A S B it has been explained that homogeneity in billon pieces is practically unattainable It need therefore be no occasion for surprise that some of the billon coins were more coppery than others of the same weight and type and vice versa But that such coins were intended to and did pass at one and the same value appears to us incontestable The statement made by Thomas appears to have been based on the great difference in appearance at the present day between coins of the same weight bearing identical legends but these same coins when newly issued may well have had an appearance to all intents and purposes similar in colour and the actual admixture of silver in any one specimen could not have been determined save by assay The tables given on pp 359 and 368 of the Chronicles illustrate the deceptiveness of outward appearance for at first sight any coin of Billon would seem to have a larger silver content than the later issues of Sikandar Jodi whereas the assay shows a contrary result

(e) Thomas's views on this point are given on pp 231 to 238 of the Chronicles They are briefly that in the seventh century A H the normal rate of exchange between silver and gold *tankas* was eight to one but that owing to the influx of gold as a result of the conquests in the Deccan the value of that metal depreciated and when Muhammad bin Tughlaq came to the throne he revised the coinage to meet this depreciation adopting a 7 : 1 rate of silver to gold and introducing a new heavier gold coin the *dinār* of 200 grains and a new lighter silver coin in the *adli* of 140 grains In this manner eight of the old silver *tankas* would still be required to buy the new gold *dinār* while the latter would exchange for ten of the *adlis* He would explain Ibn Batutah's definite statement that the rate in the latter part of Muhammad's reign was 10 : 1 by suggesting that he was referring to the *adli*

The arguments by which he seeks to establish this position are far from easy to follow and are indeed vitiated at the outset by being based on premises which are demonstrably incorrect In the first place as we have shown the *adli* cannot have been a piece of only 140 grains Further the weight of the old *tanka* can hardly have been as high as 170 grains Nor is it possible to assume that the new *dinār* weighed just 200 grains for the

simple reason that many heavier specimens are known. If it be conceded that the *tanka* consisted of 96 and not of 100 *ratīs*¹ it is probable that the new gold coin would be devised to comprise an even number of *ratīs*. Judging by the weight of the coins this number was 112 i.e. 96 + 16 which with a *ratī* of 1.8 grains would require a coin of 201.6 grains a figure which admirably corresponds to ascertained facts.

There is no historical information so far as we know as to the rate of exchange in the time of the earlier Sultāns. Ibn Batutah has however stated categorically that in the latter part of Muhammad's reign (he came to India in 734 A.H.) the ruling rate was 10 : 1. There is no sufficient reason for thinking that he had the *adli* in his mind when he made this statement. The *adli* seems to have been a short lived coin. Specimens are very scarce and are known only of 725, 726 and 727 A.H., whereas we have silver *tankas* of all but one of the years from 720 to 734 after which they seem to have been replaced by a billon currency. It has also to be borne in mind that 'Alau d dīn Muhammad struck very large numbers of silver *tankas* (they are indeed still by far the commonest of the silver coins of the Sultāns) and so added to the large stocks left by Nāsiru d dīn Mahmūd and Balban all of which must have been still doing service in Muhammad bin Tughlāq's reign. Apparently it was never the practice of the Sultāns to recall the coins of their predecessors and the large stocks of existing *tankas* may well be one reason for the restricted issues of silver coins by the Tughlāqs a fact supported by their rarity. We may therefore safely assume that it was 10 of the silver *tankas* not *adlis* which went to a gold *tanka*. Is there then any ground for thinking that a different rate was prevalent during the early part of the reign? The reasons suggested are two — (1) that the spoils of the Deccan must have caused a fall in the value of gold (2) that this fall is reflected in the issue of the *dinār* and *adli*. That there was a preponderating increase in the stocks of gold as compared with silver in consequence of the Deccan conquests we take leave to doubt when we consider the enormous issues of silver *tankas* by 'Alau dīn Muhammad whose spoil from the South probably exceeded anything acquired by Muhammad bin Tughlāq. But if there was that increase as Thomas himself points out must have commenced thirty years before and we should have expected a revision of the standard long before Muhammad bin Tughlāq. A great deal of the Deccan gold went into the imperial coffers and seems to have been absorbed by lavish use in the palace itself if we may judge by contemporaneous accounts. The Sultāns were absolute mon-

¹ An additional reason against Thomas's adopted weight of 1.75 grains is that at 96 *ratīs* to the *tanka* it would give an unmanageable *ratī* of 1.80916 grains.

indicates that the standard adopted by the Muhammadans was tri metallic in that the gold, silver and copper coins bore a true relation to each other in terms of their accepted metal value. We have found that the gold *ratī* was deemed equivalent to ten silver *ratīs* and it remains to ascertain how many *ratīs* of copper were taken as equivalent to one *ratī* of silver. Here we must seek for help from the coins themselves. If we take the copper coin of the highest weight we find that the type remains constant from Altamsh to Muhammad bin Tughlaq. Presumably then the coin is a good guide to the copper standard. The weight of these coins runs from 65 to 71 grains and if allowance is made for wear and tear an original weight of 72 grains would be quite conceivable. This, at the rate we have given reasons for adopting would be equal to 40 *ratīs*. Assuming however that copper was less valuable than in the Sūri times when possibly the currency became bi metallic owing to the adoption of an arbitrary value for copper, the ratio of 40 : 1 would be too low. A ratio of 80 : 1 would be more likely. At this rate the *ratī* of silver would be worth 144 grains of copper a weight which is met with in the copper currency of the eighth century. An early *jītal* of 8 *ratīs* of silver (12 to the *tanka*) would thus be equivalent to 1152 grains of copper. The inconvenience of having coins of this weight would afford a good reason for the absence of any, but the smallest fractions of the *tanka* in pure copper, and consequently for introducing a mixture of silver whereby the size of the *jītal* could be reduced to handier proportions. On the other hand a pure silver *jītal* would be almost equally inconvenient—except as largesse money. Later when the *jītal* became 1/48th of a *tanka* it would only be equivalent to 4 of these 72 grain coins. This fits in with the statement of Shaikh Mubārīk that a *jītal* was worth 4 fulus and it seems probable that it was the 72 grain copper coin to which the historian refers as the standard *fals*.¹

Incidentally it is to be noted for what it may be worth that the *Kārsāpana* which was the copper unit of ancient India was it self 80 *ratīs* in weight. Thus a standard of 80 *ratīs* of copper to one of silver may be said to have the sanction of ancient tradition to which Thomas attached so much value.

Our views then may be briefly summed up as follows —

- (a) the gold and silver *tankas* were of equal weight
- (b) the *tanka* weighed 96 *ratīs*
- (c) the *ratī* weighed 18 grains giving a *tanka* of 172.8 grains

¹ The 40-ratī piece of Muhammad bin Tughlaq which bears the designation *silka do-gani* should on this calculation have weighed 320 *ratīs* in copper—a fact which is of interest as illustrating the extent to which fiction was carried in the matter of the forced currency.

archs and absolutism plays a large part in preserving the steadiness of the ratio of gold to silver (vide Macdonald's *Evolution of Coinage* 1910 p 39). That it did remain steady during the whole of the seventh century is evident from the uniformity throughout that period of the gold and silver *tankas* and we can find no substantial reason for thinking that the rate was any other than that of 10 to 1 as stated by Ibn Batutah. Colonel Yule has accepted this as the normal rate during the seventh century. He has indeed suggested that the rate fell to 7 : 1 in Muhammed bin Tughlaq's time and he supports his view by suggesting that the new *dinār* and *adli* were introduced in order to preserve the familiar ratio of ten silver pieces to one gold. This suggestion however relies for its plausibility on Thomas's weights of the *tanka dinār* and *adli* which we have demonstrated to be incorrect. Ten of the *adlis* of 80 *ratīs* would not exchange for a gold *dinār* of 112 *ratīs* at the ratio of 7 : 1. An important fact that seems to have been ignored by both Thomas and Yule is that the gold and silver *tankas* were being issued *concurrently* with the new pieces apart from the absence of any attempt to call in the vast mass of silver coinage not forty years old and still in common use. It is hardly conceivable that this should have been done if the ratio had been revised. It is suggested that the natural explanation of the new pieces is that they were merely additions to the series of current coins. Why then go out of the way to look for any other? Muhammad evidently took a special interest in his coinage as the varied character of his coins shows and there is nothing surprising in his adding two new pieces of different values from those already in existence. They also fit readily into the currency for at the rate of 10 : 1 twelve *adlis* of 80 *ratīs* would be equivalent to 10 silver *tankas* or one gold *tanka* of 96 *ratīs* and fourteen to one *dinār* of 112 *ratīs*. It is true that the heavy gold *dinār* bears no exact relation to the old silver *tanka* of 96 *ratīs* but this was probably a reason for the early disappearance of the new gold piece.

(f) The extracts quoted at the beginning of this paper scarcely do more than imply that the ratio of copper to silver favoured by Thomas was 64 : 1 but that this was his view is clear from other passages in the *Chronicles* e.g. p 307. His main argument for this standard appears to be that the *tanka* was never divided in practice by any other number than 64. This is in itself insufficient and has been shown to be fallacious. In the days of the *Sūris* we get a definite ratio of 72 to 1 but it seems probable that in the earlier Muhammadan times copper which was extensively found in India and formed a larger proportion of the coinage than silver was less rather than more valuable as compared with silver. We do not think that the copper coins of the early Sultans were at any time mere tokens like the English penny. The evidence of the coins

indicates that the standard adopted by the Muhammadans was tri-metallic, so that the gold, silver and copper coins bore a true relation to each other in terms of their accepted metal value. We have found that the gold *raṣī* was deemed equivalent to ten silver *raṣīs*, and it remains to ascertain how many *raṣīs* of copper were taken as equivalent to one *raṣī* of silver. Here we must seek for help from the coins themselves. If we take the copper coin of the highest weight we find that the type remains constant from Altamsh to Muhammad bin Tughlaq. Presumably then the coin is a good guide to the copper standard. The weight of these coins runs from 65 to 71 grains, and if allowance is made for wear and tear, an original weight of 72 grains would be quite conceivable. This, at the rate we have given reasons for adopting, would be equal to 40 *raṣīs*. Assuming however that copper was less valuable than in the Sūri times, when possibly the currency became bi-metallic owing to the adoption of an arbitrary value for copper, the ratio of 40 : 1 would be too low. A ratio of 80 : 1 would be more likely. At this rate the *raṣī* of silver would be worth 111 grains of copper, a weight which is met with in the copper currency of the eighth century. An early *ḡīṭal* of 8 *raṣīs* of silver (12 to the *tanka*) would thus be equivalent to 1,152 grains of copper. The inconvenience of having coins of this weight would afford a good reason for the absence of any, but the smallest fractions of the *tanka* in pure copper, and consequently for introducing a mixture of silver whereby the size of the *ḡīṭal* could be reduced to handier proportions. On the other hand a pure silver *ḡīṭal* would be almost equally inconvenient—except as largesse money. Later when the *ḡīṭal* became 1/18th of a *tanka* it would only be equivalent to 4 of these 72 grain coins. This fits in with the statement of Shaikh Mubārak that a *ḡīṭal* was worth 4 *fulūs* and it seems probable that it was the 72 grain copper coin to which the historian refers as the standard *ḡīṭal*.¹

Incidentally it is to be noted for what it may be worth, that the *Kārḥapana* which was the copper unit of ancient India, was itself 80 *raṣīs* in weight. Thus a standard of 80 *raṣīs* of copper to one of silver may be said to have the sanction of ancient tradition, to which Thomas attached so much value.

Our views then may be briefly summed up as follows:—

- (a) the gold and silver *tanḡas* were of equal weight
- (b) the *tanka* weighed 96 *raṣīs*.
- (c) the *raṣī* weighed 18 grains, giving a *tanka* of 1728 grains

¹ The 20-*raṣī* piece of Muhammad bin Tughlaq which bears the designation *ṣikḡa do-ḡṇī* should on this calculation have weighed 320 *raṣīs* in copper; a fact which is of interest as illustrating the extent to which fiction was carried in the matter of the forced currency.

- (d) In the seventh century A H (thirteenth century A D) the silver *tanka* consisted of 12 *jīṭals* otherwise known as Dehlīwals—these *jīṭals* being ordinarily of billon though a few silver *jīṭals* were also issued. When the coinage was remodelled by Muḥammad bin Tughlaq the Dehlī *tanka* was subdivided into 48 *jīṭals* while the Deccan scale was 50 *jīṭals* to the *tanka*.
- (e) The standard of silver to gold remained constant at 10 1.
- (f) The ratio of copper to silver in the currency of the early Sultāns was 80 1.

Apart from the decimal system of the Deccan which may be regarded merely as a provincial accident the subdivisions of the *tanka* followed both a ternary and a quaternary notation. This was natural enough with a 48 *jīṭal* standard and the 24 16 12 8 6 4 and 2 *gānī* pieces are only to be expected. The identification of these fractions in the form of known billon coins can be made with some degree of probability, but certainty must depend on extensive and systematic assay. Even then due allowance must be made for the wide variations in composition which are inseparable from any alloy of silver and copper. This is of special importance in the matter of distinguishing between the *hashtgānī* and the *shashgānī* each of which attained wide popularity in their day, the distinction being of particular interest to numismatists in view of the subsequent development of the currency and the total abandonment of a ternary notation culminating in the subdivisions of the rupee obtaining at the present time.

6th January, 1924

H NELSON WRIGHT

H R NEVILL



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



9



10



13



11



12



14





1

2



3

4



5

6



7

8



9

*Continued from "Journal and Proceeding," Vol. XX,
New Series No. 4.*

249. **ATtribution OF THE IMITATION-GUPTA COINS.**

In article No. 239 of the Numismatic Supplement for 1923, I described a number of Imitation-Gupta coins from East Bengal and attempted to trace their origin. I attributed the issue of these coins to the Guptas of Magadha. On the final proof, however, I suggested that the issue of these coins may also be attributed with some reason to the line of the Gauda kings to which Śaśāṅka belonged. The editor, unfortunately, could not find his way to incorporate the note at that stage, as it would have upset the paging. As I weigh the evidence again and again, the claims of the kings of Gauda to be regarded as the authors of these coins now appear to me to be stronger than those of the kings of Magadha. I have, therefore, thought it worth while to re-open the question.

The chief objection to assigning these coins to the Later Guptas of Magadha is that no coin of this dynasty is known and it is also difficult to conceive that they had any influence so far east as Sābhār in the Dacca District, from the ruins at which place many coins of this type have been and are still constantly being found. Āditya-sena, the greatest king of this line was, in all probability, the paramount sovereign of Northern India of his time; but his immediate sphere of influence appears, from the provenance of his inscriptions, to have been the region of Magadha. That Eastern India at that time had its own king independent of Āditya-sena is borne out by the testimony of the Chinese Travellers, who found Devavarman ruling in Eastern India, while the king called 'The Sun-army' (Āditya-sena) was building a temple near Buddha Gaya. (Beal's *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, Introduction, p. xxxvi.)

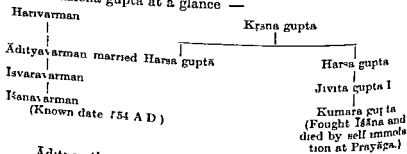
The provenance of nearly all the coins of this type hitherto discovered is Bengal, particularly East Bengal. It should not however be forgotten that we know of at least three coins that are said to hail from Lucknow. The Lucknow Museum Catalogue of the Coins of the Guptas and the Maukharis notices one such coin (p. 36) purchased at Lucknow. As already noticed in my previous article (N.S., 1923, page N. 61) two coins of this type, one in the Nāhār collection at 45, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta, and the other in the possession of Rai Manilal

Nahar Bahadur of 5 Indian Mirror Street Calcutta are also reported to have been purchased at Lucknow

Scholars however, appear to be unanimous in thinking that these coins were Imitation Gupta coins circulating in Eastern Bengal Allan describes them as such (B M Coins of the Gupta Dynasties p 154) The Lucknow Museum Catalogue also describes them (P 36) as coins circulating in Eastern Bengal This much is certain that the majority of them has been found from places in East Bengal If some old people of Sabhar are to be believed potsfuls of these coins were discovered from the ruins of Sabhar and melted down

We have very little ground for ascribing these coins to the Guptas of Magadha except arguments which have been given at length in my previous article This is not the place to discuss in detail the political status of the Guptas of Magadha or to attempt to define the geographical situation and the extent of the territory ruled over by them which will form the subject of a separate paper It is sufficient for the present purpose to note that the dynasty appears to have been a petty one of only local influence before the rise of Āditya sena Kṛṣṇa gupta the founder of the line appears—like the founders of the lines of the Maukharis and the Vardhanas—to have risen to some power during the period of turmoil consequent on the Hun invasion It is difficult to decide where his territory lay but very good reasons can be advanced for holding that it did not originally lie in Magadha where the inscriptions of his descendants, viz Āditya sena and Jivita gupta have been found These Guptas appear to have had little chance of acquiring territory in Magadha before Madhava gupta the father of Āditya sena

Kṛṣṇa gupta's date can now be approximately settled from synchronisms on the basis of the Haraha Inscription of Isanavarman dated in the Vikrama year 611 equal to 554 A D (Ep Ind Vol XIV, p 110) The following table will show the place of Kṛṣṇa gupta at a glance —



Āditya the grandfather of Isana married Kṛṣṇa gupta's daughter Harsa-gupta and if Isana was overlord by 554 A D Kṛṣṇa gupta's life probably lay on either side of 500 A D and to conceive him as the son of Chandra Gupta II of the Imperial

Gupta line who died in 413 A D appears to be very unreasonable. Indeed, the Guptas of Magadha do not appear to have had anything to do with the imperial line, and the silence of their inscriptions in claiming so glorious a connection ought to have proved an effective barrier in the way of starting such a baseless supposition.

The Guptas of Magadha are known only from the inscriptions of Āditya sena and his great grandson Jivita gupta II all of which have been found within the limits of Magadha. The Deo barnark Inscription of Jivita gupta II, whose date is approximately 750 A D, is important as revealing the real position of the earlier kings of the line. Deo barnark is a village only about seven miles west of the Son river, about 27 miles south west of Arah and about 50 miles south west west of Patna. This place which is not far from the heart of Magadha was successively, the inscription tells us, within the jurisdiction of Baladitya Deva i.e. Narasimha Gupta Baladitya, the last powerful king of the old Gupta line, Sarvva varman, the son of Isanavarman who is called Paramesvara in the inscription, and even of Avantivarman who also is called Paramesvara in the inscription—Avantivarman who was the father in law of Rajya Sri, sister of Harsa (606-647 A D)—Avantivarman who must have been reigning as the Paramesvara up to about 600 A D. It is clear therefore, that the Guptas could hardly have any independent sway in these parts before 600 A D. The seal matrix of Sasanka discovered at the fort of Rohtas situated about 50 miles south west of Deo barnark and on the same side of the Son shows that we have to accommodate this king of Gauda also in these parts about this period.

Though Narasimha Gupta Baladitya succeeded in driving away Mihirakula and thus saving from the Hunas for the time being whatever remained of the old Gupta Empire the cat's trophe evidently could not long be averted. Fresh swarms of Hunas must have invaded India shortly afterwards under leaders whose names have long been forgotten and by 545 A D, the Gupta Empire fell, never to rise again. Fighting the Hunas and checking their inroads became the touch stone of valour in India and whoever succeeded in that difficult task quickly rose to the dignity of the Emperor. Royal fortune however, never tarried in one family for long and was, to use the graphic language of Bana the nearly contemporary writer "wearyed by her round of brief visits to numberless rival kings" (*Harsa charita* Trans. Cowell and Thomas p 121). That the Maukharis succeeded in overthrowing the Hunas is acknowledged even in the Apshad Inscription of Āditya sena Deva a scion of a rival family. Isvaravarman the third king of the line, appears to have borne the brunt of the contest (Fleet, C II p 228-30) and established the fortunes of his family. His son Isanavarman reaped the benefit of his father's exertions and

became the acknowledged emperor of the major part of Northern India. He undoubtedly consolidated his position by his own exertions and the overlordship remained in his family for two more generations. These facts are corroborated by the issue of coins by Isanavarman and the continuation of the series by his successors Sarjavarman and Avantivarman and also by the fact that the Maukharis imitated the Imperial Guptas in the phraseology of the legends on their silver coins. Avantivarman appears to have died leaving his minor son Grahavarman on the throne of Kanauj. Mahasena gupta of the Later Gupta line was also dead at this time as is shown by the engagement of his two minor sons Kumara and Madhava though superior in relationship to attend upon Rajya and Harsa the two sons of Prabhakara. It is needless to point out that the position of the uncles as attendants on their nephews of not very distant relationship was one of particular humiliation.

This was the opportunity of Prabhakara. We find in his case also the same story of fighting (presumably successfully) with the Hunas and as the rival houses of the Guptas and the Maukharis were laid low and were represented by only young members Prabhakara had no difficulty in assuming the paramount position and issuing coins in imitation of the Maukharis (and ultimately of the Imperial Guptas) under his second name of Pratāpasila. His son Harsa also issued coins under the name of Silāditya.

The mention of the war between Kumara gupta and Isanavarman and the self immolation of the former at Prayaga in the Apsad Inscription of Āditya sena show that the Later Guptas and the Maukharis of Kanauj had at one time contended for supremacy. In this contest Kumara gupta appears to have been worsted and he made penance for his ill success by self immolation at Prayāga. Kumara's son Dāmodara is also said to have died fighting the Maukharis. The overlordship of Sarjavarman and Avantivarman acknowledged in the disposal of the village of Deo barnark also shows what success Dāmodara had in this struggle. The Later Guptas finally went down and sank into insignificance as political powers and it was not before the arena was left vacant by the death of Grahavarman the Maukhari son in law of Prabhākaravardhana and of Harsa the son and successor of Prabhakara that they could raise their head again. Mādhava gupta threw in his lot with his nephew Harsa and had no opportunity of independent sovereignty. It was therefore only after the death of Harsa that Mādhava's son Āditya sena could rise into prominence by about 650 A D.

The ascription of the Imitation-Gupta coins which circulated mostly in Bengal particularly East Bengal, to a dynasty that had no opportunity to rise to independence before the middle of the seventh century A D a dynasty to which no coin can be unhesitatingly ascribed, a dynasty whose inscriptions

even in the best days of its glory are all associated with Magadha does not commend itself to reason. On the other hand we have considerable evidence of the rise of an independent power in Gauda about the middle of the sixth century A D and are really able to ascribe coins to some of these kings.

The Haraha inscription says that Isānavarman compelled the Gauda kingdom strong on the sea to remain within its proper limit. This statement gives rise to two presumptions — first that by 554 A D Gauda was an independent power secondly that it had not only become independent but was trying to overstep its natural frontiers. Three kings of Bengal who must be ascribed to this period are known viz Dharmaditya, Gopachandra and Samachara. These are all styled *Maharājadhīrāja* in their Farīdpur plates (Indian Antiquary 1910) and in my last article I have shown that coins are known that can be assigned to at least one of them i.e. Samachara Deva. I have also tried to show in my last article that Samachara was succeeded on the throne of Gauda by Sasanka who had his capital at Karnasuvarna (Kansona a few miles south of Berhampur in the Murshidabad District) and Sasanka's coins are well known. Sasanka in the beginning of his career appears to have been compelled to bow before the Maukhari overlords and acknowledge himself as a Mahāsamanta (a great vassal) but his seal discovered engraved on the fort of Rohtas on the west bank of the Son shows that he was powerful enough to hold the whole of Eastern India lying roughly between the rivers Son and Brahmaputra. The death of Avantivarman the last great Maukhari Emperor was his opportunity as it was of Prabhakara vardhana. Śasānka quickly threw off his yoke and was soon ready to fight on equal terms with the Maukharis and the newly risen Vardhanas. From the Nidhanpur plate of Bhāskaravarman (E I Vol VII) which was issued from Karnasuvarna it would appear that the Gauda kingdom was laid low by a combination of Harṣavardhana and Bhāskaravarman but I believe we have now proofs to show that it survived the catastrophe.

Mr Allan in his catalogue of the coins of the Gupta dynasties describes coins of a king whose name began with *Jaya*. These coins are of the archer type and the king's name is prominent beneath the left arm of his effigy. His *viruda* was *Prakāṇḍayaśāh*. Allan unhesitatingly connects these coins with those of Śasānka (Gupta Dynasties Introduction p lxi) —

It is clear from the resemblance of the reverses that the coins of Śasānka and *Jaya-gupta* are closely connected. (Introduction p cv)

The identity of this *Jaya* was so long uncertain. Mr R D Banerji in the introduction to the second edition of his *History of Bengal* (in Bengali) publishes information of a copperplate now in the British Museum. Dr L D Barnett has engraved

in deciphering the plate which will be published within about a decade in the *Epigraphia Indica*. From information supplied by Dr Barnett, it appears that paleographically the plate belongs to the seventh century A D, and it was issued in the reign of Maharajadhiraja Jayanaga Deva, a great devotee of Viṣṇu who had his royal seat at Karnasuvarna. The base metal of the coins of Java which are only one fifth gold (Cunningham *Coins of Mediaeval India* p 16) shows that though he is connected with Śaśanka the former must come after the latter. The coins of Java can now be safely ascribed to Jayanaga Deva, who had his seat at Karnasuvarna, and who was a great devotee of Viṣṇu, and the standard topped by the discus of Viṣṇu which appears on the coins of Jaya lends additional strength to the identification. The discovery of the coins of Jaya from Karnasuvarna (*Vāṅgālāra Itihāsa*—R D Banerji second edition, p 84 and footnote) is a further corroboration. Jayanaga Deva appears to have risen to power in Gauda after the death of Śaśanka. The Chakra standard on his coins is perhaps an indication that he did not belong to the line of Śaśanka who was a staunch Śaivite.

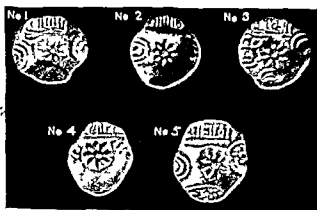
We have therefore considerable evidence of the issue of coins by at least three successive kings of Gauda. The meaning of the discovery of an Imitation Gupta coin in company with a coin of Śaśanka and another which I have proved to be of Samachara Deva (Allan, *Introduction* p cxxvii) together with the fact that a coin of Śaśanka (Allan No 612, p 148 pl XXIV, 2) furnished the immediate model for these coins not only in weight but also in the border of large dots on both the sides, may now be correctly interpreted. All evidence point to the kings of Gauda as the issuer of these coins. These Imitation Gupta coins should therefore, be ascribed with more reason to the kings of Gauda than to the Guptas of Magadha. It should not be forgotten, however, that in the anarchy that ensued in Bengal towards the close of the seventh century A D and raged throughout the eighth century, every local potentate might have taken upon himself the issue of coins of this type until the type was debased beyond recognition and finally disappeared. In the coins found at Sābhar itself we can distinguish three or more stages of debasement and no doubt similar process worked throughout the whole country.

Dacca Museum,
The 8th October, 1924

N K BHATTASALI

250 PADMATANKAS OF SOME OF THE YADAVA KINGS OF DEVAGIRI

In October 1922 while some persons were digging pati earth in survey No 127 of Rachapatnam village in the Kaikka



lur taluk of the Kistna district, they discovered a pot of treasure which contained 43 gold coins. They were all acquired for the Government Museum Madras under the provisions of the Treasure Trove Act.

On examination they were found to be 18-carat gold coins known by the name of Padmatankas as they all have the impress of a lotus flower in the centre. Besides this there are four other punchmarks which have given the coin a cup-shaped appearance. Impressions are found on one side only. The other side is blank. There are two 'Sri's auspicious syllables in the old Telugu Kannada Script at the ends of the horizontal diameter. At one end of the vertical diameter there is a legend in Devanagari script with the figure of a sword in its sheath below. In some cases a loop is found at the end of the sheath intended perhaps to serve as a handle when the sword is taken out. At the other end of the vertical diameter is a conch. The coins are generally circular and in some cases irregularity is formed by the several Punch marks. The diameter varies from 6 to 62 of an inch. Some are thick and smaller while others are thinner and larger. The weight is the same in all cases. They weigh 57.25 grams.

Sir Walter Elliot in his *Coins of Southern India* has figured one coin with the legend 'Sri Rama' and ascribes it to some Jain Dynasty as a lotus was the emblem of the Jains and as they were the most influential sect in Southern India and were distinguished for their skill in elegant arts. Below the legend he mentions a bow, but we have got a sword with its sheath. As Kadambas were known to be Jains he thought that the coin might be attributed to that Dynasty who were believed to have ruled in the 5th and 6th centuries of the Christian Era.

E. J. Rapson attributed a similar coin in which the legend 'Sri Rāma' is found to the Kadamba Dynasty, but he was doubtful whether these might not be attributed to a later period.

Vincent Smith has included this coin under early anonymous coins of Southern India though he mentions it as Padmatanka with the legend 'Sri Rāma'.

Even Mr. Brown is doubtful and has attributed the coin to the Kadambas. Though the legend is very clear none of these scholars have hit upon the right solution. The legends in Devanagari Script are modern and cannot be attributed to such an early period. Kadambas are therefore out of the question. We have to attribute them to some later Dynasty. The data by which we can arrive at a conclusion are the emblems of the conch and the sword and the legends on the coins.

First let us consider the legends on the coins.

They may be divided into five varieties and they are noted below —

- | | |
|--------------|-----------|
| Variety No 1 | Singhana |
| do | 2 Sighana |

Variety No 3	Kanhapa or Kānhara
do	4 Mahādīva
do	5 Śrī Rama

These names belong to the kings of the Yadava Dynasty which ruled at Devagiri as may be seen from the genealogical table published by Dr Fleet in his *Dynasties of Kanarese Districts* in the Bombay Presidency. These kings trace their origin to Sri Krishna the 9th incarnation of Vishnu. The first Yadava king so far known was Singhana I. His son was Bhullama and he had a son called Jaitugi and his son was Singhana II. Variety No 1 might have been issued by this Singhana II who came to the throne in Saka 1131 or A D 1209. As there would have been an interval of 50 or 60 years between Singhana I and II and as the script of the legend is a little modern it is likely that variety No 1 was issued by Singhana II who ruled from Saka 1131 to 1169. He was succeeded by his grandson Krishna. This Krishna was called Kanhaia Kanhara Kandhara Kāndhara in his inscriptions. Our legend is Kanhapa or Kanhara is a prakrit form of Krishna.¹ His accession to the throne was in the year 1169 (A D 1247-1248). He was succeeded by his younger brother Mahadeva and ruled from Saka 1182 to 1193. When he died he was succeeded by Śrī Rama Chandra or Rama Deva son of Krishna in Saka 1193. He ruled for a longer period from Saka 1193 to 1230. Thus we have got the names of kings who ruled successively from Saka 1131 to 1230 or from A D 1209 to 1308 A D. Variety No 2 contains a legend Sghana. The long *i* sound of Sghana was perhaps due to a mistake in the mint. The coin belongs to Singhana only. Hence coins No 1 and 2 may be taken as varieties of the same coin.

Now let us take the Conch emblem found in the coin and examine whether this is found in the seal of the Yadava kings. We learn that the set of copper plates of a new Yadava Dynasty edited by Bhagavan Lal Indraji on page 119 of the *Indian Antiquary* vol. XII has a seal which has a Garuda sitting with folded palms with Conch shells emblems of Vishnu on either side of it. The king that gave the grant was Seuna Chandra son of Bhullama. Though the name of the son of Bhullama appears different in other copper plate grants and inscriptions of Yadava kings we have got the name of Bhullama who was the grandfather of Singhana II and this is enough to prove that the copper plate belongs to a Yadava king and that seal has the emblem of a conch. A conch is apparently one of

¹ It is incorrect I think to say that Kanhapa or Kanhara is a Prakrit form of Krishna. The only possible Prakrit form for Krishna known to me is Ka ha. (Editor's Note)

² The long *i* in Sghana is not a mistake. Long *i* is frequently substituted for *i* and nasal *n* in Mahāraṣṭri Prakrit. (Editor's Note)

the emblems on the *mudra* or seal of Yadava kings and we have the conch in all the five coins about which this paper deals. The Yadava kings had a Garuda as their device on their banner (*lanchna*) as is evident from the inscription in old Kanarese characters on a stone tablet in the temple of Udachavva in the fort at Munoli, Belgaum district (page 34 Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society Journal vol 12). But it was customary for kings to have a different emblem for their banners and seals respectively. They generally use the same sign on their seals as on their coins. So we have here a conch on their coins. Moreover, the sword was also the symbol used by the Yadava kings. The inscription on a stone tablet, standing by the temple of Panchalingadeva outside the town of Munoli, in the Belgaum district, and another inscription on a stone tablet referred to above have on the top of the tablets among other emblems, the figure of a curved sword. Both these inscriptions belong to Yadava kings of Devagiri. It is probably on account of want of space that a straight sword has been used in these coins (J B B R A S vol 12, pages 2 and 4). These coins should therefore be ascribed to the Yadava kings of Devagiri.

It was supposed by Elliot and Smith that these coins were issued at a period of prosperity and advance favourable to a growth in Art and Civilization, and we shall examine whether the period when these coins were issued was a period of prosperity, or not. We know that the kings Mahadeva and Rāmachandra or Rama Deva, were very learned kings who patronised learning and the very important Code of Hindu Law, Chaturvargaya Chintāmani, the monumental work of Hemādri, was compiled during this period. This Hemādri was the minister of Mahadeva and Ramachandra. Both Mahādeva and Ramachandra were very enlightened kings, and that the country was in a prosperous condition during their reign can be gathered from the following facts —

It was at the time of Ramachandra that the Muhammadans appeared in the Deccan. Alauddin, the nephew of Jalaiddin the founder of the Pathan Dynasty at Delhi resolved in 1294 A D to invade the Deccan. Crossing the Narbada, the northern boundary of the Devagiri kingdom, he continued his march till he came near Devagiri. Ramachandra had a small army and opposed the invader, but was defeated. He was forced to enter into the forest. The capital Devagiri was captured and plundered. Ramachandra offered a large quantity of gold and jewels sufficient enough to indemnify Alauddin for the expenses of his expedition. Alauddin was about to retire from Devagiri, when Sankara son of Rāmachandra who had been all the while to the south to collect forces advanced with a large army. Ramachandra sent word that peace was concluded. But Sankara trusting on the numerical strength of his army demanded that Alauddin should return all the treasure

he had extracted from his father or prepare for battle. A battle ensued and Sankara was defeated. Now Alauddin again invested the capital and demanded a very heavy sum. A treaty was then concluded by which Rāmachandra gave Alauddin 600 maunds of pearls, 2 of diamonds, rubies, sapphires and emeralds, 1,000 maunds of silver, and 4,000 pieces of silk.

Devagiri is the modern Daulatābād. The name Devagiri was changed into Daulatabad by Muhammad bin Tughlaq when he changed his capital from Delhi to this place. Yadava kings are known by the name of Dvaravātipurādhisvara in inscriptions.

As I have shown above, we have coins of four successive kings of this Dynasty, and, if more finds are forthcoming we may secure specimens of the coins of all the line and thus confirm the facts about this dynasty as we know them from other sources.

The coin with the legend Kānhapa was discovered in H. E. H. the Nizam's dominions and obtained by the Madras Museum in exchange for one of the coins of Śrī Rama through the kindness of the curator of the Hyderabad Museum.

SRINIVAS RAGHAVA AYYANGAR

251 SOME RARE COINS FOUND IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES

The object of this paper is to bring to notice some rare and unique coins which have in recent years been acquired for the Nagpur Museum.

A brief description of each specimen follows —

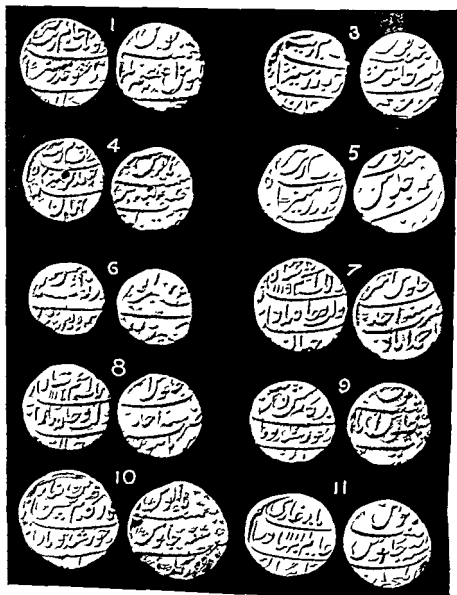
AURANGZEB

Nos 1 & 2 Weight 178 size 9

Mint, 'Āzamnagar date 1110 A H (sic) 48 R

<i>Obv</i>	<i>Rev</i>
عالم گدو	صابوس
۱۱۱۰	صمدت
اورنگ زب	خلوس اعظم نگر
رد چو ندر مندر	۴۸
سکه	<hr style="width: 100px; margin: 0 auto;"/>
در { حهاں	ص

The earliest coin published of this mint is a rupee of Aurangzeb, dated 50 R, but a specimen in the Lucknow Museum



is dated 1117-48 In the present coin use has been made of an old obverse die

'Āzamnagar is the modern Belgaum and was named after Prince 'Āzam (Tarikh-e Dakhan by Maulvi Abdul Ghafoor Rampuri)

No 3 R Weight 178, size 88

Mint, Kanji, date — A H 32 R

Obv

Rev

As on No 1 but date missing

صابوس

صمیت

۳۰

سنة خلوس

صرب

کلتج

Kanji is the modern Kanjivaram (Briggs, Farishta) which is the head quarters of a taluq of the same name in the Chungal pet district See N S XXXI, p 356

No 4 R Weight 177, size 85

Mint, Nusratgarh date 1110 A H 42 R

Obv

Rev

As on No. 1

As on No 3, but ۳۲ and

نصرب گزیده

The above specimen is of Nusratgarh, which is an unregistered mint Dr Taylor in his description of the coins of the Limbdi Treasury has referred to a rupee of Aurangzeb, dated 1109-41 of Jinji, which is the same as Nusratgarh Jinji is in the South Arkat district and was named Nusratgarh after Zulfiqar Khan Nusratjang the son of Aurangzeb's Minister Asad Khan

No 5 R Weight 178, size 91

Mint, Pureda, date 1117 A H 50 R

Obv

Rev.

As on No 1 but ۱۱۱۷

As on No 3 but ۵ and

پرندا

This is the mint formerly read as Purbandar See N S XXXI, p 368 Subsequent discoveries have confirmed the reading Pureda, suggested by Prof Hodivala

No 6 R Weight 320, size 87.

Mint Zafarabad, date ?

<i>Obv</i>	<i>Rev</i>
اورنگ زب	طغر اباد
—	سرب سده
ملوس شا	

A 'fulūs' of Aurangzeb of the Zafarabad mint As far as I know this mint has not been represented in copper Mr R B Whitehead has identified Zafarabad with Bidar in the Dakhan Bidar was first known as Ahmadabad and was named as such by Ahmad Shah Wali Bahmani after his own name Subsequently the name was changed to Muhammadabad by his grand son Muhammad Shah Lashkari When Aurangzeb conquered the Dakhan, he renamed the place as 'Zafarabad' in commemoration of his victory

'AZAM SHAH

No 7 R Weight 175 size 96
Mint Ahmadabad, date 1119 A H ahd R

<i>Obv</i>	<i>Rev</i>
ممالک اعظم شاه	حلوس اشرف
۱۱۱۹	—
شاه	سده احد
بدولت و خلد باد	سرب
سکه	احمد آباد
رد در حبل	

So far only two other rupees of 'Azam Shah of this mint are known to exist

No 8 R Weight 179, size 92
Mint Burhanpūr, date 1119 A H ahd R

<i>Obv</i>	<i>Rev</i>
As on No 7	As on No 7 but
	برهانپور

KĀM BAKHSH

No 9 R Weight 179 size 9
Mint, Nusratābad date ?

<i>Obv</i>	<i>Rev</i>
داد کام بخش دس	مانوس
شاه	منمن
بر حورشد و ماء	سده حلوس اباد
سکه	سرب
در دکن	نصرب

This is a rupee of Kam Bakhsh of the Nusratabad mint Aurangzeb's gold and silver coins from this mint have been published and another rupee of Kam Bakhsh is also known to exist Nusratābad has been identified with Sakhar or Sagar of the Dakhan which is the Saghar (ساهر) of Farishta Sagar is a jagir town in the Shāhpūr talūq of the Gulbarga district and is the resting place of a saint, Sufi Sarmast

No 10 R Weight 178, size 1 05

Mint, Toragal, date — A H ahd R

<i>Obv</i>	<i>Rev</i>
د ن ساه	مانوس
نام کام بخش	ممنیت
شاه	احد
بر حورشد و ماه	سده خلوس
سکه	صرب
در	نور کل

This is an unregistered mint of Kam Bakhsh Gold and silver coins of Aurangzeb and Shah Ālam I of this mint are known Farrukhsiyar and Ahmad Shah also issued coins from this mint

SHĀH 'ĀLAM BAHĀDUR

No 11 R Weight 177 4, size 9

Mint, Elchohpūr, date 1119 A H ahd

<i>Obv</i>	<i>Rev</i>
نام عاری	مانوس
شاه	ممنیت
۱۱۱۹	احد
عالم بهادر	سده خلوس
شاه	صرب
سکه مبارک	الچپور

A coin of this mint of 1122 5 has been figured in the Punjab Museum Catalogue

No 12 A rupee of Shah 'Ālam Bahādur of the 'Azimabad mint dated "ahd" R Y has come to light which bears his name of Mu azzam with the following couplet —

نور رد سکه چو صاحب قرانی معظم شاه عالم گمر دانی

on the obverse, while the reverse is similar to Aurangzeb's 'Āzimabād coins This coin was found in the Yeotmal district

and has been acquired for the Nagpūr Museum, but has not yet been received from the district authorities

No 13 R Weight 178, size 94
Mint, Mailapūr, date 1120 A H 2 R

<i>Obv</i>	<i>Rev</i>
نادر شاه عار	
عالم بهادر	As on No 11 but r and
۱۱۲۰	صلا پور
شاه	
سکه مبارک	

Mailapūr rupees of Shah 'Ālam I are very rare.

No 14 R Weight 178 size 87

Mint, Pureda, date 1122 A H

<i>Obv</i>	<i>Rev</i>
As on No 13 but ۱۱۲۲	As on No 11 but سنه and
under عار of عار	پر [سنه] year missing and

A coin of this mint of 1123 has been figured in the Punjab Museum Catalogue under Purbandar

JAHANDAR SHAH

No 15 R Weight 178, size 9

Mint, Bahadurgarh, date 1124 A H ahd

<i>Obv</i>	<i>Rev</i>
نادر شاه جهان	عائوس
شاه	صمعت
۱۱۲۴	احد
قران جهاندار	سنه حلوس
حب	صرب
سکه برمه چو	بهادر گره

This is a rare mint of Jahandar Shah, cf Punjab Museum Catalogue Nos 2110 1 and N S XIV Bahadurgarh has been identified with Pedgaon in the Ahmadnagar district by Prof Hodivala in N S XXVIII p 73

No 16 R Weight 177 4, size 9

Mint, Elchpūr, date 1124 A H ahd R



12



13



14



15



16



17



18



19



20



21



<i>Obv</i>	<i>Per</i>
As on No 17 but	عامی
1129 to left of فصل	عنید
	6
	سنة حلبی
	مر
	سا کولا

Dr Taylor illustrated a similar coin in his paper on the coins of the Lumbini Treasury in N S XIV. The name of the mint from which the coin issued is still doubtful.

No 20 A rupee of Farrukhsiyar of Sikakul has been acquired for the Nagpur Museum. No other silver coins of Farrukhsiyar of this mint are known.

SHAH JAHAN II

No 21 A Weight 178 size 92
Bahadurgarh date ?

Obv
شاہ

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
۱۱۲۴	As on No 15 but
عارى جهاندار	المجيد
شاه	
جو صهر و ساد ابو الفتح	
مسكه	

FARRUKHSIYAR

No 17 *At.* Weight 177.4, size 91.
Mint, 'Azamnagar, date ?

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
نحو و نورج سر	مانوس
شاه	سمینت
حق بر سم و در باد	سند
فضیل	حلوس اعظم شو
مسكه رد ار	<hr/>
	صو

All the known coins of this mint of Farrukhsiyar bear a second mint name which has been read as Gökulgarh and Gökak. See N S XXVIII, p 76 and N S XXX, p 267. On this particular coin the only name recorded is 'Azamnagar.

No 18 *At.* Weight 175, size 85.
Mint, Bankāpūr, date 1130 A H 7 R.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
حق موح	مانوس
۱۱۳۰	سمینت
فضیل	ر
بادشاه نحو و بر	سند حلوس
مسكه	<hr/>
رد بر سم و در	صو

This is a rare mint. Bankāpūr was named 'Azamgarh by Aurangzeb after his son, 'Azam. It is in the Dharmar district and was the headquarters of a sarkār of 16 parganas. It is now the head quarters of a talūq of the same name in that district.

No 19 *At.* Weight 175, size 91.
Mint, Skākā (1), date 1129 A H. 6 R.

*Obv*As on No 17 but
۱۲۹ to left of فصل*Rev*

مانوس

سہ منب

۶

سنہ خلوس

مر

سا کولا

Dr Taylor illustrated a similar coin in his paper on the coins of the Lumbini Treasury in N S XIV. The name of the mint from which the coin issued is still doubtful.

No 20 A rupee of Farrukhsiyar of Sikakul has been acquired for the Nagpur Museum. No other silver coins of Farrukhsiyar of this mint are known.

SHAH JAHAN II

No 21 R Weight 178 size 92
Mint Bahadurgarh date ?

Obv

سہ جہاں

—

بادشاہ عار

ک

سکہ منار

Rev

مانوس

منب

سنہ خلوس

مر

بہار گروہ

This is a new mint for this Emperor

MUHAMMAD SHAH

Nos 22 and 23 Two rupees of Muhammad Shah of the Ausā mint dated 12 and 16 R have been acquired for the Nagpur Museum. Cf N S XIV.

Ausa is in the Osmanabad district of the Nizam's Dominions. The fort of Ausa was captured by Malik Ambar and consequently was named Ambarpur. The name was subsequently corrupted to Amrapur.

No 24 R Weight 175 size 95
Mint (?) dated 11۷۷ A H 8 ?

Obv

۱۱۷۷ محمد شاہ

—

بادشاہ عار

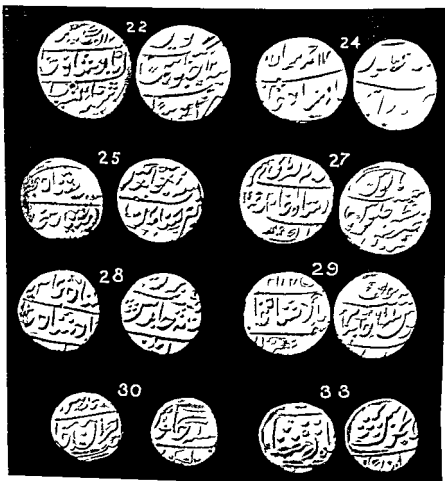
Rev

۸ ?

سنہ خلوس

مر

بازاری



The reading of the mint is doubtful

Nos 25 and 26 *AR* Two rupees of Muhammad Shsh of Chinapatan have been acquired for the Nagpūr Museum, one of which is dated 8 R

‘ĀLAMGIR II

No 27 *AR* Weight 175, size 1

Mint, Qandhar, date 1167 A H 7 (sic)

<i>Obi</i>	<i>Rev</i>
عالم گنر ثانی	مانوس
—————	صنعت
نادر شاه عار	۷
سکه	سند خلوس
۱۱۶۷	صرب
منار	قدعار

This is a new mint for this Emperor Cf NS XIII, p 240 and NS XIV, p 580 Qandhār is now a village in the Nandēd district of the Nizām's dominions It had once a large fort which was captured by Mubarak Khan Niyāzi in the reign of Shah Jahān (M'asirul 'Umra)

SHĀH 'ĀLAM II

No 28 *AR* Weight 177 5, size 85

Mint, Elchpūr, date 1187 A H

<i>Obi</i>	<i>Rev</i>
۱۱۸۷	مانوس
شاه عالم	صنعت
—————	سند خلوس
نادر شاه عار	صرب
ک	الچپور
سکه منار	

Apparently a new mint for this Emperor

No 29 *AR* Weight 173 5, size 89

Mint, Jagannathpūr (?) date 1184 A H, 16 R

<i>Obi</i>	<i>Rev</i>
۱۱۸۴	خلوس
—————	صنعت
نادر شاه عار	۱۶
ک	مانوس سند جگناپور؟
سکه منار	دور

The mint may be Jagannathpuri and the ى after پور is probably missing

Nos. 30, 31 and 32 R. Weight 168 7, size .8.

Mint (?), date and year missing

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
شاه عالم	مابوس
— — —	میمنت
بادشاه عار	حلوس صر
.....	—
	ایاد حا

These are non-imperial rupees of Shāh 'Ālam II, the mint name of which is doubtful

AKBAR II.

No. 33 R Weight 166, size .75

Mint, Daulatgarh, date 6 R

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
محمد اکبر	...
— — —	میمنت
صاحب مران عار	۶
.... . . .	سنه حلوس
	صوب
	دولتگڑہ

No. 34 R Weight 167, size .83.

Mint, as on above, date 7 R

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
As on No 33.	As on No. 33 but ۷

These are two rupees of Akbar II with an unregistered mint. Its identity is doubtful

M. A SUBOOR

252. THREE MUGHAL COINS

Among the latest acquisitions to the Coin Cabinet of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, may be mentioned the following rare coins:—

(a) Mohar of Aurangzeb, mint Nārṇöl, 1102 H.

<i>Obr.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
عالم گبر	مانوس
۱۱۰۲	ممینت
اورنگ رب	۳ [۴]
شاه	سنه خلوس
رد چو بدر عنبر	
مسکه	صو نار نول
در جهان	

Weight 167, size .85

(b) Mohar of Muhammad Ibrāhīm, mint Shāhjahānābād, 113 N., H. ahd.

<i>Obr.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
کریم محمد انور [آدم]	[دا] ر العا [فت] شاه [جهان] اناد
شا [۴]	ضرب
۱۱۳ شامان	خلوس ممینت مانوس
رفضل	احد
[مسکه رد] در جهان	سنه

Weight 172, size .75.

Hijri date is to right and not to left as on the Mohar illustrated in B. M. Catalogue.

Both the above mohars have been purchased locally.

(c) Rupee of Farrukhsiyar, mint Dārū-z-zafar Bijāpūr, ahd.

<i>Obr.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
ار فضل حق	خلوس
شاه	ممینت مانوس
[۱] د بحر و بر فوج سحر	سنه احد
مسکه	الثقاف
رد بر سیم و زر	دارمعا بوند
	صوب

Weight 176 Size .9

Rupees struck by Farrukhsiyar at Bijāpūr are extremely rare, because the town ceased to be a mint place after Farrukhsiyar and must have been losing its importance during his reign. The absence of silver issues is noticed in Mr. Whitehead's list of the Mint Towns of the Mughal Emperors of India (N.S., J.A.S.B., Vol. VIII-11).

This coin comes from a Treasure Trove find of 101 silver coins from Bada district.

253 RUPEES OF SHAH 'ALAM II, STRUCK AT AKARWAN

On or about February 20th 1921 some 80 silver coins were discovered in a site belonging to a private person in Bandinampalem a hamlet of Gunnalakurta village in the Atmakur taluk of the Kurnool district, Madras Presidency. On examination they were found to be non imperial rupees struck in the name of Shah Alam II. Only 15 of them have good impressions and they were acquired for the Government Museum Madras.

Each coin has a portion of the full name of the king who issued it. 'Ālam' and Ghazī are found in all the coins. Bahadur' is found in some coins. The rest of the name is found partially in some coins. The full name thus got out of all these coins is Shah Ālam Bahadur Badshah Ghazī. The word سنه is found only on 3 coins. A peculiarity in these coins is that the Hijri year is found above the word سنه on the reverse. The name of the mint appears as Akarwan in some and as Karwan on others.

The full legend would seem to be —

Obverse سکه شاه عالم بهادر بادشاه غازی

Reverse سنه ۱۱۸۶ حلوس صمدت مانوس صرب اکروان

Coins from this mint has not yet been published. It is suggested that Akarwan or Karwan is Gadval capital of a small state in the Nizam's Dominions as numerous coins of this type are found in Gadval and sent to the Treasury at Haidarabad.

R. SRINIVAS RAGHAVA AYYANGAR

8th April, 1924

254 THE EPITHET USED ON COPPER COINS BY IBRAHIM ADIL SHAH II OF BIJAPUR

In my article No. 231 under the above heading in the Numismatic Supplement No. XXXVI for 1922 I have tried to prove that the epithet on the copper coins of Ibrahim II of Bijapur, about which Dr. Taylor was doubtful should be read as "Abalā Bal". I have quoted the following verse —

ہر لوگ حقیقت کو نانو پا دے ہر کس کوئی نور
آچر حُ ممانر انا ملی تو بہن سانچو او نار

in support of my interpretation from "*Kitābī Nauras*" which is supposed to have been composed by Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II. I presume that the word ممانر Mahābir in this verse is addressed to the composer Jagat Gurū Ibrahim 'Adil Shah himself and not to Mahābir, the Jaina Saint.

I was given to understand that some of my numismatist friends were not perfectly satisfied with my explanation of the word "Abalā Bali." Further search was, therefore, made in contemporary literature, and I consulted the MS. of Gulshani 'Ishq composed by Mullā Nusratī in 1068 A.H. for 'Alī 'Adīl Shāh II. This MS. is in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India. The poet eulogising his patron says on page 10 of the MS. as follows:—

(۱) دسی کس موروثی ای تہہ میں حم

مواہی تواریہ صنف و قلم

(۲) تہی حد براہیم ابلالی

توں سلطان محمد کا خانہ علی

(۳) تیری حد کون عالم حست گر گیا

پدر و تئیں سوتیری بہادر گیا

(1) Oh Emperor, hereditary accomplishments appear in you. You have become the master of the sword and the pen.

(2) Your grandfather was Ibrāhīm abālā bali (the Friend of the weak)—you are 'Alī and the son of Muhammad.

(3) Your grandfather was Jagat Gurū, and your father was a brave man." (There is some poetic play upon words of Muhammad and 'Alī. But the epithet of ابلالی used with Ibrāhīm, who is styled also as Jagat Gurū, is clear. In those days it was immaterial whether the 'ye' was longer or shorter (Yāe M'arūf ی or yāe majhūl ے): both could be read in the same way.

Thus there is now no doubt as to the reading and meaning of ابلالی after ابراہیم on the copper coins of Ibrāhīm 'Adīl Shāh II of Bijapur.

15th April, 1924.

MUND. ISMAIL.

255. A GOLD COIN OF KUMĀRA GUPTA I.

(A new variety of the Lion slayer type.)

Metal. *N.*

Weight. 124 grs

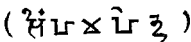
Size. 8"

¹ It may be noticed that in the above quotations ابلالی and ابلالی are

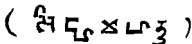
written with the first 'be' ۛ quiescent in the latter and with a vowel in the former—a fact which does not make any difference in the real meaning of the word. Abalā bali with zabar on 'be' ۛ is a good Sanskrit word, whereas Ablī is an Urdu or Hindi corruption of the same.

Obverse King standing to right shoots with an arrow a lion which is seen jumping at him. The bow is held in the left hand and is fully drawn by the right. The left leg of the king is stretched straight while the right is bent at the knee. The head is inclined to the right showing vigorous action. On the right margin near the king's head is the inscription *Kumāra* which does not appear to be fragmentary or to have any connection with the two curved strokes on the left bottom margin. The latter are probably portions of the drapery worn by the king.

Reverse Goddess *Pārvatī* (*Simha vāhini*), seated facing lion couchant to right. Her left leg is tucked up and the right hangs down. Her left hand rests on her knee and holds a lotus flower with a long stalk, while her right hand is extended outwards and holds a garland of skulls (*munda mala*). The monogram is in the usual position but has the form of a cluster of five dots intended probably to be a lotus. To the right runs the

legend "Simha Mahendra" ()

Coins of the Lion slayer type of Kumaragupta I are described at pages 76-81 of Allan's Catalogue of the Gupta Coins in the British Museum. Varieties α and β have the legend 'Śrī Mahendra Simhah'. In variety γ the left hand of the goddess is lifted upwards instead of downwards as in our coin and

the legend is written differently ()

The monogram is also different. Our coin differs from those shown in variety δ in (1) the inscription on the obverse, (2) the legend on the reverse, (3) monogram and (4) the position of the lion's head. For these reasons the specimen may be treated as a new variety.

I showed one specimen of this variety to Mr. Allan at the British Museum in December, 1922. He pronounced it as new. Unfortunately that specimen was lost, being in a pocket book which was stolen from my pocket in Rome. Luckily, however, I have its impression and another specimen of the same variety, which is represented here. It will be noticed that the letters are particularly well formed. The specimen is well preserved.

A word may be added about the reverse. The monogram is a new one, being quite different from any depicted on pages 167-168 of Allan's catalogue. The goddess is certainly *Parvatī*, consort of *Siva*, and not *Lakshmi*, consort of *Vishnu*. It is the former and not the latter who according to Hindu religious tradition rides a lion. Allan suspected this to be so (Introduction, page lxxii) but in the body of the catalogue described

this lion-riding goddess as Ambika-Lakshmi. For this there is no authority in the Hindu religion. In the variety now described the goddess holds a garland with big round objects, which are almost certainly skulls. It is well known that the consort of Śiva affects such a garland of skulls. It is therefore certain that it is Pārvatī, not Lakshmi, who is represented as riding a lion on Gupta coins.

UNAO (ODDH),

PANNA LAL, I.C.S.

14th November, 1924.

256. A GOLD COIN OF FARRUKHIYAR OF FARRUKHABAD MINT.

Metal A.

Weight 167·5 grs.

Size '9'

Date R.Y. 7

The legend is the same as on silver coins of this mint (*vide* I.M.C. No. 3694). No gold coins of this mint have hitherto been published. This coin establishes the fact that the mint issued 'muhrs' as well as silver coins.

UNAO (ODDH),

PANNA LALL, I.C.S.

14th November, 1924.

257. SUPPLEMENTARY OBSERVATIONS UPON THE COINAGE STRUCK FOR THE BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SETTLEMENT OF PENANG OR PRINCE OF WALES' ISLAND (1786 TO 1828).—BY SIR JOHN BUCKNILL. (ADDITIONAL TO ARTICLE No. 247, NUMISMATIC SUPPLEMENT No. XXXVIII OF THE JOURNAL AND PROCEEDINGS, ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL (NEW SERIES) VOL. XX, 1924, No. 4).

It is, unfortunately, often experienced by those who try to exhaust all apparently available sources of information before publishing their observations upon the subject matter of their enquiry to find that had they waited a little, much further knowledge would have been brought within their view; and since writing my previous paper on the coinage of Penang I have received considerable further material relative in particular to the 1824, 1825 and 1828 issues.

1821. Issue.

With regard to the issue of the Pattern One-Third Cent dated 1824 (No. 18), the whole of the correspondence relating to this rare piece has now been discovered in the Records at His Majesty's Mint Calcutta and I was, through the kindness of the Master of the Mint there, furnished on March 20th 1924 with copies thereof.

The first letter dated February 14th 1824 from Mr Crawford the Resident at Singapore to the Secretary to Government, Fort William, Calcutta I have already quoted in my previous paper (p 12) The Secretary to Government passed on Mr Crawford's letter on March 19th to the Mint Committee which in its turn forwarded it on to the Acting Mint-Master (a Mr H H Wilson) on March 29th directing him to report whether the coins suggested by Mr Crawford could be conveniently prepared at the Calcutta Mint Mr Wilson made a Die and struck there from some specimens of the one third cent piece which he despatched to the Mint Committee under cover of a letter dated June 17th 1824 [Register, No 250 Mint Committee Proceedings, Vol 1, 1823 24] This letter reads as follows —

‘No 250

To

I PATTLE, ESQ,	}	<i>President and Members of the Mint Committee</i>
H WOOD ESQ,		
H MACKENZIE ESQ,		

GENTLEMEN,

1 I have now the honour to acknowledge your letter of the the 29th March last, forwarding a copy of letter from Mr Crawford the Resident at Singapore, relating to coinage of small money for that settlement and directing me to report whether the coins specified can be conveniently prepared at this Mint and which description of coin may be best suited for that purpose

2 Of the comparative fitness of any form of coin depending on local considerations, the Resident at Singapore must be best able to judge and from his report it appears that on these grounds the 2 stiver piece of silver, and the Duyt of copper, are entitled to decided preference it is only necessary therefore to estimate their value according to the specimens furnished, and the rate at which they circulate, in order to ascertain how far their issue may be advantageous

3 The duyts sent by Mr Crawford are of two very different values, the heaviest average 40 grains, the lightest 23 grains each it is of course to be concluded from [sic! ? concluded that J A B] Crawford considers that they circulate at par, as no distinction between light and heavy is made by him in adjusting their exchange with the Dollar it is not unlikely however that this does influence the rate, and the preponderance of the heavy sort regulates the premium which the Duyts usually bear and the exchange of from 270 to 290 in stead of 300 for a Dollar

4 By the calculation in the last paragraph of Mr Crawford's letter it appears that he estimates the weight of the Duryts at about 30 grains, as he states that 300 are equal to

7 lb 4 oz 10 dwt meaning it is to be presumed the pound avoirdupois, the average of the two sorts however is about 36 grains, and this will be the best weight for them, as it will enable a better impression to be struck and will leave a sufficient profit on the coinage

5 In the Currency of Bengal at 64 pice the Rupee and 208 Rupees for 100 Dollars, the Dollar is equivalent to 13 312 —grains of copper, in that of Singapore at 300 Duyts to the Dollar and 36 grains to the Duyt no more than 10800 grains of copper are required in exchange for the Dollar, copper, therefore in relation to silver will be more productive at Singapore by nearly 19 per cent

6 With regard to the actual profit to be made on the coinage in Calcutta, there is no doubt that it will [be J A B] considerable, the Factory maund of copper will yield after deducting $\frac{1}{2}$ for size 9679 Durgts at 36 grains each, this some (1) is equivalent to Dollars $32\frac{1}{4}$ which at Rs 208 per [100 J A B] Dollar is Rs 67 9 7 The remaining third will be also realized within about 10 per cent so that the whole maund will be produce (1) above 14,000 Duyts if we deduct 10 per cent for losses and charges of manufacture the nett produce will be 12 600 Duyts, equal to 42 Dollars or Rs 87 5 9 we have lately purchased copper fit for coming pice at 40 rupees per Factory maund, and can probably procure a present further supply at the same price or moderate advance upon it, it may therefore be expected that the profits of this coinage would not fall very short of 100 per cent from which however the cost of remittance would have to be deducted

7 The silver coin recommended by Mr Crawford is the second (1) stiver piece or wang [the word "Wang" is used almost all over the Malay Peninsula to mean "money" and according to Marsden was specifically applied to the silver fanam of the Carnatic of which 24 were held to be equal to the Spanish Dollar J A B] in the currency of Holland, this should weigh 18 grains, and contain 15 of pure silver as he mentions however the circulation to the eastward by no means corresponds with this description The average weight of the two stiver pieces sent by him is grains 23.185 and their standard oz 4, 10 dwt worse than Calcutta standard, they consequently contain little more than a half, grains $12\frac{3}{4}$, fine silver, this in fact being about the 30th part of a Dollar, at which rate the coins in question circulate, as they thus exchange for their intrinsic value there could be no profit on their coinage, but Mr Crawford anticipates a premium on their issue, although he would not make any charge in their value or nominal rate perhaps however it would be advisable in order to cover part of the charge of fabrication to make a small reduction from their intrinsic value, and take their pure contents at an even number 12 grains instead of $12\frac{3}{4}$.

which would be saving of silver of nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, the weight of the coins might also be fixed at 24 grains, the alloy and fine silver being in equal proportion

8 I have the honor to submit herewith specimens of the silver and copper Currency—I have not thought it necessary at present to prepare a separate die for the silver as the size and general character of impression are nearly the same, as on the copper coin and a sufficiently correct idea may be formed of the appearance of the 2 silver pieces from the muster [? “monster”=specimen] furnished, neither are these specimens perfect as I could have wished, there being a flaw in the lower edge of one face, the die having given way in taking the impression this is the second die that has flown and as the preparation of a third would occasion further delay I have thought it preferable to rest satisfied with the present impression in order that the general question of the execution of the Singapore coinage may be at once determined, more perfect specimens may be hereafter furnished if required

9 These specimens now submitted will establish the possibility of our fabricating the coins in this Mint I beg to observe however that the manufacture will be the work of time and will be attended with considerable trouble and expense the cost of labour must of course always bear a large proportion to a Currency which consists of pieces individually of a very low value, and in addition to this general principle the thinness (!) of the coins is likely to be attended with considerable difficulty in the operations of the rolling and stamping to reduce the bars [bars J A B] to the requisite tenacity will be the work of repeated lamination, and in consequence of the small body of metal interposed between the upper and lower die the faces of the dies will act not only on the silver, but on each other, and will not (!) doubt very, very frequently fly before the blow, from these considerations, I should be disposed to doubt the advantage of coming the Singapore currency as the expense will be necessarily great, and as there is very inadequate provision for the cost of the silver coinage the ultimate losses on that will be a proportionate deduction from the profits of the copper currency

CALCUTTA MINT,
The 17th June 1824

I have etc
H H WILSON
Actg Mt Mr”

Upon receipt of Mr Wilson's communication the Mint Committee wrote to the Governor General in Council on July 1st the following letter [Register No 263 Mint Committee Proceedings Vol 1 1823 24]

" No. 263.

To

THE RIGHT HONORABLE,
WILLIAM PITT LORD AMHERST,
Governor-General-in-Council.

MY LORD,

In reply to Mr. Secretary Mackenzie's letter of the 19th March last, we have the honour to submit for the information of your Lordship's Council the accompanying copies of letters addressed to and received from the Acting Mint Master, relative to the proposed coinage for Singapore.

Adverting to the opinion therein stated, we beg to express our doubts as to the expediency of preparing coins, similar to the specimens herewith forwarded, in the Calcutta Mint, as we apprehend that the profits arising from the copper coinage after the deduction of the loss in that of the silver, will be found a very inadequate compensation for the labour and expense which would be incurred and if it be thought necessary to have a special coinage for Singapore, we should conceive it might, as in the case of Penang, be more advantageously furnished from England.

We have etc ,

CALCUTTA,

1st July, 1924."

To this letter the Secretary to the Government replied on September 24th in the following terms. [Register. No. 320. Mint Committee Proceedings Vol. 1. 1823-24].

" No. 320.

To

J. PATTLE,
H. WOOD and
HOLT MACKENZIE,
Mint Committee.

Territorial Department: Finance.

GENTLEMEN,

"I am directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General-in-Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st July last with its enclosures, and in reply to inform you that under the information conveyed in these papers, His Lordship in Council does not consider it expedient at present to direct the preparation at the Calcutta Mint of a special coinage for Singapore more especially as the weight of the coin, which Mr. Crawford desires to have is liable to considerable doubt. It is scarcely possible

"that the two kinds one averaging 49 and the other 23 grains should circulate indiscriminately.

"2 The expediency of procuring a supply of copper coin from England for the use of Singapore will be further considered, and will be made the subject of a reference to the Honorable Court of Directors

"3 In the meantime if it shall appear to the Resident to be desirable to obtain a supply of Bengal Pyce they will be furnished

I have etc ,

HOLT MACKENZIE,

Secy to the Govt "

COUNCIL CHAMBER,
The 24th September 1824

[NOTE —The above letters are printed in the exact form in which they appear in the Records]

The matter was thus concluded and, the decision having been duly conveyed to the Singapore authorities we hear no more of any project for separate coinage for that Settlement, it may be remembered also that in 1825 the three Settlements of Penang, Malacca and Singapore were united into a single Presidency

From the above newly discovered correspondence the whole history of the rare one Third Cent Pattern piece is disclosed and it may with advantage be here observed —

- (a) That this piece (No 18) is not really attributable to Penang at all but on the contrary to Singapore at a date when Singapore was a distinct and separate Settlement
- (b) That specimens were struck in silver and in copper, the number is not known but was doubtless very small, nor am I aware of any silver example being in existence
- (c) That the real reason why the project was negatived was because the undertaking did not promise to be an adequately profitable one for the Mint at Calcutta

It may be of interest here to state that through the favour of the Mint master at Calcutta I had struck for me from the original die one specimen in gold, two in silver and four in copper, the flaw or crack in the die referred to in Mr Wilson's letter quoted above shows itself noticeably though otherwise the impressions are perfect

1825 Issue.

I have in my previous paper (p 13) quoted the letter dated April 9th, 1825, from the Acting Secretary to the Government at Penang to the Secretary to Government at Calcutta asking that copper coins to the value of 10,000 dollars and of three deno-

minations (namely $\frac{1}{100}$ th, $\frac{1}{1000}$ th, or $\frac{1}{10000}$ th of a dollar might be struck for Penang at the Calcutta mint

Through the courtesy of the Master of His Majesty's Mint Calcutta and of both the Collector of Madras and the Officer in charge of the Madras Central Record Office I have been furnished in 1924 with details of a whole series of letters dealing fully with the Penang issues of 1825 and 1828 these papers have been unearthed only after a troublesome and laborious search and I must acknowledge most gratefully the assistance so freely thus given to me in my investigations

These letters are too lengthy to be quoted here in full but they may be summarized as follows —

On the 5th May, 1825 the Secretary to Government at Fort William (i.e. Calcutta) wrote to the Committee of the Calcutta Mint enclosing the Penang Government's letter of April 9th and asking for a report thereon [Register, No 63 Mint Committee Proceedings, 1825 vol I]

On the 16th May the Mint Committee referred the matter to the Calcutta Mint master for his views [Register No 67 Mint Committee Proceedings 1825, vol I]

On the 24th May the Mint master replied to the Mint Committee to the effect that owing to the great pressure of work at the Calcutta Mint due to the orders for striking silver coinage for India the request of the Penang Government could not well be complied with [Register No 73 Mint Committee Proceedings 1825 vol I]

On June 2nd the Mint Committee wrote to the Governor General in Council to forward the Mint master's report but suggesting that the Penang Government's request should be passed on to the Government at Madras where at the New Mint with its improved machinery it might perhaps be possible for the required coinage to be made [Register No 80 Mint Committee Proceedings 1825 vol I]

On the 9th June the Secretary to Government Fort William wrote to the Secretary to Government Fort St George (i.e. Madras) on the lines of the Mint Committee's advice. This letter I have already quoted in my previous paper (pp 13 and 14). The Mint Committee at Calcutta was apprised of the Government of Calcutta's action [Register No 88 Mint Committee Proceedings 1825 vol I]. All the above letters are from the Calcutta Mint Records, the remainder, quoted below, are from the Records preserved at Madras

On June 9th also the Calcutta Government wrote to the Penang Government stating that the latter's request for the minting of coinage had been sent on to Madras as the work could not be done at Calcutta on account of other urgent demands on the Mint

On June 29th the Madras Government referred the matter to its Mint Committee and the Mint master (a Mr McKerrel)

by letter dated August 1st expressed himself as ready to undertake the work. The Mint Committee so reported to the Government on August 18th [Financial Consultations, No 4, dated 26 8 25] and the Government thereupon by letter of the 26th August directed the Commercial Superintendent to supply from the Import Warehouse to the Mint all the sheet copper available there, which amounted to about 31 "candies" (i.e. roughly 15,500 pounds avoirdupois) [Finl Cons 26 8 25, Nos 13 and 14]. By letter dated July 14th, the Penang Government, having by that time heard from the Calcutta Government that the coinage wanted could not be there minted, formally requested the Madras Government to carry out the undertaking [Finl Cons 26 8 25 No 3].

The Mint master commenced cutting the Dies on July 20th and by September 19th had made sufficient with which to start coining [letter from Mint master 9 9 25 and letter from Mint Committee Finl Cons 20 9 25 No 3].

On December 29th the Mint master reported that all the available copper which had been given him from the Import Warehouse (32 Candies, 5 Maunds and 20 Pounds) had been converted into coinage but the value of the coins was not nearly equal to the 10 000 Spanish Dollars' worth for which the Penang Government had requisitioned, actually the value of the 1825 issue was only 4 698 Spanish Dollars [Letter from Mint master, 28 12 25 and letter from Mint Committee, 8 2 26 Finl Cons 21 2 26, Nos 7-9].

However there was no more copper then at hand and the coins minted (130,300 Double Pice or $\frac{1}{16}$ Dollar in 26 boxes, 136,700 Single Pice or $\frac{1}{16}$ th Dollar in 14 boxes and 145 000 Half Pice or $\frac{1}{32}$ th Dollar in 12 boxes) were consigned to Penang on His Majesty's Sloop "Fly" [Finl Cons 4-4 26, No 1] and their receipt was acknowledged by the Penang Government in May 1826 [Finl Cons 20 6 26, Nos 4 5].

The remainder of the Penang Government's requisition could not be completed until 1828 and was dated of that year.

The above papers disclose completely the origin and history of the Penang issue of 1825. It may be interesting to append the actual statement of the accounts in connection with this 1825 issue they are taken from the Madras Mint Committee's Proceedings of October 11th 1826.

'Amount of Expenses on account of coinage, packing "shipping, etc

Coinage of 1825

130 300 Double Pice	} Weighing Candies 19	Rs	A	P	Rs	A	P
136 700 Single Pice		Maunds 13 and lbs 17½					
145 000 Half Pice		@ Rs 300 per Candy	5 90	10	5		
Contingent charges for making punches and dies for preparing coins from 20th July to 31st December			2 263	4	11		

	Rs	A	P	Rs	A	P
Wastage incurred in coining and melting scissel (9 Maunds 14½ lbs) @ Rs 300 per Candy	143	8	9			
1022 Parrahs of charcoal used for cleaning cop per coins and melting scissel	275	2	5			
52 Teak wood cases for packing the coins, gunny, rope, etc	367	3	8			
Boat hire Buoy, ropes, etc	99	5	0	90	4	3

The total weight of the coins was 11878 lbs, 7 oz Troy, the face value 4,698 Spanish Dollars, the Double Pice weighed 292 2, the Single Pice 144 4 and the Half Pice 72 8 grains respectively and their sterling equivalents 4½, 2½ and 1½ far things

1828 Issue

In July 1827, more copper being then available, the Madras Mint Committee asked the Madras Government if the large balance of the Penang Government's requisition might be completed [Letter from Mint Committee, 5 7 27 Finl Cons 10 7 27, Nos 1-2] The Government acquiesced, the coining was completed on March 19th 1828 and the consignment, packed in 90 cases, was despatched to Penang on the East India Company's Ship "Macqueen" [Letter from Mint-master 19 3 28 Letter from Mint Committee, 26 3 28 Finl Cons 1 7 28, Nos 4 5]

The Statement of the Accounts in connection with the 1828 issue is given below, being taken from the Mint Committee's Proceedings of October 11th 1828 and the Financial consultations of January 30th 1829, Nos 3 4

Coinage of 1828

	Rs	A	P	Rs	A	P
720 000 Double Pice } Weighing Candies 28						
235 800 Single Pice } Maunds 4 and lbs 8 @						
414 000 Half Pice } Rs 347 7-4 per Candy	11,789	13	0			
Contingent charges for making punches dies from 25th September 1827 to 21st March 1828	2,425	0	10			
1675 Parrahs of charcoal used for tempering the dies, annealing the copper coins and melting scissel	450	15	5			
15 Maunds and 15 lbs of Shear steel used for making dies	132	10	2			
90 Teakwood cases for packing the coins, gunny, ropes, etc	576	9	0			
Boat hire	17	3	0			
Bill of lading, one set	0	7	6	15	593	5

The whole history of the 1828 issue of coinage for Penang is now, by the above records entirely cleared up

*Penang Coins counter-stamped with Q and with "L.N.,"
"JAVA" and "1809"*

It may, perhaps be conveniently here mentioned that sometimes Two Cent pieces have been noticed heavily

counter struck with the letter Q I had thought that such counter stamping might have been intended to denote that the coin was used or might be used in the neighbouring State of Quedah (or Kedah) from the Rajah of which the Island of Penang had been obtained by the British East India Company but Mons J Schulman of Amsterdam informs me that the letter has no such significance and is the impress of some private firm or person Specimens (one at least) of the undated One Cent (No 1 of my previous Article) are known counterstruck with the initials LN (in monogram) the word JAVA and the date 1809 the letters LN stand for the initials of Louis Napoleon who in 1806 was placed upon the throne of Holland by his brother the great Napoleon Buona parte the French in 1809 controlled Java (then a Dutch possession) and the counter stamping of this Penang coin purported to show that the piece had been thus treated by the French in Java at that date such was not in fact the case as it is now known that this piece (and numerous other coins) was thus counterstamped some twenty or thirty years ago and it would seem with dubious motives

Errata

In conclusion I should like to mention that in my previous Article the Calcutta Government Headquarters are referred to as Fort St William the proper designation is of course Fort William without any canonization!

PATNA INDIA
October 1925

JOHN A BUCKNILL

258 SOME SOUTH INDIAN GOLD COINS

A find of five gold coins was made in the Kondavidu hill in the Chaudavaram village Guntur district in 1925 They were all acquired for the Museum on behalf of Government

They are of two kinds the first consisting of three coins and the second of two

The first set

They are all circular and are all cup shaped on account of the punchmarks on them Two Śris are found at the ends of the horizontal diameter and the figure of an elephant in the centre facing the proper left Over this are found the sun and the moon At right angles to this is found in old Telugu script the legend Bavana at the top and Gadava at the bottom There are lotuses around the border

The chief point worth noticing is the elephant symbol This was used by the western Gangas Kongu chiefs and Gajapati kings The legend on the coin does not correspond with

any name or title of any one of the western Ganga kings that we have known from inscriptions. Neither do we know fully the names of all the Kongu chiefs and Gajapati rulers. Inscriptions Nos 37, 40 and 41 of Udayagiri in the list of Inscriptions from Nellore district by Butterworth and Venugopala Chetti state that Krishna Deva Raya of Vijayanagara drove Pratapa Rudra Gajapati to Kondavidu and in capturing Udayagiri captured also Tirumalai Raghava Raya uncle of Pratapa Rudra Gajapati. We also know that Purushothama Deva the predecessor of Pratapa Rudra on the throne of Orissa invaded the Southern country and defeated the king at Conjeeveram. From the meagre information known it is not possible to say who issued these coins.

The Second set

These are all circular. They appear to have been used a second time. Four new punch marks appear prominent. Two Sris are found at the ends of the horizontal diameter. At right angles to this is found at one end a legend in old Telugu in two lines of which the first is not legible and the second consists of 'Rayana'. At the other end is the temple or crown mark which was peculiar to the western Chalukyas together with an Ankusa by its side. An examination of these four punch marks shows that they have been stamped over some earlier mark. The other spaces are filled by a lion or tiger. The marks erased by the four new marks appear to have been lions or tigers also.

There was a king Madhava Deva by name who was ruling at Addanki between 1208-1239 A.D. He was a subordinate of the Kakatiya kings. This line ruled at Addanki for nearly 100 years. He had a title of Chakra Naravana. This was also assumed by about seven kings, vide Appendix I in Inscriptions in Copper and Stone in Nellore District. These coins might have been issued by one of these kings. The legend also gives proof to this.

R SRINIVASA RAGHAVA AYYANGAR

259 SOME MOGHUL GOLD COINS

While digging the foundations of a ruined house on about 20th November 1917 in the village of Thakkalapalli hamlet of Puttur Tadpatri Taluk Anantapur district a cooly struck at an earthen pot containing gold coins. Sixteen of them were recovered from the party. These were acquired for the Museum on behalf of Government. They contained eight coins of Muhammad Shah and eight of Farrukhsiyar.

They are all circular and are like the Pagodas of Vijayanagara in shape. The diameter varies between 38 and 4 of an inch. They are of an uniform weight 41.7 grs. They are all

made of 18 carat gold and have impressions on both sides. They have the name of the king in the Persian script enclosed in a circle of dots on the obverse. In some cases the Hijri year is found. The name of the mint in the Persian script enclosed in a circle of dots is found on the reverse. The coins of Muhammad Shah were all minted at Gutī. Some of them were minted in A H 1131 and others in 1132 A H. The coins of Farrukhsiyar were minted in three places Gūtī, Tarpatri and Gajjikota. There are three coins of the first place, three of the second and two of the third.

They are described as follows —

Coin No 1	Obverse—Muhammad Shah 1132	محمد شاه
	Reverse—Zarb Gutī	صرب گوئی
Coin No 2	Obverse—Muhammad Shah 1131	محمد شاه
	Reverse—Zarb Gutī	صرب گوئی
Coin No 3	Obverse—Muhammad Farrukhsiyar	محمد فرح سیر
	Reverse—Zarb Gutī	صرب گوئی
Coin No 4	Obverse—Muhammad Farrukhsiyar 1125	محمد فرح سیر
	Reverse—Zarb Tarpatri	صرب تارپتری
Coin No 5	Obverse—Muhammad Farrukhsiyar	محمد فرح سیر
	Reverse—Zarb Gajjikota	صرب گججکوتہ

Of the three mint towns Gutī, Tarpatri and Gajjikota Gutī is identified with the modern Gooty, the headquarters of a taluk in the district of Anantapur. Mughal kings had there mints here—vide page lxxvii in the History of Mughal Emperors of Hindustan by Stanley Lane Poole. Tarpatri is identified with Tadpatri which is also the headquarters of a taluk in the same district. It is an important commercial centre sufficiently important to justify the presumption that the Mughals had a mint there. There is no place by the name of Gajjikota in any of the districts of Cuddapah, Kurnool, Bellary and Anantapur. There is a place called Gangikota which was the stronghold of some Muhammadan Chiefs in the Cuddapah district. There is also a ruined fort even now.

Mr Yazdani has been kind enough to give the following information about Gangikota —

Gangikota was an important fort on the borders of the Kutb Shahi territories. The nearest fort in the dominions of the rival dynasties of Bijapur was Jinji. At one time there was an understanding between these two dynasties that the Commander of the Kutb Shahi Forces should stay at Gangikota while the

Commander of the Adil Shahi forces (Mustapha) should stay in Jinji" (*From Basāṭiṭn us Salāṭin*)

"Gangikota one of the five Circars in the old Province of Balaghat It contains 15 Mahals and yielded a revenue of Rs 13 68 841-5-3 Its boundaries are —

On the east—Sidhout Forest (now Cuddapah district)

On the North—Kamman (now Kurnool District)

On the South—Puyen Ghat and a river

On the West—Koni?"

(*Old manuscript containing a statistical account of the Dekhan*)

This may perhaps be the place, but the legend is clearly Gayjikota So it is not possible to identify this definitely with that place A town by the name of Gayjikota may have existed in those times

Two new mints have now been brought to light, and it is now known that Farrukhsiyar and Muhammad Shah minted these gold coins which are entirely different from any known coins issued by them

R SRINIVASA RAGHAVA AYYANGAR

260 COINS OF RAJA RAJA CHOLA.

A find of five coins of Raja Raja Chola was discovered in a field in the village of Dharapuram, near Kumbakonam in the district of Tanjore on the 28th of April, 1922 As these coins were of peculiar colour they were acquired for the Museum on behalf of Government Raja Raja minted coins in gold silver and copper, and coins of this kind have not been known till now

Description Circular, thick at the centre and thin at the edges

Obverse Crude figure of a king seated holding a conch by his left hand The legend 'Raja Raja' is found in the old Devanagari script

Reverse Crude figure of a king standing blowing a conch held in his left hand and holding a lamp by his right There is an arrow and a crescent of the moon to his right, and four circles to his left

Weight, 68.25 grs Diameter, 8 of an inch

As the composition of the metal appeared to be different from that of coins found hitherto, one of the coins was sent to the Bombay mint for examination The coin on assay was found to contain

Gold 9.71

Silver 25.80

Copper 63.64

Lead trace

It can neither be called a gold or silver or a copper coin. The circumstances under which such a coinage was issued should be studied from inscriptions.

R. SRINIVASA RAGHAVA AYLANGAR

261 HISTORICAL FACTS GLEANED FROM THE COINS OF THE BAHMANI DYNASTY

The Bahmani dynasty was founded by one Zafar Khan, a centurion fief holder of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq in the Deccan in the year 748 A H or 1347 A D. His name was Hasan and Zafar Khan was his title. Farishta calls him Sultan Alaaddin Hasan Gangu Bahmani but in his coins he is mentioned as Alaaddin Abul Muzaffar Bahman Shah. It is worthy of note that like the founder of the house of Romanoff, Hasan was elected to the throne by his compeers, and it is an anomaly in the region of politics that an elected king developed into an absolute autocrat, thus enunciating the principle that the system of Government depends to a large extent on the political instincts of a people. The rigmarole story narrated by Farishta and believed by the general reader concerning the assumption of the name Gangu Bahmani by Hasan has been ably refuted by Col Haig in his *Land Marls of the History of Deccan*. The coins of Hasan and his ruling progeny fully bear out the remarks of that scholar. In the first place the word *Gangu* does not appear on coins, and secondly, Hasan styled himself Bahman Shah and not Bahmani. If Hasan, as is generally believed, named himself Bahmani after his guardian and master Gangu, then Bahman Shah does not and cannot convey the meaning which he had in view when he adopted that patronymic. Besides, Gangu was a Brahman and the adjectival form of Brahman will be *Brahmani* and not *Bahmani*. The conclusion is therefore that the word *Bahmani* does not commemorate the gratitude of a royal personage towards the master of his early life.

2. The following is a list of the Bahmani kings prepared from the extant coins of the dynasty with their full titles —

1. As Sultan ul Azam Alaud dunya wad din Abul Muzaffar Bahman Shah Sultan 748 760 A H
2. Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Shah bin Bahman Shah Sultan 760 777 (776) A H
3. Abul Maghazi Alaud dunya wad din Mujahid Shah Sultan 776 780 A H
4. Daud Shah (no coins)
5. Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Shah Sultan 780 799 A H
6. Ghiyasud din Bahman Khan (no coins)
7. Abul Muzaffar Shamsud dunya wad din Daud Shah Sultan 799 800 A H

- 8 Abul Muzaffar Tajud dunya wad din Firoz Shah Sultan 800 825 A H
- 9 Abul Maghazı Shahabud dunya wad-din Ahmad Shah Sultan 825 838 A H
- 10 Abul Muzaffar Alaud dunya wad din Ahmad Shah Sultan 838 862 A H
- 11 Abul Maghazı Alaud dunya wad din Humayun Shah Sultan 862 865 A H
- 12 Abul Muzaffar Nizam Shah 865 867 A H
- 13 Abul Muzaffar Shams ud dunya wad din Muhammad Shah Sultan 867 887 A H
- 14 Abul Maghazı Mahmud Shah Sultan 887 924 A H
- 15 Ahmad Shah (no coins) 924 927 A H
- 16 Alauddin Shah (no coins) 927 929 A H
- 17 Wali ullah Sultan bin Mahmud Shah 929 932 A H
- 18 Kalimullah Sultan bin Mahmud Shah Sultan 932 950 A H

According to the names and titles on the coins as detailed above the throne names of the kings for chronological purposes may be enumerated as under —

- 1 Alauddin I
- 2 Muhammad Shah I
- 3 Muhammad Shah
- 4 Daud Shah I
- 5 Muhammad Shah II
- 6 Ghiasuddin
- 7 Daud Shah II
- 8 Firoz Shah
- 9 Ahmad Shah I
- 10 Ahmad Shah II
- 11 Humayun Shah
- 12 Nizam Shah
- 13 Muhammad Shah III
- 14 Mahmud Shah
- 15 Ahmad Shah III
- 16 Alauddin Shah II
- 17 Wali ullah
- 18 Kalim ullah

3 The coins struck by or in the reigns of four of the eighteen kings viz Daud Ghiasuddin Ahmad III and Alauddin II have not been discovered and are not available During the reign of Mahmud Shah 887-924 A H the different provincial Governors first assumed autonomy gradually usurped the ruling power and proclaimed their independence one by one in the following years —

Imadul Mulk of Berar 892 A H

Adil Khan of Bijapur 896 A H

respectively. But the testimony of coins conclusively falsifies the allegation of Farishta. Gulbarga is Ahsanabad and Bidar is Muhammadabad. There can be no mistake in the reading of the coins. Ahsanabad means 'the best city'. Hasan captured it from the Hindu Governor of Muhammad bin Tughlaq before he got the kingship. Ahmad got the throne with the moral support and spiritual assistance of the famous saint of the Deccan Sayyid Muhammad Gēsū Daraz who came to Gulbarga from Delhi about the year 816 A H. and lies buried in a grand mausoleum there. The capital was named after this saint. It may be mentioned here that Aurangzeb renamed Bidar as Zafarabad.

In the coins of the last four puppet kings the name of the mint is not given. Gulbarga had dwindled into a provincial town and the capital Bidar was in the hands of the Barids. It is just possible that Barids ceased to coin money in the names of their nominal masters. It is also probable that the coins of the last four puppet kings were struck not under royal authority but by the gold and silver smiths of the dominions for their own benefit. The incident in the reign of Muhammad Shah I that will be related later on supports this view. Amongst Moslems the striking of coins is the most important prerogative of royalty. It is therefore improbable that the Bijapur Golkunda Ahmadnagar and Berar Sultans after having declared their independence and having begun to issue coins in their own name would have issued coins in the names of the puppet kings of Bidar. The Barids of Bidar were almost independent after Mahmud (887-924) and with the example of Bijapur Golkunda Ahmadnagar and Berar before them cannot be held to have continued to coin money in the names of the defunct royalty. This presumption gains support from the dates on the coins of the puppet kings—933 942 and 950.

Farishta records that the last king of this line—Kalimullah—escaped from the custody of the Barids and fled to Ahmadnagar in the year 934 A H. and passed away there soon afterwards. There was thus not even a nominal heir to the throne of Bahmanis after 934 A H. The fact that coins were struck in the years 933 942 and 950 in the absence of any actual claimant to the throne proves that these coins were not legal issues.

- 6 The weights of the Bahmani coins are as under —
 Gold lowest 168.7 grains highest 195 grains
 Silver lowest 15 grains highest 170 grains
 Copper lowest 15 grains highest 250 grains

Farishta writes that the gold and silver coins of Muhammad Shah I were of 4 different weights. The highest weight was not more than 2 tolas and the lowest not less than $\frac{1}{4}$ tola. But no coins of these weights have been found as yet. There are silver coins extant weighing 15 16 24 26 54 169 and 170 grains. In

Nizamul Mulk of Junair (Ahmadnagar) 896 A H

Qutb ul Mulk of Golkunda 918 A H

Barid ul Mulk of Bidar partly in 896 and partly in 932 A H

It is obvious that Mahmud had ceased to rule from about the year 896 and the four kings after him were mere puppets in the hands of Barids

4 Farishta writes that Alauddin I had three sons viz Muhammad Daud I and Mahmud and mentions Firoz Shah and Ahmad Shah as sons of Daud I But there are coins of Ahmad Shah I bearing the following legend —

سلطان احمد شاه بن احمد بن الحسن بهمنی

This shows that Alauddin had a fourth son also named Ahmad

From numismatic evidence as also from histories written before Farishta it is established that the name of the 8th king of the Bahmani Dynasty was Muhammad Shah and not Mahmud as wrongly mentioned by Farishta It is not the practice to call two sons by the same name Daud I and Muhammad II are said to be brothers If they are held to be sons of Mahmud Shah then the three names of the three sons of Alauddin I would be Muhammad Ahmad and Mahmud This tallies with the number given by Farishta and also furnishes a sort of harmoniousness in the names of all the three sons as they are derived from the same root of حمد and give the same meaning

A copper coin of Muhammad II corroborates this presumption In the inscription محمد the word below must be the father's name محمد

Kings and emperors generally assume grandiloquent high sounding and awe inspiring titles on coming to the throne It seldom happens that the people confer any title on their rulers though there are several instances of kings having been nicknamed by their subjects on the strength of some queer trait in their character or temperament But the 9th king of this dynasty was called Wali by the populace on account of rain having fallen after a severe drought by his intercession with heaven The Sultan was glad to be called Wali but perhaps out of modesty he did not assume it in coins and official records But his successors in their coins have mentioned him as Wali Similarly Firoz Shah did not enter the title *شاه* on his coins although he publicly assumed it at the time of ascending the throne

5 The Bahmanis had only one mint in the beginning It was their capital Gulbarga When Ahmad Shah I shifted his capital to Bidar coins continued to be struck at Gulbarga also Farishta gives the Islamic name of Gulbarga as Hasanabad and of Bidar as Ahmadabad after their founders Hasan and Ahmad

respectively. But the testimony of coins conclusively falsifies the allegation of Farishta. Gulbarga is Ahsanabad and Bidar is Muhammadabad. There can be no mistake in the reading of the coins. Ahsanabad means 'the best city'. Hasan captured it from the Hindu Governor of Muhammad bin Tughlaq before he got the kingship. Ahmad got the throne with the moral support and spiritual assistance of the famous saint of the Deccan, Sayyid Muhammad Gisu Daraz who came to Gulbarga from Delhi about the year 816 A H and lies buried in a grand mausoleum there. The capital was named after this saint. It may be mentioned here that Aurangzeb renamed Bidar as Zafarabad.

In the coins of the last four puppet kings the name of the mint is not given. Gulbarga had dwindled into a provincial town and the capital Bidar was in the hands of the Barids. It is just possible that Barids ceased to coin money in the names of their nominal masters. It is also probable that the coins of the last four puppet kings were struck not under royal authority, but by the gold and silver smiths of the dominions for their own benefit. The incident in the reign of Muhammad Shah I that will be related later on supports this view. Amongst Moslems the striking of coins is the most important prerogative of royalty. It is therefore improbable that the Bijapur Golkunda Ahmadnagar and Berar Sultans after having declared their independence and having begun to issue coins in their own names would have issued coins in the names of the puppet kings of Bidar. The Barids of Bidar were almost independent after Mahmud (887-924) and with the example of Bijapur Golkunda Ahmadnagar and Berar before them cannot be held to have continued to coin money in the names of the defunct royalty. This presumption gains support from the dates on the coins of the puppet kings—933 942 and 950.

Farishta records that the last king of this line—Kalmullah—escaped from the custody of the Barids and fled to Ahmadnagar in the year 934 A H and passed away there soon afterwards. There was thus not even a nominal heir to the throne of Bahmanis after 934 A H. The fact that coins were struck in the years 933 942 and 950 in the absence of any actual claimant to the throne proves that these coins were not legal issues.

6 The weights of the Bahmani coins are as under —

Gold lowest 168.7 grains, highest 195 grains

Silver lowest 15 grains highest 170 grains

Copper lowest 15 grains highest 250 grains

Farishta writes that the gold and silver coins of Muhammad Shah I were of 4 different weights. The highest weight was not more than 2 tolas and the lowest not less than $\frac{1}{4}$ tola. But no coins of these weights have been found as yet. There are silver coins extant weighing 15 16 24 26 54 169 and 170 grains. In

the reign of Ahmad Shah I one silver tanga weighed one tola. It is not possible to formulate a currency on the basis of weight from the coins now available.

In the beginning of the reign of Muhammad Shah I the Hindu gold and silver smiths at the instigation of the kings of Vijanagar and Telengana were found to be melting away the coins of the Bahmanis with a view to bring into circulation the currency of those kings as of yore. As warnings proved of no avail the whole lot of bankers in the kingdom were massacred one by one in the month of Rajab 861 A H and men of the Khatris caste who had accompanied the invading armies from Delhi were prevailed upon to start the business. This general massacre had the desired effect as thence forward no one dared to interfere with or corrupt the currency till the reign of Mahmud. In his reign, when the Bahmani kingdom was tottering to its fall the bankers renewed their nefarious practices.

7 The Bahmani Sultans were Sunnis and believed in the institution of Khilafat. In the coins of Alauddin I and Mujahid Shah the words *باصراة المومنين و باصرة الخلافة* occur meaning 'right hand of Khilafat and supporter of Commander of the faithful'. In the coins of the other kings such epithets are not found. But almost all of the Bahmani Sultans have proclaimed themselves in their coins as supporters of the religion of Islam and used similar epithets. This may be taken as a proof of their religiosity and also of the principle that in Islam kingship is both temporal and spiritual combined. It is a significant fact that Alauddin when he was elected king ordered the black *Chatre* (flag) to be unfurled over his head as was the custom of the Khalifs of the house of Abbas. His son and successor Muhammad Shah received with great honour and eclat a robe of honour (*حلب*) and a bull sent by the Abbasside Khalif of Egypt with his mother, when she returned from the pilgrimage of Mecca in the year 762 A H. This testifies to the spiritual influence which the titular but crownless Khalifs of the House of Abbas still wielded in the Islamic world even after the lapse of their temporal power for over a century.

NAGPUR,

M A SUBOOB

3rd December, 1924

262 A NEW COIN OF GARHA MANDLA

The coin here reproduced was sent to me for examination by Mr Robert Sutcliffe, one of the most extensive collectors of Indian coins at the present day. He obtained it from the late Mr Atherton West, who was better known as a leading manufacturer then as an antiquarian, and it is impossible to ascertain how and whence this gold piece of interest came into his possession.

I am much indebted to Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, Mr Hira Lall, Deputy Commissioner of Jubbulpore, and to my friend Mr R Chandra Superintendent of the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, for their assistance in assigning and deciphering the coin

The description as given by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, is as follows —

Obverse

Crested lion walking to L with one fore paw raised, within a double circle Above the lion is a figure of the sun Margin within a circle, with a dotted circle outside in Nāgarī —

Śrī Sagrama Sāhi Sāvat 1,600 Pulāsta Vamśa

Reverse

Within double circle a monogram in Telugu writing Margin, as on obverse, in Nāgarī —

Śrī Sagrama Sāhi dāra Śrī Pulāsta Vamśa

The corrected reading of the legends he would make —

Obverse

Śrī Samgrāma Sāhe Samvat 1,600 Paulastya-Vamśa

Reverse

Śrī Samgrāma sāhi āva Śrī Paulastya-Vamśa

No coin of this shape and legend has yet been recorded, but there is a square gold coin of the same King weighing 166.6 grains, as against 168 grains of the coin under consideration, in the Indian Museum This was published in Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1913-14, pp 253-55, and B B Bidyabinod's Supplementary Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta, Non Muhammadan series, Vol I P 100 That coin, which had the device of a lion on the obverse in a square, was at first read as dated in 1376, but Mr Hira Lall supplied a more correct reading which ran *Putarī avasa | Sagrama | Sāhi Sava | ta 1570* Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni considers with much reason that in the light of the clear legend on the round coin the correct reading should be —

Pul [ā] sta-va [m] sa

Sa [m] gra [ā] ma

Sa [ā] hī sa [m] ra

ta 1570

The date Vikrama Samvat 1570 (= A D 1513) is stated by Mr Hira Lall to be the 33rd year of the reign of this Gond King, because he had come to the throne in A D 1480 In his 'Descriptive List of Inscriptions in the Central Provinces

the reign of Ahmad Shah I one silver tanga weighed one tola. It is not possible to formulate a currency on the basis of weight from the coins now available.

In the beginning of the reign of Muhammad Shah I the Hindu gold and silver smiths, at the instigation of the kings of Vijanagar and Telingana were found to be melting away the coins of the Bahmanis with a view to bring into circulation the currency of those kings as of yore. As warnings proved of no avail the whole lot of bankers in the kingdom were massacred one by one in the month of Rajab 861 A H and men of the Khatiri caste, who had accompanied the invading armies from Delhi were prevailed upon to start the business. This general massacre had the desired effect, as thence forward no one dared to interfere with or corrupt the currency till the reign of Mahmud. In his reign when the Bahmani kingdom was tottering to its fall the bankers renewed their nefarious practices.

7 The Bahmani Sultans were Sunnis and believed in the institution of Khilafat. In the coins of Alauddin I and Mujahid Shah the words *عن اليمين واليمين* occur meaning 'right hand of Khilafat and supporter of Commander of the faithful'. In the coins of the other kings such epithets are not found. But almost all of the Bahmani Sultans have proclaimed themselves in their coins as supporters of the religion of Islam and used similar epithets. Thus may be taken as a proof of their religiosity and also of the principle that in Islam kingship is both temporal and spiritual combined. It is a significant fact that Alauddin when he was elected king ordered the black *Chatre* (flag) to be unfurled over his head as was the custom of the Khalifs of the house of Abbas. His son and successor Muhammad Shah received with great honour and eclat a robe of honour (حلب) and a bull sent by the Abbaside Khalif of Egypt with his mother, when she returned from the pilgrimage of Mecca in the year 762 A H. This testifies to the spiritual influence which the titular but crownless Khalifs of the House of Abbas still wielded in the Islamic world even after the lapse of their temporal power for over a century.

NAGPUR

M A SUBOOR

3rd December, 1924

262 A NEW COIN OF GARHA MANDLA

The coin here reproduced was sent to me for examination by Mr Robert Sutcliffe, one of the most extensive collectors of Indian coins at the present day. He obtained it from the late Mr Atherton West, who was better known as a leading manufacturer then as an antiquarian, and it is impossible to ascertain how and whence this gold piece of unusual interest came into his possession.

I am much indebted to Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, Mr Hira Lall, Deputy Commissioner of Jubbulpore, and to my friend Mr R Chandra, Superintendent of the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, for their assistance in assigning and deciphering the coin

The description as given by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, is as follows —

Obverse

Crested lion walking to L with one fore paw raised, within a double circle Above the lion is a figure of the sun Margin within a circle with a dotted circle outside, in Nagari —

Śrī Sagrama Sāhi Sāvat 1 600 Pulāsta Vamśa

Reverse

Within double circle a monogram in Telugu writing Margin, as on obverse, in Nagari —

Srī Sagrama Sāhi dāra Śrī Pulāsta Vamśa

The corrected reading of the legends he would make —

Obverse

Śrī Samgrāma Sāhe Samvat 1,600 Paulastya Vamśa

Reverse

Srī Samgrāma sāhi aera Srī Paulastya Vamśa

No coin of this shape and legend has yet been recorded, but there is a square gold coin of the same King weighing 166.6 grains as against 168 grains of the coin under consideration, in the Indian Museum This was published in Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report 1913-14 pp 253-55, and B. B. Bidyabinod's Supplementary Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta, Non-Muhammādan series Vol. I P. 100 That coin, which had the device of a lion on the obverse in a square, was at first read as dated in 1376 but Mr Hira Lall supplied a more correct reading which ran *Putarī avasa | Sagrama | Sāhi Sava | ta 1570* Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni considers with much reason that in the light of the clear legend on the round coin the correct reading should be —

Pul [ā] sta va [m] sa

Sa [m] gra [ā] ma

Sa [ā] hī sa [m] va

ta 1570

The date Vikrama Samvat 1570 (= A. D. 1513) is stated by Mr Hira Lall to be the 33rd year of the reign of this Gond King because he had come to the throne in A. D. 1480 In his 'Descriptive List of Inscriptions in the Central Provinces

and Berar,' p 197, he gives the date V S 1587 (= A D 1530) as the probable commencement of the reign of Dalpat Sahi, son of Samgrama Sahi. As, however, it is now clear that the latter was reigning in V S 1600, not only must this conjecture be abandoned, but the initial date of A D 1480 for the commencement of the reign becomes too early, a reign of sixty-three years or more being at least unlikely. As regards this date, Mr Hira Lall writes —

"It was based on Sleeman's account in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal of 1837 and as he stated that he ruled for 50 years the accession of his son Dalpat Shah, was placed about 1530 A D. But in the latest book on the Raj Gond Maharajas of the Satpura hills Mr Wills has fully discussed the question and placed the beginning of Dalpat's accession in 1541 A D, when, he states Sangram died. This date seems to have been worked out backwards from the date of the battle between Durgavati, widow of Dalpat Shah, and Asaf Khan, the Mughal Subadar of Kara Manikpur, in the year 1564 A D. She is stated to have been the queen regent for 16 years in that year and that her husband ruled for seven years before his death and pushes it at least two years further on. This find shows that Dalpat could not have come to the throne before 1543 A D."

We have now to place the accession of Samgrāma Sahi not earlier than V S 1550 or A D 1493 at the outside. That is one result of the discovery. Of course the reign of fifty years may be more or less approximate but while it may not be necessary to abandon 1541 for Dalpat Sahi, 1480 will not serve for the accession year of his father.

A further point of interest about this coin lies in the repeated designation 'Paulastya vamsa'. Mr R. Chandra, states — "In the Epic and the Purānas the Yaksha King Kuvera and the Rakshasa Kings Rāvana and Vibhishana are stated 'to belong to the same family'. Now Paulastya-vamsa is equivalent to Ravana-vamsa, and the Gonds of Amarkatanka claimed, and still claim, descent from Ravana. Apparently Samgrāma Sahi considered himself to be of the same descent, but the Brahmanas substituted on the coin a more respectable equivalent which made out the royal descent to be from a Rishi.

Now it at that distant time the Gonds believed that they were the descendants of the race which opposed the invasion of the Aryans from Ajodhya there is, thanks to this coin, a stronger reason than before for adopting the theory that Lanka was in reality Amarkatanka. From the practical point of view it would have the advantage of greater probability. The theory moreover brings the story of Rāma within closer distance as regards time. Views are changing but every change brings

tradition nearer, and it is possible that the foundation on which so much has been built will prove in the course of time to be more tangible than was ever suspected

H R NEVILL.

263 ON THE GOLD COINS OF MUHAMMAD 'ADIL SHAH OF BIJÁPÜR

It was reserved for Dr Taylor to describe the "Gold Coins of the 'Adil Shāhi Dynasty of Bijapur" in article 108 of the Numismatic Supplement No XVIII of the Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1912. But his article is merely a note on the gold coins of Muhammad 'Adil Shāh. It is desirable that a fuller description of the gold coins of this king should be published. The object of this article is to supply this want after an examination of five coins of this type. These five coins were discovered in Bijapur District and the plaster cast of one of them has very kindly been supplied by Mr K. N. Dikshit, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, Poona. What we find on the coins is —




(1) Size 35* Wt 52 grains

<i>Obi</i>	حسان رد و اس محمد
	گرفت ریت
<i>Rev</i>	محمد مرسل
	محمد شاه
	دوم

(2) Size 35 and 4 Wt 52 grs

<i>Obi</i>	حسا محمد
	گرفت
<i>Rev</i>	محمد مرسل
	یک
	محمد شاه
	دوم

(3) Size 40,41 Wt 52 grs

<i>Obi</i>	 گرفت	The marks or ornaments are very peculiar
		
		
	محمد مرسل	

later date It has been figured by Marsden The curious figure on the obverse may be described as a heart-shaped symbol from the upper lobes of which two pointed lines rise (often truncated by the margin), and between them a dot sometimes to the left of these are another dot and a curved line The figure on the reverse resembles a flat dish in which are two rounded forms like balls Marsden calls the piece a "Hun of Vijayapura Bijapur, or Visapoor," and states 'it exhibits emblems, the signification of which is entirely unknown' Thus he seems to have done on the authority of Tavernier who represents it in the plate before mentioned, as figs 3 and 4, under the designation of the 'king of Vasapoor's pagod' He hesitates however rightly to assign it to the 'Ādil Shāhi dynasty which dates only from the end of the fifteenth century (1489 A D) and conjectures it to have been struck by some Hindu prince who reigned there at an earlier period a suggestion which received support from the appearance of Persian characters on two specimens in Dr Codrington's possession one of which has the letter (*ain*) ع and the other (*sin*) س impressed on the heart shaped symbol I conjecture, therefore that Yussuf 'Ādil Shah finding these pieces in circulation in a part of his newly conquered territory, continued their issue, with the simple addition of the letters above mentioned until he could establish an orthodox Moslem type of his own, Numismata Orientalia P 56

Now the concluding sentence of this extract may well be compared with the following quotation from Farishta cited by Dr Taylor on page 227, Numismatic Supplement XVIII—After the dissolution of the Bahman dynasty the several kings of the Deccan assumed the '*chutr*,' or canopy and the '*khutba*,' but none struck coins of gold in their own name or sounded the '*nobut*,' five times daily, excepting the king of Golconda styled Kootb Shah' Briggs Farishta II, 300 Thus we can dispense with Elliot's conjecture that Yusuf Adil Shah "could establish an orthodox Moslem type of his own' Perhaps at no time could he do so Hitherto no coins of Yusuf have come to light We are thus justified in concluding that Muhammad 'Adil Shah was in all probability the first of the 'Ādil Shāhi rulers to issue gold coins with a distinct orthodox Moslem type of his own He kept of course, the popular weight and type the 'pagoda' or the 'hun' and stamped his gold coins with a Moslem legend With the exception of those of Muhammad, we have not been able to discover any gold coins bearing the name of an 'Ādil Shāhi king Laris of Alī Ādil Shah II are known and I have found laris of Muhammad also Thus speaking generally, we may say now that the 'Ādil Shāhis struck coins in gold, silver and copper

BOMBAY,
18th August 1925

MUHAMMAD ISMAIL.

264 NOTE ON A GOLD COIN OF 'ALAUD DĪN HUMÁYUN
SHĀH ZALIM BAHMANĪ

A H 862-865

Metal A/
Size 1 1"
Weight 159.5 grams
Obverse within square —

عَلَا الدِّينَا وَالدِّينِ
هُمَانُونِ شَاهِ بْنِ أَحْمَدَ
شَاهِ بْنِ أَحْمَدَ شَاهِ
الْوَلِيِّ التَّمَنِيِّ

Border not clear, but beginning from the right it seems to be a complement of the legend on the Reverse as follows —

الصَّارِطُ الْمُسْتَعِينُ صَارِطُ الدِّينِ انْعَمْتَ عَلَيْنَا عَنِ الْمَعْصُوبِ عَلَيْهِمْ
وَالصَّالِحِ *

The lettering is very, very doubtful but one may conjecture it to be in its complete form —

Top	صِرَافُ هَذَا
Right	الدِّينَارُ بِحَصْرَتِ
Bottom	أَحْسَنًا أَبَدَ
Left	سَدَسِ وَثَمَانَةِ

The above remarks regarding the margin are merely by way of a suggestion. One cannot be very authoritative about them. Perhaps some new coin may support either of the alternative readings.

Reverse

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ
الْعَالَمِينَ الرَّحْمَنِ
الرَّحِيمِ مَالِكِ يَوْمِ
الدِّينِ إِنَّكَ نَعْدُ
وَإِنَّكَ تَسْعَى أَعْدَا

Translation of Reverse (Alquran, First Chapter, called *al-Fatiha* or the Opening Verse) "All praise is due to Allah the Lord of the worlds the Beneficent, the merciful master of the Day of Requital (Day of Judgement) Thee do we serve and Thee do we beseech for help Guide us"

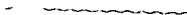
The portion of the obverse (if my conjecture is correct) can be translated as —

‘ On the right path the path of those upon whom Thou hast bestowed favours not those upon whom wrath is brought down nor those who go astray ’

This gold coin which is unique & is brought to my notice last year and I was anxious to publish it if I could lay my hand on it again. Now through the courtesy of Mr C E Kotwal I have been able to handle the coin again. I publish this note with the permission of Mr C N Bendorawala of Bombay who possesses this coin.

MUHD ISMAIL

11th November 1924



NUMISMATIC SUPPLEMENT No. XL.

ARTICLES 265-276.

*Continued from "Journal and Proceedings," Vol XXI,
New Series, No 6*

265 COINS EXHIBITED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA HELD AT ĀGRA, ON
JANUARY 2, 1927

(1) R ½ Rupee of Sher Shah

Wt	S	Date	Mint	Provenance
43	62	948	Āgra	Jhalrāpātan

Obverse
In a circle
The Kalima

Reverse
In a circle

ابو المظفر
شیر شاہ
ملتان
صرب اکبر ۹۴۸

There are a few known half rupees of Sher Shah. A quarter rupee was so far unknown, so this coin is unique and will be of great help in studying the metrology of the time

(2) R ½ Rupee of Jhalāwar State

Wt	S	Date	Mint	Provenance.
83	93	R Y	Jhālāwar	Jhalrāpātan
		30		

Obverse
ملکہ معظمہ
وگنورہ باخشاہ
انگلستان

Reverse
مانوس
صنعت
۳۰
صنہ خلوس
صرب
جھالوار

Jhālrapātan Mint marks, four leaved branch on 'Sanah' and Phullh on 'Julūs' as usual
It may be noted that —

(1) The coin reads ' Jhālāwār ' Mint whereas Prinsep and Webb mention ' Jhālāpātan ' as the Mint town Webb does give Jhālāwār as his reading on Coins but none of the coins illustrated in his ' Currencies of Rajputana ' shows the mint name clearly

(2) The Nazrī Rupee not mentioned by Webb but in my Cabinet has not the clear lettering of this Coin

(3) Ordinary Coins of Jhālāwār are smaller and thicker

(3) R $\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee of Jaipūr State

Wt	S	Date	Mint	Provenance
82	95	R Y 29	Sawāī (Mādhopūr)	Jhālāpātan

Obverse

سہ عالم ہا

شاہ عار

سکہ مبارک

Reverse

عالم ہا

سکہ

۲۹

سہ خلوس

سواہی

Col H R Nevill assigns the coin to Sawāī Mādhopūr mint. The Nazrī Rupee exhibited by him has the ' triple bow with the central loop pointed ' as symbol similar to that on this coin

(4) Æ with traces of Silver coating to pass it for a rupee of the Jodhpūr State

Wt	S	Date	Mint	Provenance
150	8	R Y 5	Sawāī Jodhpūr	Jhālāpātan

Obverse

شاہ عالم

سہ

حب فراں شاہ

سکہ مبارک

Reverse

عالم ہا

سکہ

۵

سہ خلوس

سواہی خود نور

The honorific epithet for Jodhpūr is Dār ul Mansur. Of the Rajputana States Jaipūr and Bundī (?) are known to have used Sawāī as prefixed to their mint names. So far this coin is a solitary instance of Jodhpūr or any other place having been styled Sawāī. The Nagari letters श्री जी on the obverse are also noteworthy.

266 RARE MUGHAL COINS ACQUIRED FOR THE PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, LUCKNOW

In the year 1924-25 a find of 101 silver coins discovered at Pasai, Police station Mehdawal, Dist Basti, brought to light two rare coins described below —

- 1 Farrukhsiyar, mint Bijapur, and,
2. Muhammad Shah, mint Mu'azzamabad, 113X 9

Both specimens are in perfect preservation and have a clear inscription (see Plate 1, Nos 1 and 2)

The first United Provinces Treasure Trove report for the year 1925-26 deals with a find of 71 silver coins found at Bidaoli Tahsil Chhata District Muttra. With the exception of a single coin of Muhammad Shah, mint Shahjahanabad, the entire lot represents the coinage of Shah 'Alam II, from the mints of Akbarabad Bareilly, Brijendrapur, Farrukhabad Ahmadnagar, Gwalior, Hathras, Itawa Jaipur Sawar, Mahindra pur, Benares—Muhammadabad and Shahjahanabad. A single coin bears the mint name 'Ahnagar' ¹ اهنگر dated 21 r y, 119X Hijri (Pl 1 No 3). There is absolutely no doubt about the reading of the mint name. I have shown the specimen to the best numismatists of the U.P. The question is of the identification of the mint. There is a place of the name in Benares district but I don't find any other reasons to show that the place flourished as a mint town within such a short distance of Muhammadabad—Benares

PRAYAG DAYAL

267 COINS OF HUSAIN BAIQARA OF KHURASAN (873-913 H)

In the year 1924-25, a find of ten silver coins found at Mauza Ghuripur Tahsil Biswan, district Sitapur, revealed two coins of a descendant of Timur, Husain Baiqara of Khurasan.

These are flat thin pieces resembling the issues of Babur and Humayun along with which they were discovered.

No 1 is of mint Herat and is described on page 47 (No 123), Vol VII, of the British Museum Catalogue of Oriental coins.

No 2 is of mint Astarabad and is mentioned on page 158, Vol X, of the British Museum Catalogue of Oriental coins. This bears date 896 H (Pl 1 Nos 4 and 5).

Mr Nevill remarks that this resembles in composition the great Rawalpindi find of 1920, while Sir Richard Burn says

¹ (? 'Ahnagar' in the Bisauli Tahsil of the Badayun District, formerly held by 'Ali Muhammad Rohilla.)

that this is the first time that coins of the series have been noticed in a treasure trove in the U P

PRAYĀG DAYĀL

268 NARWAR COINS

In the year 1925-26, a hoard of 926 copper coins was found at Lalitpūr in Jhansi district. The coins were badly covered with verdigris and had to be cleaned very carefully. On close examination they appeared to be issues of Asallādēva of Narwar. Of the whole number, 25 bore clear dates and 12 incomplete dates in the Samvat era. The dates furnished by the find are Samvats 1320, 1328, 1329, 1340, 1344, 1345, 1346, 1348 and 1349 (Pl 1, No 6-14).

According to a table on page 90 of Cunningham's 'Coins of Mediaeval India', Asallādēva ascended the throne in Samvat 1312, Gopala in Samvat 1335, and Ganapati in Samvat 1347. This assumption was based on the fact that only two dates of Asallādēva viz., 1327 and 1330 were then known from inscriptions and coins. The present find has fortunately brought to light several new dates which extend the reign of Asallādēva to Samvat 1349. Consequently the dates of accession, viz., Samvat 1335 and 1347 assigned hitherto to Gopala and Ganapati, respectively, can no longer stand.

PRAYĀG DAYĀL

269 ODD NOTES

Mr Douglas N S, XXXVII, 237, on some Mālava Coins

One of the derivations of the word Malava is from Malayā Malai is a Dravidian word for mountain. There is no objection to a Dravidian derivation of the word, as up to the 9th century A D, Kanarese was spoken as far as the Godavari (Nripātunga's Kavirajamargga, ed Pathak I 36) and we still have traces of Dravidian in Brahui, a Baluchistan tribe. And the Mallor date from B C 323 while the Mallas were an important tribe with two capitals in Buddhist times (Cambridge Ancient History, Vol I 175). The presumption that Malayā (or rather Malayā) is the old form of the tribal name is therefore quite tenable. The Dravidian connection may help to solve the inscriptions. For instance 'Mala' is another (the Kanarese) form of 'malai'. Vincent Smith, Vol I, p 163 writes "Very odd the names of chiefs are, and evidently of foreign origin". These names may be of Dravidian origin or Sanskritised forms of Dravidian names.

A MASTER

270 SULTANS OF GUJARAT

I Laqabs

Dr Taylor has given the titles of most of the Sultans on p 49 of his *Coins of the Gujarat Sultans*. They are confirmed



1



2



3



4



5



6



8



9



10



11



12



13



14

from inscriptions in Ahmadabad In describing the titles I shall omit the words 'ud dunya v uddin' so that Shams will stand for shams ud dunya v'uddin

Tatar Khan became king as Muhammad I with the title (according to the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*) of Nasir Firishtha on the other hand states that he was called Ghiyas Zafar Khan the father of Tatar, was appointed governor of Gujarat by Muhammad Tughlaq¹ This Muhammad (IV in I M C) apparently took no laqab At least there is none on his coins and Tatar could hardly have derived his title from a laqab of his But Vajih ul mulk Zafar's father became a Musalman in the reign of the famous Muhammad Tughlaq who died in A H 752 and presumably Zafar had him in mind when he named his son Muhammad Tughlaq III also used no laqab on his coins (I M C, p 50 foll) and the last user of the laqab appears to have been Ghiyas ud-din Tughlaq The balance of probability therefore leans to Firishtha's version (though he is usually not very trustworthy) especially as the succeeding Muhammad has the laqab Ghiyas

When he came to the throne Zafar Khan could not take his on's laqab and there were none to imitate in the Tughlaq dynasty He was founding a dynasty and the founder of the first dynasty of Delhi Sultans was Shams ud din Altamsh if Muhammad bin Sam who had no son and Aibak whose son reigned less than a year be excluded Altamsh reigned in A H 607-633 and his laqab Shams² was the most obvious perhaps to assume All the succeeding Muzaffars assume the same laqab Ahmad I assumed the laqab of Nasir This is attested by his coins and an inscription³ Ahmad is not a name found among the Delhi Sultans Its equivalents Mahmud the son of Altamsh the Turkish slave and Muhammad Khilji better known as Ala uddin supply the laqabs of nasir and ala Ahmad like his grandfather appears to have preferred to follow the Turkish slave dynasty Qutb ud-din Ahmad chose a laqab which became a personal name like that of Ala uddin He is known in the histories as Qutbuddin in preference to any other name although in inscriptions⁴ and coins his full name and title are given as qutb abu'ul Muzaffar Ahmad Shah His laqab Qutb has an obvious connection with Qutb ul aqtab the holy Bukhara Saivid the patron of Vajih ul mulk⁵ The history of Qutb ud din shows that until his quarrel⁶ with Shah Alam which ended in his death the

¹ Bayley's Gujarat p 74

² Bayley p 84 note Hodivala Unpublished Coins of the Gujarat Sultans p 21

³ Archaeol Surv Ind Vol XVIII p 310

⁴ ASI p 202.

⁵ Bayley p 70

⁶ Ibid p 150

Sultān was much under the influence of the Bukhara Saivids. He was the first to adopt the title of amirulmumimin and abulmuzaffar, both of which Altamsh used. The former of these is emphatically a religious title. The great Mahmūd I used the title Shamsulmuluk val haq nasir abul fath in A H 897,¹ but his usual laqab was nāsir. In this and in the use of abul fath he appears to have followed Ahmad I. But as his name was Fath Khan and his regnal name Mahmūd he had a much better reason for adopting those titles than Ahmad. Mahmud III follows him in all his titles. Bahadur on the other hand strikes out a new line and adopts the laqab of quṭb. Ahmad III announces the laqab of ghayas like his predecessors the Muhammads. It may be, of course that all these laqabs were arbitrarily assumed but it does seem possible to trace a method which considering the importance attached to laqabs, is a priori probable.

II *Inscriptions on coins*

(a) Dr Taylor (C G S Nos 8 a and b) has given the legend on the large copper coin of Muhammad II correctly, but the translation which has been repeated by Codrington—*Musulman Numismatics and Brown Coins of India*, should be "May the coin of Muhammad Shāh the Sultān, the Aid of the Faith remain so long as in the Mint of Heaven the discs of the Sun and Moon remain." "Gardun" which Dr Taylor translates by "sphere" is commonly used for the celestial sphere. The reference is to gold and silver coinage (mihir va mah) and is prompted by the common phrase of copper plate grants—"to endure so long as sun and moon endure." By the irony of fate, no gold or silver coins of Muhammad II are now to be found.

(b) Coin 68 of Taylor's C G S (p 59) has always been a puzzle. The word there read "Ahd" was later read "umr" by Dr Taylor and this word which means "age" and not "year" does not give a satisfactory meaning. In the Gujarāt inscriptions we find two words which may be clues (1) a'ar in an inscription² of Muzaffar II in the phrase fi 'asar, in the times of and (2) a'mm in an inscription of Ahmad III himself³ in the phrase ibn i a'mm i Mahmūd Shāh, the son of the paternal uncle of Mahmūd III. This curious expression is paralleled by that used by Mahmūd I, akh i Quṭb Shāh or king. The statement in the chapter title of the *Mir at i Sik andari*⁴ that he was the son of Latif Khān, grandson of Lashkar (or Shukar) Khān seems to be an error. It is

¹ A S I, p 220
² A S I, p 222

³ A S I, p 220
⁴ Brown Letter Fd p 313

something, however, to know that he was the son of a brother of Laṭif Khān, who never succeeded to the throne.

DHĀRWĀR,

A. MASTER.

April, 1927.

271. THE ARTHAŚĀSTRA ON COINS AND MINTING.

The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, or Kauṭalya as he should more properly be called, was written at some time between the 4th century B.C. and the third century A.D. It is a book dealing with the science of administration and includes therefore the monetary side of State finance. It has been carefully translated by Dr. Shāmaśāstry and the second edition of his translation is made use of in this article (Tr.). But it has been necessary to refer frequently to the text in order to see whether a particular rendering is inferred or a literal translation. A literal rendering often gives better sense and is more consistent than the meaning as it appears to the translator, suggested very often by a commentator, who interprets an expression by the practice of his times.

II. Terms.

It is important to get the terms as clear as possible because our author uses sometimes one term with several different meanings. Suvarṇa (the ordinary Skt. word for gold) has at least two meanings. It has its etymological meaning of 'with a good colour' and is used both of gold and silver. It may be translated, perhaps, as pure bullion. Suvarṇa manufactured from gold or silver is referred to¹ and elsewhere impure silver alloyed with suvarṇa is said to give a good white colour.² The word also means a weight of gold, and is also called a karṣa. The translator also considers that suvarṇa means a gold coin, but there is no evidence that I can find for this assumption. Suvarṇa is also used specifically as pure gold, as distinct from pure silver and as gold generally. 'When the streak of pure (gold) is of the colour of turmeric, it is termed suvarṇa.'³ In the sense of gold generally, it is used in the phrase rupyasuvarṇa, gold and silver.⁴

Other terms are also used for gold according to the method of preparation and its intended use, but need not be mentioned here.

Silver is rūpya, and the term tāra is also used in a special sense. Rūpa is used in the sense of a shaped piece of metal which may be a coin or an ingot. The term lakṣaṇa is used specifically for 'coin.' It means of course, etymologically,

¹ Tr. Bk. II, ch. XIV, para. 5.

² Tr. Bk. II, ch. XIII, p. 99.

³ *Ibid.*, ch. XIII, p. 102

⁴ *Ibid.*, ch. XIV, first para.

nothing but a distinctive mark and might only indicate a marked ingot. But the context as will shortly appear indicates its use in the sense of coin.

III Organisation

There were three important officials the State goldsmith who received gold and silver for manufacture into ornaments from the public,¹ (the translator indicates that he also minted coins for the public but the text does not bear this out) the superintendent of coins (laksana) and the examiner of rūpa coins.²

The superintendent manufactured silver and copper coins (rupyarupa and tamrarupa). Tamra is translated as copper but there is another word for copper sulba and tamra may possibly denote bronze. No gold coins are mentioned. The silver coins are one pana, a half pana, a quarter and an eighth. They were alloyed with four parts of copper (tamra) and one masa (1/16) of a base metal. This apparently means (if we follow the analogy of the explanation of the Commentator in the parallel case of copper coins) 4/16 of tamra, 1/16 of base metal and the remainder of silver. The copper (tamra) coins are one masala or māsā, half a masa, one kakaṇi or a quarter of a masa and half a kakaṇi. The copper coin was alloyed with four parts of a metal (according to the Commentator silver) one part base metal and the remainder tamra.³

The examiner of coins or rupadarsaka regulated the use of coins (panayatram) for commerce and for being received into the treasury. A discount of 8% called rupika was levied on all coins paid in the course of business transactions and in addition a sum of 5% as vyaji and 18 pana % as pariksika or testing charge. The Commentator limits these payments to cases in which money was paid to the government and this is probably correct although the text does not specifically state this. The rupika was probably a discount consisting partly of a seigniorage for coins issued at their metallic value and partly of compensation for depreciation. There is of course, always a tendency for worn coins to find their way to the treasury. The vyaji was apparently the king's privilege. There was a difference of five per cent between the royal and the commercial measures⁴ and vyaji—we have the Commentator's authority for this—represented the difference between the two.⁵ Vyaji is defined in the account of the treasury for things received in kind as the amount or quantity of compensation which is claimed for making use of a different balance or for any error in taking landfuls.⁶

¹ *Ibid* ch. XIV

² Bk II ch. XX p. 125

³ II p. 97 n. 1

⁴ *Ibid* ch. XII, p. 95

⁵ Bk V p. 110

It has been stated above that *suvarṇa* means *inter alia* a weight. The *suvarṇa* or *kārśa* consisted of 16 *suvarṇa māśa* and each *māśa* of five *gunja* seeds (i.e. the *rati*) or ten *māśa* seeds.¹ It is possible that the *māśa* took its name from a full *māśa* pod. It is possible that gold made up into weights of a *suvarṇa* was stamped and used as currency, but this is nowhere stated. The Commentator, however, calls *suvarṇa* in a certain sense 'the coin known as the *rūpyakārśa*'² and the *paṇa* may have been of the *kārśa* weight or there may have been another *paṇa* of silver of that weight. It will have been noticed that there was no copper *paṇa* as we find in later writers, e.g. Śukrācārya. If the value of the *rati* has not changed appreciably in the course of years, the 80 *rati* (16 *māśa*) unit of our author may be compared with the 80 *rati* (10 *māśa*) unit of the *dirham* of the Delhi Sultāns and its predecessors.³ The *suvarṇa* is divided into weights diminishing by a half until half a *māśa* is reached and in the other direction is multiplied by two until eight *suvarṇas* are reached. Then there are weights of 10, 20, 30, 40 and 100 *suvarṇas*.⁴ This scale is of some interest to numismatics as it shows that in the higher denominations the decimal system took the place of doubling or halving and coins and weights move on closely parallel lines.

The silver unit was the *Dharaṇa*, divided into 16 silver *māśas* or 20 *saibya* seeds. The silver *māśa* weighed 88 seeds of white mustard. It must have been several times as heavy as the gold *māśa* and was used also as an *avoirdupois* weight.⁵ Its subdivisions and multiples were the same as those of the *suvarṇa*. Afterwards the *dharaṇa* appears to have become a coin.

What the *paṇa* was worth in terms of modern coinage cannot easily be ascertained. But we find that menial servants and workmen get 60 *panas* per annum, while village servants or officials, as they may be called, get 500. The difference is rather greater than to-day, when a labourer, who is unskilled may earn (in the more remote parts of the Bombay Presidency) 100 rupees a year and the village officer (e.g. a village accountant) 300 or 400. But the *paṇa* may be taken to have had a pure silver content of a little more than half the rupee of to-day and have been roughly equivalent to it in value. If we wish to equate prices, it must be remembered that the silver content of the modern rupee is worth only about a shilling and that the value of the rupee is one shilling and six pence

¹ Bk., XIX, p. 123.

² *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 102, n. 3. *Rūpyakārśa* means silver *kārśa* and may be equivalent to *kārśāṇa*, a coin referred to in other Śāstras.

³ The change of the value of the *māśa* from 5 to 8 *ratis* appears to be due to the introduction of a decimal division of the *suvarṇa* or *dharana* followed by a return to the division into sixteen.

⁴ Ch. XIX, p. 124.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 124, 125.

Prices of the time of Kautilya might then be expected to be one third of those ruling to day This estimate is, I fear, of no value whatever, as it is based upon one fact only The materials, however, are in the Arthasastira, to be worked out

Dhārwar, 1927

A MASTER

272 COPPER DAMS OF JALALU-D DÍN AKBAR

I



II (Same as I)

Coins 1 and 2 are dams of Mint Darul Khilafat Agra, dated 982, of the dotted line Ahmadabad type described and published by Mr Whitehead under No 71, Num Chronicle, 5th series, Vol III, 1923 Mr Whitehead further says "the curious thing about them is the fact that the date is expressed no less than three times, once in words and twice in figures"

I and II. Obverse

دار الخلافه اگرا

.....

صرب ۸۲ دلاوس ۹

Reverse

دو

هشاد و

.....

فی نهصد و

۹۸۲

سنه

A Obv.

A Obv.

A Rev.

III.



Last ر=R of the mint is like ∞ and the monog 3 is above it

B Obv.

B Obv.

B Rev.

IV



Last ر=R of the mint town is like / with the monog ز below it, also on the Reverse

NOTE —The Mint Town of Nos III and IV is not published and is not known to me Mr Whitehead's coin is not figured in the Num Chronicle Dāms Nos 3 and 4 are also of the dotted line Ahmadabad type and bear date 997 H They appear to be of an unpublished mint

Obverse

Reverse

من پور
.....
صرب فليس

جعب
بود و
فی بهمد و
.....
۹۹۷
سنه

Date in words and figures

The mint appears to be MīrPūr but the 3rd or the middle letter has a Nuqta over it like "ن" If this is "N" the mint would be MĒPŪR MAĪPŪR It also looks like عنبور = 'AīNPŪR

BOMBAY,

C E KOTWALL

24th December, 1926

Editor's Note

These coins are not new but they are undoubtedly rare and interesting Nos 1 and 2 are freaks Nos 3 and 4 bear a mint name which has not yet been satisfactorily read It has been deciphered as Khairpūr, but this reading is open to challenge on historical grounds (P M C 655 and I M C 462) The question has been discussed in N S, XXXIV, pp 222-3 by the present writer The mint may be Ujainpūr or more probably still Champūr, as the supposed initial alif of Ujainpūr cannot be deciphered on any of the known specimens S H H

273. A GOLD COIN OF BAPPÀ RAWAL.



The gold coin of Bappà Rawal, described in this article, is the first of its kind to be discovered. No other gold coin of any ruler of the various dynasties that held sway over Rajputana from the sixth to the eleventh century of Christ has been found.

Some five years ago, I got this coin from a Shroff in Ajmere. On making enquiries I learnt from him that a merchant of Bhilwara (Mewar) had sold him this coin with some old gold and silver ornaments. When it came into the possession of the Shroff, it had a small gold ringlet attached to it, which he separated. The coin at present forms part of the collection of His Highness the Darbar of Sirohi State for whom it was purchased.

As it now stands, it weighs 115 grains and bears the following marks —

On the Obverse :

- (1) Beginning from the top and running to the left over more than half of the coin is a circle of dots, which is called माला (mala) in Rajputana.
- (2) In the upper part below the circle of dots are written the words "श्री वोप्पा" (Shri Voppa) in the writing of the 8th century A D. These words denote the name of the king in whose honour or by whose orders, this coin was struck.
- (3) Below this inscription, to the left near the ring of dots is a standing trident.
- (4) To the right of the trident, there is a Shiva Lingam on a platform of two steps.
- (5) To the right of the Shiva Lingam, is the sacred bull of Shiva, in a sitting posture. The bull has his mouth near the Shiva Lingam, his tail and some part of his body have disappeared owing to the wearing away of the coin at that place.
- (6) Below the Shiva Lingam and the sacred bull is seen a man lying on his stomach. Both his ears are pierced. They look bigger than an ordinary man's ears, as the holes made in piercing are comparatively larger. His face too appears to be longer than usual.

On the Reverse

- (1) Barring some part of the coin to the right, the circle of dots is to be found near the edge running for more than three fourths of the circumference of the coin
- (2) In the upper part below the circle of dots, in a line are found three signs. Beginning from the left the first appears to be a folded चक्र (chowri)
- (3) The second is \oplus
- (4) The upper portion of the third sign is difficult to decipher as it has been rubbed off by the wearing away of the coin. Its lower portion however is in the form of a curved line, which may well be the handle of an umbrella. The upper part which is not clearly distinguishable also looks like an umbrella
- (5) Below these three signs, with its face to the right is a cow, which is standing. Some part of its mouth is not clearly discernible owing to the wearing away of the coin
- (6) Near the hind legs of the cow, with its face to the left is the young calf sucking the milk of its mother. A bell is seen suspended from its neck and its tail is high
- (7) A little above the tail of the calf is a pot, the right side of which has worn off
- (8) Below the cow and the calf there are two parallel lines with a little space between them
- (9) To the right of these lines is a fish in a slanting position, the lower part of its body is seen just touching the line
- (10) Below these two lines and above the ring of dots, appears something like a flower, made up of four dots

On the Obverse

- (1) The circle of dots does not call for any remarks as it is very common on old coins
- (2) The inscription on the coin bears the name of the king as “श्री वोप” (Shri Voppa). This is one of the many old variations of the name of “वप्प” (Vappa). In the old Sanskrit books and inscriptions, the king has been variously called वप्प, वोप्प, वप्पक, वप्प, वप्पक, वप्पाक, वाप्प, वाप्प and वापा. Both वप्प and वप्प are old Prākṛit words meaning ‘father’
- (3) The trident is one of the chief weapons of Shiva and in a coin of a ruler like Bappa, who was a

devout worshipper of Shiva the occurrence of the trident and Shiva Lingam is but natural

- (4) The Shiva Lingam may well be taken to denote Eklingji¹ the family god of Bappa
- (5) The sacred bull is the vehicle of Shiva and as such its presence near the Shiva Lingam is quite proper
- (6) A man is seen in a reclining position below the Shiva Lingam nothing definite can be said about him. But it is quite possible that he may be Bappa himself who is seen here prostrating himself before the family god. Three explanations are possible in regard to the pierced condition of his ears and his long face (a) It is possible that the man who cast the dies did not execute the figure properly (b) Kings in old times used to put on large kundals in their ears the pierced ears with these heavy ornaments naturally looked larger and were represented as such (c) Bappa was considered to be the incarnation of Nandi one of the ganas of Shiva hence his face might have been executed in the com long like a monkey's. Or if the man is not Bappa he may be the Guru of Bappa Hareet Rashi who was also considered to be an incarnation of चंड (Chanda), another gana of Shiva

On the Reverse

- (1) The circle of dots. An explanation has already been given elsewhere
- (2) and (4) The चक्र (chakra) and the umbrella are the emblems of Royalty
- (3) ⊕ This sign denotes the Sun and is found in various similar shapes in the grants engraved on stones discovered in Rajputana. The sign shows that Bappa belonged to the Solar race as stated in the Eklingji Inscription of Samvat 1028 (Vikrama Era) A D 971
- (5 and 6) The cow is the famous Kama Dhenu of Hareet Rashi the Guru of Bappa. Tradition has it that Bappa tended this cow for many a day
- (7) The pot already described may be there to hold the milk
- (8) The two parallel lines indicate the banks of a river which is suggested by the presence of the fish

¹ The temple of Eklingji is situated 13 miles to the north of Udaipur. Not only is Eklingji the family god of the Sevadis but he has been considered as the ruler of Mewar the Maharana in power acting only as his viceroy. Hence the Maharana is called his Diwanji in Rajputana. See the author's History of Rajputana Vol. I page 336

which cannot live without water If this surmise is correct then the lines indicate the small river Kutila, which flows past the temple of Eklingji

- (9) *The flower*—The existence of flowers near a river is but natural It may be a lotus'

The word Bappa as written elsewhere means father It is only a title It remains to be seen which of the Mewar rulers was known by this title I feel no hesitation in identifying Bappa with Kala Bhoja In the chronicle of the Badwas,¹ the great poem called Rāj Prashasti² engraved on 25 slabs on the banks of the Rāj Samudra Lake about 40 miles from Udaipur and the chronicle of Nainsi³ the name of the son of Bappa is given as Khuman and in the Ātपुर inscription Khuman is called the son of Kalā Bhoja hence the title Bappa applies to Kala Bhoja Professor Devdatta Rāmkrishna Bhāndarkar identifies Bappa with Khuman and Colonel James Tod with Shiladitya Both these identifications are untenable (See the History of Rajputana by the author, Vol I pages 408 409)

It may be urged that if Kala Bhoja is Bappa his name Kala Bhoja should appear on the coin and not his title Bappa But we have instances of a king bearing several titles in addition to his name and of his coins bearing either his original name or one of his titles by which he was well known For instance on a coin of Bhojadeva the Pratihara ruler of Kanauj we find inscribed the title Adivaraha and not the name Bhojadeva (See Smith's Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum I page 241)

Kala Bhoja or Bappa as he is generally called was eighth in descent from Guhil the first amongst the rulers of Mewar about whom something definite is known From the data available it is surmised that Bappa ruled from 734 to 753 A D (or from 791 to 810 Vikrama Era) His capital was at Nagda and near it lay the temple of his family god Eklingji As a devout worshipper of Eklingji Bappa held the chief priest—the saintly Hareet Rishi—in great esteem This feeling of reverence for his religious Guru has probably given rise to the many stories of Bappa with which all readers of Tod are familiar There are other stories in which Bappa is represented as cutting off the heads of two buffaloes with one stroke of his sword at the sacrificial altar of the goddess as maintaining an army of 1 272 000 men as requiring four goats daily for his food as putting on a dhoti 35 cubits in length and a turban 16 cubits long and as wearing a sword weighing 32 maunds Other accounts would make one believe that he went to Khurasān in his old age conquered that province and ruled

¹ 2 and ³ See Vir Vinod Part I pages 234 250 and 250

⁴ Chronicle of Mulinot Nainsi Part I page 2

there for the rest of his life. Most of these stories if not all of them are pure myths and have no foundation in history. Bappa died at Nāgda and his sepulchral monument is still to be seen at a distance of about a mile from Eklingji where his standing image about three feet in height is represented as pouring water on the Lingam of Shiva.

In reality we know very little about Bappa. All that is definitely known is that he captured the fort of Chitor from the Mauryas. The fact of his issuing a gold coin and the royal marks of the chowri and the umbrella clearly show that he was an independent and powerful ruler.

Colonel Tod following Abul Fazl is of the opinion that the Mewār rulers are descended from Naushirwan the ruler of Iran. Professor Devdatta Ramkrishna Bhāndārkar thinks that they are Nāgar Brahmins. As against these theories the mark of the sun on the coin supports our view that Bappa belonged to the Solar race and this view is further confirmed by the above mentioned Eklingji Inscription of 971 A D. as also by many other inscriptions of the mediæval period.

Ajmere

GAURISHANKAR H. OJHA

274 A FIND OF INDO GREEK HEMIDRACHMS IN BAJAUR

Towards the close of 1926 a large find of Indo Greek Hemidrachms was made near Gang a small village in Bajaur an area in the Dir Swat and Chitral Agency of the North West Frontier Province.

Most of the coins were brought into Peshawar and divided among a syndicate of silversmiths so it is difficult to ascertain the numbers actually found.

The writer has seen over 1 000 but has only had the opportunity of examining 1 didrachm and 969 hemidrachms in detail. He has heard of other lots and believes that a minimum of 1 200 coins found their way to Peshawar. The hoard consequently appears to have been about the size of the famous find brought to light in 1871 at Sonapat.

Unlike this latter hoard the coins found in Bajaur show very little signs of circulation and as only four princes are represented it must be assumed that they were almost contemporary Rulers.

Of the 969 Hemidrachms examined 95 were Square Hemidrachms of Apollodotos 152 of the usual type of Antimachos Nikephoros and 721 of Menander. There was also a solitary hemidrachm of Zoilos of the type with standing Herakles on the reverse.

This latter coin was naturally totally unexpected and its appearance in the hoard indicates that we must revise our ideas as to the period at which this King reigned.

The common Athene Promachos coins of Zoilos are

contemporary with the latest debased coins of Strato I and perhaps 60 years later than the last issues of Menander. This present hoard seems to indicate that there was another Zoilos contemporary with Menander, about as early as 160 B C.

My reasons for giving this comparatively early date to the find are as follows —

- (1) All the Menander coins show a comparatively youthful portrait of the king and this is not altogether due to sentimental idealism as I have seen several of his coins showing a far older portrait.
- (2) The large number of coins of Apollodotos seem to indicate that he was still ruling in the neighbourhood of the Kabul Valley and had not yet lost his northern provinces to Eukratides. The latter prince was deprived of part of his conquests by Mithridates, it is believed about 157 B C.
- (3) The Antimachos coins also appear to indicate the same date assuming that the titles Theos and Nikephoros were applied to the same king. The earlier coins of this king were Tetradrachms, and these must have been struck in the Paropamisadae about 180 B C prior to the extension of the power of Eukratides. If he had a reign of more than 20 years his coins would occur in greater variety than they do.

I should imagine that this king was of the house of Demetrios and gave up his kingdom to his relative Menander in a family alliance to withstand the aggression of Eukratides. Certainly all four of the monograms on his hemidrachms are of frequent occurrence on the coinage of Menander.

In view of the renewed interest taken in monograms since the publication of Mr Whitehead's important article in the Numismatic Chronicle of 1923 the writer attaches as an annexure a short note on the Monograms found in this hoard.


A list of the coins found is also attached.

Attention is drawn to the Zoilos coin referred to above (No 53) to the owl hemidrachm of Menander (No 48) to the two varieties of the helmeted Javelin thruster (Nos 46 and 47) and to a previously unchronicled variety of Menander (No 45).

R Hemidrachm

Obverse Javelin thruster Greek legend running continuously round the coin

Reverse Pallas to left Khraoshthi legend arranged in the usual way with 'Menadrasa' at the bottom of the coin

In right field 


The opportunity is also taken of describing a hitherto unchronicled didrachm of Artemidoros which the writer has recently obtained from Shunlari in the Mansehra Tehsil of Hazāra District N W F P

The coin was found by a villager together with two hemidrachms of Menander and two square hemidrachms of Polyxenos

ARTEMIDOROS

AR Didrachm—148.5 grains



Obverse Diademed bust to right Greek legend
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥ









Reverse Nude to right with wreath and palm In right field 


Kh legend Maharajasa apadhatasa Atimidarasa

ANNEXURE A


A NOTE ON THE MONOGRAMS ON THE COINS OF THE BAJAUR HOARD

Of the five monograms attributed by Mr Whitehead (*Num Chron* 1923) to the Kābul Kingdom only one  or  (K 5) is represented Twenty two coins show this monogram alone and 23 others show it in combination with other monograms

The Gandhara group is copiously represented no less than 348 coins show  (G 1), 77 show  (G 2) 55 show  (G 3) 141 show  (G 4) 34 show  (G 5) and 54 show  (G 6) The Punjab group is very meagrely represented by two types of the Euthydemia monogram  and  which are shown on 14 and 12 coins respectively

The enormous number of coins showing  (G 1) and the fact that they were nearly all in mint condition shows that this must represent the nearest mint city to the site of the find This is startling corroboration of General Cunningham's interpretation of *ΔΗΜΗΤ*, short for Demetrios which he identified as Charsadda near the junction of the Swat and Kabul rivers























This has always been an important city and stands on the direct route to Bajaur up the Swat and Panjkora rivers














The only other monogram that is at all common is 






which occurs on 92 coins, and one may presume that it also is a Gandhāra Monogram, unless we assume, from the fact that it has only been chronicled on coins of Menander, that it is merely a mintmaster's monogram

ANNEXURE B.

Catalogue of coins in the Bajaur Find.

Size and index No	King	OBVERSE		REVERSE.		No of coins	REMARKS
		Type	Mono grams	Type	Mono grams.		
Didra chm	1	Menander	Javelin thruster	Nil	Pallas 1	1	Weight 149 1 grs
						1	
					Total	1	
Hemidra chm Square	1	Apolloedotos	Elephant		Bull		34
	2	"				9 on hump c	32
	3	"					11
	4	"					11
	5	"			"	"	1
	6	"			"	Nil	1
	7	"			"		5
					Total	95	7 Mono grams
	8	Menander	Diademed bust	Nil	Pallas 1		6
	9	"	"	"	"		1
	10	"	"	"	"		12
	11	"	"	"	"		92
	12	"	"	"	"		6
	13	"	"	"	"		1
	14	"	"	"	"		6
	15	"	"	"	"		47
	16	"	"	"	"		1
	17	"	"	"	"		20
	18	"	"	"	"		102

Size and index No	King	OVERSE		REVERSE		No of coins	REMARKS
		Type	Mono grams	Type	Mono grams		
Hemidra chm							
36	Menander	Javelin thruster	Nil	Pallas left with hori zontal aegis	r 	1	
37					l 	1	
					Total	25	4 Mono grams
38	Menander	Javelin thruster	Nil	Pallas right	l 	26	
39					l 	4	
40					l 	10	
					Total	40	3 Mono grams
41	Menander	Javelin thruster	Nil	Pallas right	r 	8	
42		Legend continuous		Legend continuous	l 	13	
43					l 	4	
44					l 	1	
					Total	26	4 Mono grams
45	Menander	Javelin thruster Legend continuous	Nil	Pallas left Normal legend	r 	1	Unchro meled
					Total	1	
46	Menander	Javelin thruster	Nil	Pallas left	r 	1	
47		Helmeted			r 	1	
					Total	2	2 Mono- grams.
48	Menander	Bust of Pallas.	Nil	Owl	r 	1	
					Total	1	1 Mono gram

Size and index No	King	OBSERVER		REVERSE.		No of coins	REMARKS
		Type	Mono-grams.	Type	Mono-grams		
Hemidrachm							
49	Antimachos.	Victory	1. 	Horseman	Nil	84	
50		"	1. 	"	"	41	
51	"	"	1. 	"	"	12	
52	"	"	1. 	"	"	15	
					Total	152	4 Mono-grams.
53	ZOILOS.	Diademed bust	Nil	Herakles crowned by Nike		1	
					Total	1	1 Mono-gram

SUMMARY.

		Kings	Types.	Monograms.	Coins.
Hemidrachm	..	Apollodotos ..	1	7	95
	..	Menander ..	9	41	721
	..	Antimachos ..	1	4	152
	..	Zoilos ..	1	1	1
Didrachm	..	Menander ..	1	1	1
Total ..		4	13	54	970

M F C MARTIN

275 A NOTE ON MR S R AYYANGAR'S ARTICLE ON
'SOME MUGHAL GOLD COINS'

The find of sixteen specimens of the diminutive gold coinage resembling that of Southern India (BMC Introductory) which is the subject of the above contribution (Num Supp XXXIX No 259) is of considerable interest as the known examples of this class of Mughal mintages do not probably exceed twenty in number

Mr Ayyangar informs us that the total number of coins acquired under the Treasure Trove Act for the Madras Museum was sixteen that they all weighed about 41·7 grs that eight of them which bore the name of Muhammad Shāh were all struck at Gūtī that of the other eight which were stamped in the reign of Farrukh Siyar three were issues of Gūtī three of Tadpatrī and two of an *atelier* the name of which it is impossible in his opinion to read in any other way than Gajjikota and of which the identification is involved in doubt and uncertainty as there is no place by the name of Gajjikota in any of the Taluqs in the neighbourhood of Anantapur the district in which they were found Lastly Mr Ayyangar declares that by the discovery of these coins *two* new mints have *now* been brought to light and it is *now known* that Farrukh Siyar and Muhammad Shah minted these gold coins which are *entirely different from any known coins issued by them*

I am afraid that neither of these claims can be sustained in its entirety There are no less than eleven Imtiazgarh coins of the Vijayanagar pagoda type in the British and Indian Museums The same great collections contain Gūtī Coins of Farrukh Siyar and Muhammad Shāh (BMC No 901 and IMC Nos 1854·5) A gold piece bearing very great resemblance to Mr Ayyangar's Tadpatrī coin in legend as well as date and differing only in weight (22 grs) was described and figured in the British Museum Catalogue so long ago as 1892 It is true that the mint name could not be deciphered with certainty as the initial letters had been cut off and our thanks are certainly due to Mr Ayyangar for drawing the attention of numismatists to this find as it contains the three less imperfect specimens which have enabled him to decipher the hitherto doubtful mint name

A coin of the type of Mr Ayyangar's Gajjikota piece of Farrukh Siyar also is described and figured in the BMC (No 902) Moreover the Indian Museum contains another issue of the identical mint bearing the name of Āli Gohar (Old IMC No 10908 Wright IMC No 2281a) The reading suggested by Mr Lane Poole was Gangpūr and it was accepted perhaps only for the want of a better by Mr Rodgers Mr Nelson Wright thought it should be read

Kanchankot' The present writer ventured to propose in (Num Sup XXXI Art 196 iv) that the name was 'Ganjikot' and adduced a series of passages which left, in his humble opinion little or no room for doubting its identity with the Ganjikottah Gunjcottah Gunjicottah and Gandicottah of Firishtha and other historians and locating the mint itself in the old fortress of Gandakot (Lat 14° 47' N Long 78° 16' E Imp Gaz *sub voce*) Mr Ayyangar says that the name can be read only as 'Gajjikota' and declares that it is impossible for that reason, to identify the place definitely I am afraid the difficulty is an imaginary one and most probably due only to the effacement or invisibility of the Nuqtah' of the Nun in the specimen in the Thakkalapalli hoard An examination of the illustrations in both the Catalogues is sufficient to show that the second letter does possess the dot and the fact that all the three numismatists of eminence who had handled the coins themselves were agreed (notwithstanding their differences in regard to the entire name) in reading the second letter as a Nūn seems to me to clinch the matter and prove that the true reading is 'Ganjikot' and not 'Gajjikota'

As regards the second claim it is hardly necessary to point out that the fact of gold coins on the pattern of the South Indian *Hun* having been struck in the names not only of Farrukh Siyar and Muhammad Shah but of 'Alamgir II and Āli Gohar (or Shah 'Ālam II) has been familiar to numismatists for more than thirty years and has certainly not become known to them only *now*

As the metrology of these pieces is not without interest a few remarks in that connection may perhaps be permissible The maximum weights registered in the Catalogues indicate the existence of four denominations or classes turning the scale at about 53 25 44 and 22 grs The first two fall into line with and seem intended to take the place of or oust from circulation the pagoda and its half The metrological model or exemplar of the pieces which weigh about 44 grs was not as Mr Ayyangar thinks the 'Vijayanagar pagoda' or any kind of South Indian *Hun* but the Mughal quarter muhr As the weight of the pieces described by Mr Ayyangar is said to be 41.7 grs, they must all be classed with this *third* class and distinguished metrologically from the pagoda type Indeed it is worthy of note that of the four mints noted the pagoda weight types were uttered only from the atelier of Imtiazgarh which showed no favour to the other On the other hand those of Gūti Tadpatra and Ganjikot adopted with equal uniformity and persistence the 44 grs or quarter muhr standard to the utter exclusion of its rival It is scarcely

necessary to add that the 22 gr pieces represent the moiety of this quarter muhr type ¹

DIOLALI,

S H HODIVALA

5th September, 1927

276 THE SHAH I HIND' COINS

The attention of numismatists was first drawn to these curious monetary issues by the late Dr G P Taylor. That untiring collector and enthusiastic student thus wrote about them in Num Sup XXVIII § 200 —

For now some fifteen years I have had in my possession eleven insignificant looking coins which are yet of interest because of the puzzling questions which they raise *Where were they struck and by whom?* Seven of the eleven are of a larger denomination and four of a smaller * * * The average weight of the larger is 127 grs and of the smaller 64 grs. The dates are as follows

Large—937 H (two), 938 (bronze) 939 (two) and 940 (two)

Small—934 H, 938 938 (bronze) 939 (Loc cit' p 77)

It will be seen that Dr Taylor had specimens of only two denominations and that the years 935 and 936 H were not represented. But he says that he had seen in the collection of the late Mr Framji Jamaspji Thanāwāllā a larger and heavier coin which turned the scale at about 260 grs and also a piece of the smaller denomination which exhibited the date 935 H. I must during twenty five years of coin hunting in the Junagadh bazars have seen at least two hundred of these mintages and possess about sixty of them including five which clearly show the missing date 936 H (Pl 2 Nos 1 and 2) and one of a fourth and still lower denomination weighing only about 30 grs.

The dates appearing on the coins (934 to 940 A H) and the high sounding title of '*Shāh i Hind'*' which is claimed for the ruler who issued them led Dr Taylor to express the opinion that this coinage must have been first uttered by Babur after the defeat of Rana Sanga in 933 A H at some mint in Mughal


¹ The attached list of known coins will make the point clear



B M C	900 a	Imtyazgarh	Farrukh Siyar	P 3	53 grs
	976		Muhammad Shah	1161	52 grs
	977				51 grs
I M C	1839 41			R 3 12	50 51 52 grs.
	2179 81 a		Ālamgir II	21 ?	51 6 51 3 51 grs
	2182				50 grs
B M C	900	[Tadpatrī]	Farrukh Siyar	1160	22 grs
	909	Ganjikot		1128 5	22 grs
I M C	2281 a		Ālghohar		43 grs
B M C	901	(uta)	Farrukh Siyar	1128 5	44 grs
I M C	1804 5		Muhammad Shah	1168 ?	42 5 42 grs

territory not far remote from the borders of the province of Gujarāt and continued after his death by Humayūn.

It is permissible to argue that the observed dates and surrounding circumstances are at least equally in favour of their ascription to Bahadur Shah. These coins have never been found anywhere except in Gujarāt and Kattyawar and no coin collector has ever come across them either before or since the publication of Dr Taylor's article (1920), in any of those territories over which the two first Mughal Emperors held real and permanent sway. Dr Taylor's specimens were all obtained in Ahmadābād itself or its vicinity and my own in the town of Junāgadh. Neither Bābur nor his son ever struck copper coins of the first and fourth denominations (wts 260 and 30 grs) whereas Bahadur Shah and indeed most of the Gujarāt Sultāns are known to have done so (Taylor J B R A S 1904 p 324, Wright, I M C II (Gujarāt) Nos 65-66). Lastly neither the conqueror nor his son ever cared to put a metrical legend on their issues in silver or even gold and it is exceedingly unlikely that they should have gone out of their way to bestow that honour on the humble and despised *Falus*. On the other hand a benedictory legend in verse is the most remarkable feature of the copper issues of Sultān Ghiyāsu d dīn Muḥammad Shah of Gujarāt and it is possible that Bahadur Shah may have followed the example set by his great grandfather.

But the provenance of coins is, not unfrequently, a very treacherous guide and the other *a priori* arguments are at best inconclusive. The decisive solution of the question must depend as Dr Taylor himself has pointed out on the discovery of the place in which the coins were struck. They do not themselves, he says, record the mint name unless indeed it be registered in one or more of the reverse margins formed by the sides of the square and the rim. But in none of the specimens hitherto obtained are these margins legible. (Loc cit 78.)

I am happy to say that this difficulty has been overcome and that the name of the mint town can be now read with a reasonable degree of certainty by piecing together the letter visible on the margin of about fifteen of my specimens. The margins are to be read from left to right and from below upward. And probably with a view to indicate this fact and give a hint to the reader the die cutter has deliberately engraved the word in the bottom margin which is *Shahr* upside down thus  on all the three pieces on which it appears (Plate 2 Nos 7-9). It is clear from five or six other coins that

the right margin reads  which is written in the same peculiar style of calligraphy the *kāf* being formed exactly as in the  on the obverse and the 're' being joined on

to the mun exactly as in the coins of Mahmūd Begada (Taylor Coins of the Gujarat Sultānat J B B R A S 1904 Nos 31 33 34 Plate 2 Nos 10 14) It is even more easy

to see that the top margin contains the word *محمّد* (Plate 2 Nos 15 18) It is true that the inscription in the left margin is cut off but this is hardly material If the three words above mentioned have been correctly deciphered the honorific epithet *Shahr-i-Mukarram* makes it all but certain that the fourth vocable is *abad* and that the entire legend is

[*آباد*] *سهر مكرم محمد* In that case there can be little doubt that the coins were struck neither by the heroic Babur nor the reckless Humayūn but by the impetuous and unfortunate Bahadur Shah in his great stronghold of Muhammadabad Champāner

It may be permissible to make a few observations on the true meaning of the *Bait* inscribed on these coins Dr Taylor has said that it *perhaps* admits of being rendered as follows and confessed that the rendering appeared to himself to be doubtful Whoever on the surface of the earth has fame and face upon his forehead bears the King of India's stamp of grace Most people will agree that this is too literal to carry any clear meaning to the mind It is difficult to understand what is meant by the person of fame and face bearing the King of India's stamp of grace unless it be that he owes those possessions to the grace or favour of that ruler But '*Iqbal*' never means grace or favour and to render it in that way is to sacrifice sense to the exigencies of rhyme and do a violence to the genius and idiom of the language In these circumstances I beg to submit another version below

Whoever on the surface of the earth possesses honour and prestige lays [keeps or places upon] his forehead the Fortunate Coin [or the Coin of the Good Fortune] of the Sovereign Lord of Hind

It seems to me that the signification of the phrase *Sikka-i-Iqbal* is very similar to that of the *Sikka-i-Mubarak* of the mintages of Aurangzeb and his successors¹ It is the *Sikka*

¹ Whatever the literal meaning of *Iqbal* and of *Sikka-i-Iqbal* may be its real significance or idiomatic sense is King's Coin King's Money i.e. Coinage made current by Royal or Imperial authority *Abul Fazl* and other writers repeatedly use the collocation with *Iqbal* in this way Cf. *Muaskar-i-Iqbal* Camp of Good Fortune *Asiatic Researches* (Bibl. Ind. Text) and other passages quoted in Num. Sup. XXIV p. 167-170

Mauqub-i-Iqbal Retinue of Good Fortune *Alb. Nam. Text* III 4"

Rayat-i-Iqbal Standards of Good Fortune *Ibid* III 7 33 38

Astaneh-i-Iqbal Threshold of Good Fortune *Ibid* III 10 33 34

Lashkar-i-Iqbal Army of Good Fortune *Ibid* III 3

or coin struck for marking the culmination of the Good Fortune or as a memento of the auspicious accession of the Emperor or claimant. When the poet says that every person of name and fame places this 'Sikka' on his forehead, he is very probably referring to the Oriental or Pan-Asiatic custom of signifying respect and submission or assent by placing the hand upon the forehead. It is common knowledge that it was the duty of Governors and Viceroys of provinces and even of Ruling Chiefs and Princes to go long distances for escorting ('Istaqbāl') the Royal Farmāns and to place them, after they were delivered by the bearer, on the forehead with profound respect in token of their readiness to obey the Sovereign's wishes and commands. Coins are, as Thomas has justly said, Rescripts or Manifestoes inscribed on metal, of which the object is "to make clear to the comprehension" of the multitude—to the classes as well as the masses—the supremacy *de jure* or *de facto* of the person issuing them. (Chronicles, p. 1) So, the poet hopes and trusts that every person of any position in the country will signify his loyalty to and acknowledgment of the paramount power of Bahādur Shāh by cheerfully accepting as the 'current coin of the Realm' these mintages of his in spite of their novelty and unconventional style.

This is how I understand the lines but the fact of the matter is that 'Sikka' means 'stamp' or 'die' as well as 'coin' or 'money.' If the word is taken in the first of these senses and *Iqbāl* given its correct or dictionary meaning, the idea intended to be conveyed may be that every person of any consequence is the vassal or bond slave of the Shāh of Hind and carries on his forehead the mark, sign or stamp of his condition, as slaves often used to do in ancient times. If 'Sikka' signifies 'coin,' the purport is as I have first suggested.

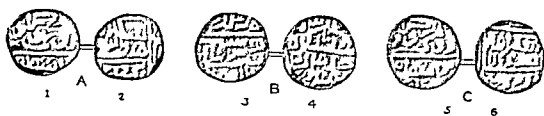
But a distich having a double meaning is looked upon as a thing of great beauty by all writers on Persian Poetics and it is possible that the composer meant 'Sikka' to be understood in both senses and the legend to be interpreted in either of the two ways indicated. In that case, it may be left to the reader to choose for himself that which appears to him to yield a more rational meaning.

S. H. HODIVĀLĪ.

DEOLĀLI,
21st October, 1927.

'Asūl-i-Iqbāl. Armies of Good Fortune. *Albarnāma* Text, III, 163.

اس نامہ اقبال
this Book or History of Good Fortune, i.e., this History of the Emperor
(Text, III, 19)



NUMISMATIC SUPPLEMENT No XLI

ARTICLES 277 282

*Continued from 'Journal and Proceedings,' Vol XXIII,
New Series No 4*

277 SITARAMI GOLD COINS OR MEDALS

In July last, through the kindness of Mr N C Mehta, I C S Deputy Commissioner of Partābgarh, I had an opportunity of examining a lot of coins belonging to the Court of Wards, Partabgarh. Among these coins were sixteen gold coins which I wished to acquire for the Provincial Museum Lucknow. Thanks to the generosity of Rani Jage-hwar Koer, senior Rani of Qila Partabgarh the coins have come to the Museum cabinet as a gift from her.

These include eight coins or medals popularly known as 'Sītārāmi' coins in Northern India and generally preserved for worship in temples or orthodox Hindu families. I have not unfrequently seen similar coins in debased silver with an inscription in the Gurmukhi character sold in Bazars. They are highly venerated and sometimes the owners demand fanciful prices. I saw a silver piece of about two inches in diameter with a goldsmith at Bithur in Cawnpore district but he would not sell it.

The gold pieces are scarce. About twenty years ago (in January, 1905) two were purchased locally for the Museum. Coins of similar description but with a marked difference in form are found in Southern India where they pass by the name of 'Rāmatankas'. Mr J Gibbs F R G S M R A S, contributed a valuable paper on these to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1884 (pages 207-214). They are circular in shape with one side concave and the other convex like the Padma tankas. Those found in Northern India however are usually round though sometimes hexagonal with flat sides. These form a distinct type and deserve a detailed notice although the subject matter is almost the same (see Plate I).

I will first deal with the eight recently acquired. They are —

1 Gold wt 168.5 grs size 8

Obverse Rāma seated with Sītā on a throne. Hanūmān seated on floor in front is shampooing Rāma's feet. Behind an attendant holding an umbrella or canopy.

Reverse Elephant walking to right Around Nagari inscription

Rājāpata-mahārāja Pirthi pata

2 Gold wt 167.0 grs , size 8

Obverse Rama and Lakshmana holding bow and arrow appear in centre while Sugriva or Hanūman stands in front with hands folded in adoration and holding a club with its knob downwards

Traces of Nagari inscription around visible on the left half

Reverse Fish incarnation of Vishnū in a rayed circle Vishnū emerging out of a fish holds in his four hands the usual attributes mace, wheel lotus and sword in place of the conch

3 Gold wt 169, size 75

Obverse Fantail peacock facing right, around debased Nagari characters not readable

Reverse Inside a beaded circle Hanūman flying with rock in right hand and club held knob upwards with left hand and resting on left shoulder

Nagari inscription around reads —*Hān mān Sīlā*

4 Gold wt 168.5 size 8

Obverse Inside a double circle, a fantail peacock with a snake in front

In exergue two letters *ra (?) ja*

Reverse Inside a beaded circle Hanūman flying with rock as on No 3 Around inside a circle, in Nagari characters *Hāna x māna xxx sīlā xxx*

5 Gold wt 168, size 7 Hexagonal

Obverse Elephant walking to left Traces of a circle and stars around

Reverse As above (No 4)

6 Gold wt 166.5, size 7

Obverse Krishna embracing Radha An attendant with fly whisk (?) to right and scroll ornament to left

Reverse Fantail peacock to left Around Nagari letters *dha la* probably standing for Radhika or Krishna and Radha



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



7. Gold. wt. 169.5, size .75.

Obverse. As above (No 6).

Reverse. Peacock, etc, as on the obverse of No. 4.

8. Gold. wt. 166.5, size .8.

Obverse. Human face probably standing for that of a Sun in a diamond shaped area. Around stars.

Reverse. Lion in centre. Around debased Nāgari characters, possibly reading, *Pūjan ke liye* i.e. for worship

To these eight, I would add the two old Museum specimens which were exhibited at the Annual Meeting held at Patna in January, 1923.

They may be described as :—

9. Gold. wt. 168.5, size .75.

Obverse and Reverse. As No. 7 above.

10. Gold wt. 168.5, size .7. Hexagonal.

Obverse. Fish incarnation of Vishnū. Vishnū holds sword in place of conch, as on the reverse of No. 2.

Reverse. Maned lion facing left.

These medals or tokens depict important events narrated in the Rāmāyana. The obverse of No. 1 represents a scene at Ayōdhyā after Rāma's installation on his return from exile. Hanūmān, his trusted general, is shampooing his feet.

No. 2 shows the meeting of Hanūmān or the visit of Sugriva, the king of the tribe to which Hanūmān belonged, offering his services to Rāma and Lakshmana in capturing Lañkā and rescuing Sītā from her captivity.

Reverse of No. 3 depicts Hanūmān flying with a rock which contained an herb prescribed for curing Lakshmana when he lay wounded on the battle field.

The obverse of No. 6 portrays Kṛishna and Rādhā in their usual posture. These must have been struck for people who offer worship to lord Krishna. These are rather rare.

No. 8 on the obverse shows a human face with stars around. This probably represents the face of the Sun symbolising Rāma who belonged to the solar race. On the reverse of this we find an inscription *Pūjan ke liye* (=for worship).

Two of the lot illustrate the fish incarnation of Vishnū. On both of these, the artist has placed a sword instead of a conch as one of Vishnū's attributes. This may be due to a mistake or fancy on the part of the designer.

There can be no doubt that the tokens were struck for worship and not for circulation as coins because of the singular

7. *Gold*. wt. 169.5, size .75.

Obverse. As above (No. 6).

Reverse. Peacock, etc., as on the obverse of No. 4.

8. *Gold*. wt. 166.5, size .8.

Obverse. Human face probably standing for that of a Sun in a diamond shaped area. Around stars.

Reverse. Lion in centre. Around debased Nāgari characters, possibly reading, *Pūjan ke liye* i.e. for worship

To these eight, I would add the two old Museum specimens which were exhibited at the Annual Meeting held at Patna in January, 1923.

They may be described as :—

9. *Gold* wt. 168.5, size .75.

Obverse and Reverse. As No. 7 above.

10. *Gold* wt. 168.5, size .7. *Hexagonal*.

Obverse. Fish incarnation of Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu holds sword in place of conch, as on the reverse of No. 2.

Reverse. Maned lion facing left.

These medals or tokens depict important events narrated in the Rāmāyaṇa. The obverse of No. 1 represents a scene at Ayōdhyā after Rāma's installation on his return from exile. Hanūmān, his trusted general, is shampooing his feet.

No. 2 shows the meeting of Hanūmān or the visit of Sugriva, the king of the tribe to which Hanūmān belonged, offering his services to Rāma and Lakshmana in capturing Laṅkā and rescuing Sitā from her captivity.

Reverse of No. 3 depicts Hanūmān flying with a rock which contained an herb prescribed for curing Lakshmana when he lay wounded on the battle field.

The obverse of No. 6 portrays Krishna and Rādhā in their usual posture. These must have been struck for people who offer worship to lord Krishna. These are rather rare.

No. 8 on the obverse shows a human face with stars around. This probably represents the face of the Sun symbolising Rāma who belonged to the solar race. On the reverse of this we find an inscription *Pūjan ke liye* (=for worship).

Two of the lot illustrate the fish incarnation of Viṣṇu. On both of these, the artist has placed a sword instead of a conch as one of Viṣṇu's attributes. This may be due to a mistake or fancy on the part of the designer.

There can be no doubt that the tokens were struck for worship and not for circulation as coins because of the singular

state of their preservation. They have a bright appearance and look as if they were fresh from the mint.

There is a remarkable uniformity in the standard of weight and size. They weigh between 166.5 and 169.5 grains and measure from 7 to .8 of an inch each. On the whole, they are of inferior workmanship with no pretensions to age. None have any date or distinct legible inscription which would help us in determining their exact period. On palæographic grounds, however, I would not be over-shooting the mark if I place them to about a century old.

January, 1926.

PRAYĀG DAYĀL.

278. TREASURE TROVE FIND OF 16,448 ELECTRON COINS IN
BANDA DISTRICT OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.

A big hoard consisting of 16,448 old coins was found by one Mahādeo Chamār, a labourer, while digging a *bandhān* of the Canal Department, at Mauza Khandeha in Tahsil Mau of Banda District, U.P., and sent to me for examination by the Collector of the district in May 1927. These coins were buried underground inside two copper jars rivetted with copper discs by wire. Unfortunately no record is available to find out the exact depth at which the jars were unearthed. But the actual find spot lay in the ruins of an old fortress at Aunjhar, where a tank was being constructed by the Canal Department. In May 1926, about a year prior to the discovery of the coins, the Executive Engineer of Ken Canal Division, forwarded to the Museum a few minor antiquities found in the locality, which may be assigned roughly to the 11th or 12 century A.D.

In January 1928, I visited the place. It is 4 miles from village Baburi which has a canal inspection house and which is just 8 miles from Bargarh, a railway station on the G.I.P. Railway between Allahabād and Mānikpūr. Here I could clearly see the ruins of an old fortress situated in the valley of the river in the midst of charming scenery.

Although deposited inside the jars with close-fitting lids, the coins when brought to light were covered with a thick coating of verdigris, and to all appearance seemed to be made of copper. After careful cleaning and minute examination, it was clear that the metal was some alloy of copper and silver possibly with a tinge of gold. One specimen was subsequently sent for chemical analysis to the Archaeological Chemist at Dehra Dūn, who has kindly ascertained for me the exact proportion of metals contained in the alloy. Gold forms 10.53%, Silver 13.63%, and Copper 75.82% of the composition.

On grounds of technique and legend I assigned them in the first instance to the Kashmir Series issued by Śri Pratāpa, circa 700 A.D., *vide* I M O, Vol. I, p 208. But I was not satisfied with this identification, because of the appearance

distinct series and would assign it to *Jayāpīḍa* but for the fact that on his coins he bears the name of *Vinayāditya* (Cunningham's Coins of Med Indr, p 45 and pl. III, 14) I, therefore, venture to hazard a conjecture that 'Ja' perhaps stands for *Jajja* who was a brother in law of *Jayāpīḍa* and who usurped the throne when the latter had moved far away (Rajatarangini IV, 410)





The appearance of the usurper's initials on a few coins only suggests his insecure position and hasty decision. On political grounds it was absolutely necessary for him to stick to the existing standard and style. On account of the absence of any other standard monetary issue in North India about the 8th century A D, only the Kashmir series were prevalent and any abrupt change or diversion in the design might have had an abortive effect.

Coming now to the coins themselves, I discovered no less than fifteen varieties (see plate 2) among the 448 specimens which were well-preserved and which I recommended for acquisition and distribution to various museums and educational institutions.

Var I is the ordinary Pratapāditya type of Kashmir.

Obv Crude standing figure of goddess with legend 'Sri Pratāpa' to right and 'Kī'¹ to left
Between legs 'dara'²

Rev Crude seated figure with legend 'kīda' to right
45 coins

Var II	<i>Obv</i> and <i>Rev</i> as above with Pratapa	3 coins
" III	do with Pratappa	1 "
" IV	do with Ja Pratāpa	57 "
" V	do with do 	54 "
" VI	do with Ja Pratāpa	20 "
" VII	do with a double ta 	1 "
" VIII	do with  tā	42 "
" IX	do with  tā	52 "
" X	do Large flat specimens	5 "
" XI	<i>Obv</i> as above but on <i>Rev</i> 'Kīda' to right	40 "
" XII	do but on <i>Rev</i> head of goddess indicated by one dot	8 "
" XIII	do but on <i>Rev</i> head of goddess indicated by 3 dots	13 "
" XIV	do but on <i>Rev</i> head of goddess indicated by 4 dots	32 "
" XV	do but on <i>Rev</i> head of goddess indicated by 5 dots	4 "
Miscellaneous mixed varieties		71 "

Total .. 448 "

1 This is quite clear on 3 obv

2 This is quite clear on 10 obv



1



2



3



4

5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12



13



14



15

The size varies between .75 and .8 of an inch and the weight between 115 and 118 grs. The size of Var. X (large flat specimens) is .9 and the weight ranges from 117 to 119.5 grains.

From the fact that these coins were found in Banda District, it follows that the coins were current in Bundelkhand even after the retirement of Lalitāditya Muktapīḍa. Until the discovery of more hoards or other epigraphical records throws further light on this dark period of history, I think, the attribution of the ordinary Pratāpa type to Lalitāditya Muktapīḍa and that of the type with 'Ja' between Śrī and Pratāpa to Jajja, the usurper, will perhaps commend itself to scholars

PRAYĀG DAYĀL.

LUCKNOW,
March, 1929

279. SOME MORE COINS OF THE POST-MUGHAL PERIOD FROM AHMADĀBĀD.

In 1926 69 whole and 12 half rupees were received from the Collector of Ahmadābād through the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for examination and report. These coins were found while removing the debris of a fallen house in the Village of Uvarsad in the North Dashkroi Taluka of Ahmadābād District. The coins were covered with a thick layer of verdigris and after cleaning were found to be of the Post-Mughal Period.

It seems no attempts were made to study these coins till the year 1913, when Mr. A. Master prepared an exhaustive note on this series which was published in the Numismatic Supplement No. XXII.

I do not think it necessary to enter into the details of all these coins as this subject has already been discussed fully by Mr. Master. I will simply give a list of those coins which have got new dates or marks, not found in Mr. Master's list.

This hoard consists of 25 and 56 coins struck in the name of Shāh 'Ālam II and Akbar II, respectively. I have noticed only ten sub-varieties in the attached list; 5 of the former and 5 of the latter Emperor.

LIST OF COINS

Serial No	No of coins	Emperor	Date	M M	REMARKS
1	2	Shah 'Ālam II	41	ۛۛۛۛ	.
2	1		127x 40		
3	1			ۛ	$\frac{1}{2}$ rupee
4	1	,	120x 35	ۛۛ	This is perhaps a new m m. not in Mr Master's list.
5	1		12xx 3x	ۛ	
6	7	Akbar II	122x	ۛۛ	This is the earliest coin with this m m
7	1				$\frac{1}{2}$ rupee
8	1		1249		9 in reverse position
9	1			ۛۛۛۛۛۛ	$\frac{1}{2}$ rupee
10	1		10	ۛۛ	

C R SINGHAI

280 RUPEES OF SHAH 'ĀLAM II UJHANI—ĀSAFABAD AND 'ĀBDULLANAGAR—PIHANI

Until recently coins of the Ujhani mint were considered to be extremely rare and so far as I was aware of only one specimen existed in the cabinet of our distinguished numismatist, Mr Nelson Wright I O S (retired)

A Obv



A Rev



B Obv



B Rev



In May 1926, I examined a hoard of 225 silver coins found at Naokund in the Tahsil and district of Pilibhit, U.P., which fortunately yielded as many as twenty coins of Shāh 'Ālam II minted at Ujhāni—Āsafābād in his 17th and 18th regnal year. It is a note-worthy point that the entire hoard consisted of the issues of Shāh 'Ālam II struck at Āsafnagar, Bareli, Murādābād, Naṣrullānagar and Ujhāni—Āsafābād.

The legend as reproduced below is quite clear and the mint name can be read almost in full without the least shadow of doubt.

Obverse.

محمد عالم
 فصل حامی دین
 سر هفت کشور

Reverse.

او حہانی آباد
 ضرب اصف
 میمنت مانوس
 حلوس ۱۷

(B.) A Shāh 'Ālam II rupee of 'Abdullanagar was discovered in a lot of 87 rupees of Mughals and Durrānis unearthed at village Bithra, Police Station Neoria, District Pilibhit, U.P. Other coins of Shāh 'Ālam II, included in the find were struck at Ānwala, Bareli, Bisauli, Naṣrullanagar, Muhammadnagar—Tānda, Murādābād, and Muṣṭafābād. So 'Abdullanagar must be in the neighbourhood of the above places, though a town of that name is not now shown on the map of the United Provinces. But luckily, this toponym is followed by another which can be read with reasonable certainty as Pihāni. We are thus able to say that Abdullanagar was the Musalman *alias* of Pihāni. Pihāni is a town (*Qasba*) lying in Latitude 27°37' north and Longitude 80°12' east, on the unmetalled road from Sitāpūr to Shāhābād, at a distance of 16 miles north of Hardoi. Old residents still call it 'Abdullanagar at times.

The legend is reproduced below :—

Obverse.

محمد عالم
 فضل الہ حامی دین
 کشور سائر ۱۱۷۳

Reverse.

مانوس
 میمنت
 حلوس سنہ ۲
 عبد اللہ نگر پہانی

زد مر هفت

PRAYĀG DAYĀL.

281 THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE ZODIACAL COINS

The classes and varieties of numismatic records to which the collector in India can devote special attention and which he can make the object of his industrious pursuit are exceedingly numerous. But perhaps none have aroused such general and long continued interest as the picturesque mintages exhibiting the signs of the Zodiac which were struck in pursuance of a whim of the Emperor Jehangir's. These coins appear from very early times to have been used as amulets or talismans. Romantic stories about their origin and virtues have been told and can be still heard among the common people and it is clear from the pages of Tavernier that they had become the subject of a folk tale less than 50 years after the death of the Emperor. This contemporaneous traveller also informs us that they had become very rare even in his day and 'Two or three specimens in gold were he writes so hard to be got that an hundred crowns have been paid for one of them' (*Travels*, Translation of J Philips 1678 part II, p 11).

This rarity has naturally led to the multiplication of forgeries and one of the most successful collectors declared only 50 years ago that there were at least 'three separate sets of imitations of varying degrees of crudity and even warned his readers that among the Gold there were at least twenty imitations to one real coin. His experience further led him to opine that several of the specimens in Gold were struck from Silver dies and *vice versa*. The net result of his search of many years was to force him to the conclusion that with one or two exceptions the genuine Gold muhars were all struck at Agra and the Silver rupees at Ahmedabad (*Gibbs J B B R A S* 1878 pp 155 6). A very similar verdict has been pronounced in our own times by Mr Whitehead who says that with the exception of a very few rare pieces from half a dozen other mints Jehangir's Zodiacal Mohars issued from Agra and his Zodiacal rupees from Ahmadabad (*P M C Introd* xxxv). Strictly interpreted these words must mean that the three Agra rupees registered by Mr Lane Poole (*B M C* Nos 366 367 and 375) are not above suspicion as they do not belong to Ahmadabad. Indeed Mr Gibbs had so early as 1878 expressed the opinion that the last of the three—No 375—the Agra Capricornus of 1029A H—14R had been struck from Gold dies (*J B B R A S* 1878 p 160n) and he was inclined to take the same view of the Agra Scorpio (in silver) which was in his own Cabinet.

But is there no test or criterion by which the genuine coins can be distinguished from the fakes? Mr Gibbs frankly declared that there is none except the workmanship the artistic perfection and correctness of the figures and the lettering or as he puts it the fineness and accuracy of the engraving (*ibid*

p, 157) But the aesthetic sense is not a universal gift among mortals in general or numismatists in particular, and the acute differences of opinion among art critics are matters of common knowledge Mr Lane Poole also confesses that there is often, "considerable difficulty in distinguishing the imitation from the genuine Mohars and numismatists are frequently found to differ in their opinions," (*B M C*, Introd, lxxxiv)

To give a few instances Mr Gibbs was convinced that the Sagittarius of 1035 20 in the Cabinet des Medailles was "very poor work and its writing so stiff that it could not possibly be of the original set" (*Proc*, *A S B*, 1883 p 56) On the other hand, Mr Whitehead has thought this identical Coin worthy of a full description, and would appear from his silence to discountenance any doubts as to its genuineness (*P M C*, p ciii) Again, Mr Gibbs thought that all the three Aquarius Coins in the British Museum, were "very poor" and he had no hesitation in declaring that the one showing "an old man seated pouring water over his shoulder" was not at all "genuine" (*Proc*, *A S B*, 1883 p 6) On the other hand, all that Mr Lane Poole has to say about this last (*B M C*, No 356) is that it is "rude work" and he seems to have regarded the other two (Nos 355 and 357) as perfectly in order

The following Muhrs of Agra are all reckoned as genuine and registered without remark by Mr Lane Poole and Mr Nelson Wright

I	I M C	No 575	1030	XVI R	Gemini
II	B M C	, 339,	1030	XVI R	Virgo
III	"	, 343,	1030	XVI R	Libra
IV	"	, 331,	1031	XVI R	Gemini
V	"	, 340,	1031	XVI R	Virgo
VI	I M C	, 579	1031	XVI R	Libra

It must be obvious to any one possessing even an elementary knowledge of Chronology that both these conflicting sets of Hijri dates and Regnal years cannot be correct, and one of them must be erroneous There is no doubt that the 16th year of Jehangir's reign began on 27 IV 1030 A H and it is clear that if the Regnal year and Zodiacal constellation stamped on the three first Coins are in accord, as they should be with the Hijri year inscribed upon them those on the second three can not possibly tally, one with the other, and must be errors—errors so patent and glaring as to raise a fair presumption against the genuineness of the coins themselves

A casual glance at the list of Imitations is sufficient to show that the date-equations on some of them also are manifestly impossible Every one who knows anything of the Zodiacal series is familiar with the fact that it was inaugurated in the XIIIth Regnal year which corresponded to 1027 A H, and

yet the Āgra Scorpio in the B M C. (No 380) exhibits the dates XII-1028 Another (No 381) showing XVII-1033 is as evidently wrong and the same observation applies to Nos 391 (XVI-1029), 393 394, and 398 (XVII-1033) and 397 (XII-1028)

In these circumstances, it was natural to suspect that there might be other mistakes which were not so easily perceptible and in the hope of discovering one sort of gauge or test which might prove helpful in the detection of *some at least of the jakes* I was led to prepare two tables of Hīrī Julūs synchronisms for all the months of the last ten years of Jehangīr's reign

In this connection, it is perhaps necessary to say that these tables have been compiled on the basis of the 'La wa Lā Lab La wa I a La' formula and that the number of days assigned to each solar month is as under, Farwardīn 31, Ardībehesht 31, Khurdad 32, Tir 31, Amardad 31, Shahrewar 31, Mīhr 30, Āban 30, Ādar 29, Dai 29, Bahman 30, Isfandarmaz 30

It may be added that the initial days of the Regnal years have been taken from the sixth volume of Elliot and Dowson's *History of India* (q v also *I M C*, III, 357) and that for the reasons explained in the *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics* (pp 37 8) there is at times the difference of one day and occasionally of two in the reckoning

Let us now see if these tables are of any use

Julian year	Farwardin Aries	Ardbahesht Taurus	Khardad Gemini	Tir Cancer	Amardad Leo	Shahrivar Virgo	Mihir Libra	Aban Scorpio	Adar Sagittarius	Dai Capricornus	Bahman Aquarius	Isfandarmuz Pisces
XIII	23 III 1027 H ¹	24 IV 1027 H	26 V 1027 H	28 VI 1027 H	30 VII 1027 H	2 IX 1027 H	3 X 1027 H	4 XI 1027 H	1 XII 1027 H	3 I 1028 H ¹	2 II 1028 H ¹	3 III 1028 H ¹
XIV	4 IV 1028 H	6 V 1028 H	7 VI 1028 H	10 VII 1028 H	11 VIII 1028 H	13 IX 1028 H	14 X 1028 H	15 XI 1028 H	15 XII 1028 H	15 I 1029 H ¹	14 II 1029 H ¹	15 III 1029 H ¹
XV	15 IV 1029 H	17 V 1029 H	18 VI 1029 H	21 VII 1029 H	22 VIII 1029 H	24 IX 1029 H	25 X 1029 H	26 XI 1029 H	26 XII 1029 H	26 I 1030 H ¹	25 II 1030 H ¹	26 III 1030 H ¹
XVI	27 IV 1030 H	29 V 1030 H	1 VII 1030 H	3 VIII 1030 H	5 IX 1030 H	6 X 1030 H	8 XI 1030 H	8 XII 1030 H	8 I 1031 H ¹	7 II 1031 H ¹	7 III 1031 H ¹	7 IV 1031 H ¹
XVII	9 V 1031 H	10 VI 1031 H	12 VII 1031 H	14 VIII 1031 H	16 IX 1031 H	17 X 1031 H	19 XI 1031 H	19 XII 1031 H	20 I 1032 H ¹	19 II 1032 H ¹	19 III 1032 H ¹	19 IV 1032 H ¹
XVIII	20 V 1032 H	21 VI 1032 H	23 VII 1032 H	25 VIII 1032 H	27 IX 1032 H	28 X 1032 H	30 XI 1032 H	1 I 1033 H ¹	1 II 1033 H ¹	1 III 1033 H ¹	30 III 1033 H ¹	1 V 1033 H ¹
XIX	29 V 1033 H	1 VII 1033 H	2 VIII 1033 H	5 IX 1033 H	6 X 1033 H	8 XI 1033 H	9 XII 1033 H	9 I 1034 H ¹	9 II 1034 H ¹	9 III 1034 H ¹	9 IV 1034 H ¹	9 V 1034 H ¹
XX	10 VI 1034 H	12 VII 1034 H	13 VIII 1034 H	16 IX 1034 H	17 X 1034 H	19 XI 1034 H	20 XII 1034 H	21 I 1035 H ¹	21 II 1035 H ¹	21 III 1035 H ¹	20 IV 1035 H ¹	21 V 1035 H ¹
XXI	21 VI 1035 H	23 VII 1035 H	24 VIII 1035 H	27 IX 1035 H	28 X 1035 H	30 XI 1035 H	2 I 1036 H ¹	2 II 1036 H ¹	2 III 1036 H ¹	2 IV 1036 H ¹	2 V 1036 H ¹	2 VI 1036 H ¹
XXII	3 VII 1036 H	4 VIII 1036 H	6 IX 1036 H	8 X 1036 H	10 XI 1036 H	11 XII 1036 H	12 I 1037 H ¹	12 II 1037 H ¹	13 III 1037 H ¹	12 IV 1037 H ¹	12 V 1037 H ¹	12 VI 1037 H ¹

Hijri year	1 Muharram	1 Şafar	1 Rab'ı I	1 Rab'ı II	Jumad I	Jumad II	Rajab	Shaaban	Ramazan	Shawwal	Zulqada	Zulhijja
1027	10 Dai XII	10 Bahm VII	9 İsfandar XII	9 Farw XIII	7 Ardib XIII	6 Khurd XIII	3 Tir XIII	2 Amar XIII	31 Amar XIII	30 Shahr XIII	8 Mahr XIII	28 Aban XIII
1028	28 Adar XIII	29 Dai XIII	29 Bahman XIII	29 İsfand XIII	27 Farw XIV	26 Ardi XIV	24 Khurd XIV	22 Tir XIV	20 Amar XIV	19 Shahr XIV	17 Mahr XIV	17 Aban XIV
1029	16 Adar XIV	17 Dai XIV	17 Bahman XIV	17 İsfand XIV	16 Farw XV	15 Ardi XV	13 Khurd XV	11 Tir XV	9 Amar XV	8 Shahr XV	6 Mahr XV	6 Aban XIV
1030	5 Adar XV	6 Dai XV	6 Bahman XV	6 İsfand XV	4 Farw XVI	3 Ardi XVI	1 Khurd XVI	31 Khurd XVI	28 Tir XVI	27 Amar XVI	25 Shahr XVI	24 Mahr XVI
1031	24 Aban XVI	24 Adar XVI	24 Dai XVI	25 Bahman XVI	24 İsfan XVI	23 Farw XVII	21 Ardi XVII	20 Khurd XVII	17 Tir XVII	16 Amar XVII	14 Shahr XVII	13 Mahr XVII
1032	12 Aban XVII	12 Adar XVII	12 Dai XVII	13 Bahman XVII	12 İsfan XVII	12 Farw XVIII	10 Ardi XVIII	9 Khurd XVIII	6 Tir XVIII	5 Amar XVIII	3 Shahr XVIII	2 Mahr XVIII
1033	1 Aban XVIII	1 Adar XVIII	1 Dai XVIII	2 Bahman XVIII	1 İsfan XVIII	3 Farw XIX	1 Ardi XIX	31 Ardi XIX	29 Khurd XIX	27 Tir XIX	25 Amar XIX	21 Shahr XIX
1034	23 Mahr XIX	23 Aban XIX	22 Adar XIX	23 Dai XIX	23 Bahm XIX	23 İsfand XIX	21 Farw XX	20 Ardi XX	18 Khard XX	16 Tir XX	14 Amar XX	13 Shahr XX
1035	11 Mahr XIX	11 Aban XX	10 Adar XX	11 Dai XX	11 Bahm XX	11 İsfand XX	9 Farw XXI	9 Ardi XXI	7 Khurd XXI	5 Tir XXI	3 Amar XXI	2 Shahr XXI
1036	31 Shahr XXI	30 Mahr XXI	29 Aban XXI	29 Adar XXI	29 Dai XXI	30 Bahman XXI	29 İsfand XXI	29 Farw XXII	27 Ardi XXII	26 Khard XXII	23 Tir XXII	22 Amar XXII
1037	21 Shahr XXII	21 Mahr XXII	19 Aban XXII	19 Adar XXII	19 Dai XXII	20 Bahman XXII	19 İsfan XXII	19 Ardi XXII	17 Khard XXII	16 Tir XXII	14 Amar XXII	13 Shahr XXII

The British Museum contains altogether four coins with the sign 'Gemini'

No	330	1029-XV
No	332	1032-XVIII
No	333	1033-XIX
No	331	1031-XVI

It is clear that if the three first are in serial order the date expression on the fourth must be wrong. A reference to the Table leaves no doubt that this is so. The 16th year of Jehangir began on 27 IV 1030 A H and Khurdad (Gemini) XVI on 1 VII 1030, not 1031. Indeed the *I M C*, Gemini (No 575) has the right dates 1030-XVI.

Now we have in this instance a good illustration of the fact that what is artistically dubious is liable to condemnation on Chronological grounds also. Mr Lane Poole notes that the twins in this specimen are "smaller than usual, differently posed and brandishing one a mace and the other a pair of weights." No 331 must be therefore suspect.

B M C, No 340 must, for similar reasons, be placed in the doubtful class. Of the three Virgo Muhrs in that collection

No	338	is of 1029-XIV and
No.	339	of 1030-XVI But
No	340	is also of 1031-XVI

It is plain that if No 339 is right, No 340 must be wrong and *vice versa*. The table shows that Shahrivar (Virgo) XVI began on 6 X 1030 and ended on 7 XI 1030 A H. Here again, the Chronological evidence would seem to be helpful in arriving at some determination in regard to the genuineness of the piece.

The figure of Virgo on this Coin, remarks Mr Lane Poole, is unlike either "the traditional winged woman or the typical Indian image of a squatting woman with a braid of hair down her back" "which is found on the other genuine muhrs (*op cit*, p lxxxiii).

Indeed, Mr Gibbs was of opinion that it was not a Virgo at all but a female Aquarius. He was sure that the figure was "carrying two *Hāndis* on the head one above the other just as the women carry them now" (*Loc cit*, p 158). The table would seem to show that there is some thing to be said for this suggestion which Mr Gibbs was not aware of. This is that, if the figure is really an Aquarius, the coin would be chronologically unexceptionable, as the first day of Bahman (Aquarius) XVI began on 7 III 1031 A H and ended on 6 IV 1031 A H. In that case the *raison d'être* of doubts originating in difference of design or artistic imperfections would disappear.

Let us now take No 350. It is a Capricornus of 1028-XIV. It will be noticed that the coin immediately next in the list (No 351) is of the same sign and regnal year, but the Hijri date is 1029. Now the table shows that Dai (Capricornus) XIV be

gan only on 15th Muharram 1029 No 351 is therefore correct but if so, No 350 cannot possibly be acquitted of error

No 356 (1032 XVIII) is another coin which illustrates the value of the chronological test Its rude work did not escape the vigilant eye of Mr Lane Poole and aroused his suspicions but he was not sure that it was a forgery The table would appear to condemn the piece for Bahman (Aquarius) XVIII began only on 30 III 1033 A H i.e. 88 days after the expiration of the 1032nd year of the Flight It may be noted that the other Aquarius, which immediately precedes it (No 355) is of 1031 XVI and correct according to the table

Lastly No 359 is a Pisces of 1031-XVII Now Isfandarmaz (Pisces) XVII began only on 19 IV 1032, i.e. 100 days after the 1031st year of the Hejira had come to an end The coin must therefore be suspect Here again, it may be worth while to point out that the immediately following coin of the same sign (No 360) shows 1033-XVIII and is in order, as well as No 358 which has the date expression 1028-XIII

All this is plain sailing But the same can hardly be said of the Gold Scorpio (No 346a) of 1030 XVI Mr Lane Poole had doubts about its genuineness, but thought it possible that it was a first piece of Jehangir's own time or at the worst, a contemporary imitation (p lxxxviii) Now the Table shows that Aban (Scorpio) XVI began on 8 XII 1030 and ended on 7 I 1031 A H It is quite possible that the coin was struck on one or other of last 23 days of 1030 A H It is true that the other Muhr of the same sign and Hijri year is of very different design In other words, it is just on the margin and may be genuine as it is within the four corners of chronological rectitude, but I must leave the matter there and let final judgment be pronounced by those who are more conversant with the aesthetic aspect of the matter

Besides the Zodiical issues of Āgra and Ahmadābad, the following coins of Ajmer, Fathpūr, Kashmir, Lahore and Urdu have also been described —

AV	Ajmer	Aquarius	1032-18	(Cabinet de France, P M C, xxx)
AV	Ajmer	Cancer	1034-20	(Gibbs B B R A S, 1878, P M C, xxx)
AV	Fathpur	Aries	1030 20	(, " " P M C, xc)
AR	"	"	1030-	(, " " " " ")
AR	"	Capricornus	1028-14	(Rodgers, J A S B, 1888, P M C, xc)
AV	Kashmir	Cancer	1034-20	(Dr Cunha Catalogue P M C, xciii)
AR	"	Gemini	-15	(I M C, No 696, White King Cat No 3691)

- AV Lāhore Sagittarius 1035-20 (Cabinet de France,
P M C en)
AV Urdū Aries 1036 22 (H N Wright \ S No I)

It may be a mere coincidence but it is not unworthy of notice that all these nine coins are said to have been struck at places which the Emperor is known to have visited at sometime or other during his reign. But it remains to ascertain from his Autobiography and other contemporary chronicles whether he was in the particular town during the month and year in which the coin itself was uttered. We have also to see if the Regnal year Hijri date and Zodiacal Sign are in accord.

Mr Gibbs was of opinion that the Ajmer Aquarius 1032 XVIII in the Cabinet de France was a fake. Now this opinion receives considerable support from the Table as Bahman (Aquarius) XVIII began only on 30 III 1033 A H.

It may be also germane to the matter to note for what it is worth that Jehāngīr was *not at Ajmere at the time*. He tells us himself that he arrived there on 9th Khurdad XVIII=19 Rajab 1032 A H (*Tuzuk i Jehāngīr* Trans, Beveridge II p 261) and left it for Kashmir on 2 Ādar of the same Julūs year =1 Safar 1033 A H (*Tuzuk Tr II p 282*) i.e. about two months before the 1st day of Bahman (Aquarius) XVIII.

Mr Gibbs says that Col Guthrie had an Aries Muhr as well as an Aries Rupee of Fāthpūr of the Hijri year 1030. Unfortunately the Julūs year is not given and it is therefore out of our power to subject the coin to the chronological test. But it may be worth while to note that—Jehāngīr was holding his court at Āgra in Farwardīn (Aries) XVI=27 Rab I to 28th Jumad I 1030 A H (*Tuzuk Algharh Text 326 8 Trans Beveridge II*). It is possible that he may have been out in camp at Fāthpūr for shikar or some other purpose for a few days during that month.

Mr Rodgers published in *J A S B* 1888 the couplet on a Capricornus rupee of Fāthpūr of 1028 14 and the coin has been specially noticed by Mr Whitehead also (*P M C p 10*). Now we know that Jehāngīr was obliged to have his camp at Fāthpūr for several months on account of the prevalence of plague in Āgra at the time. He pitched his tent on the bank of the lake of Fāthpūr on the 19th of Dai XIII and entered Fāthpūr itself on the 28th of Dai XIII and stayed there upto the 31st of Farwardīn XIV (*Tuzuk 260-8 Tr II pp 67 68*). Now a reference to the table shows that 1 Dai (Capricornus) XIII corresponded to 3rd Muharram 1028 and 1 Dai (Capricornus) XIV to 15 I 1029. In other words if the Hijri year on the coin is right the Julūs year is wrong and if the Julūs year is correctly given the Hijri date must be an error. In the circumstances it is difficult to say anything confidently. It is just possible that the Julūs date has been incorrectly read.

as ر and ر are liable to be mistaken in Persian writing. But this conjecture is not verifiable as the coin has not been figured and it is not known where the Rupee is at present.

The Gemini rupee of Kashmir in the Indian Museum and the White King Collection has the Julūs year XV. Now we know that the Emperor *was in the valley* at the time, having entered Srinagar on 10th Farwardin XV and turned his face homewards on 27th Mihr of that year (*Tuzuk Tr*, II 135, 177). I do not think it has been noticed that the mint master who was responsible for striking this rupee has pressed into his service the old couplet of an ordinary Ajmere rupee of 1023 9 (*P M C*, No 920) changing only the name of the town as Ajmere and Kashmir are metrically of the same value.

A Cancer Muhr of 1034 XX with the Nūr Jāhan couplet was in the Da Cunha Collection and the name of the mint was read as Kashmir. Curiously enough, Mr Gibbs has described a coin exactly similar to it in all respects, Julūs year, Hijrī date and Zodiacal sign but he deciphered the mint as Ajmere. Now we know that Jehangīr was at this time in Kashmir and not in Ajmere. He tells us that he left Ajmere for Kashmir on 2 Ādar XVIIIIR = 1 II 1033 A H. He arrived there on 19th Khurdād and stayed there till Zil Hajja 1034 = 24th Shahrivar XXR (*Tuzuk Text* p 373, l 4 from foot, p, 386, l 17 and p 393, l 14). Mr Gibbs's coin is figured in the B B R A S Journal but the illustration is unluckily an indifferent one. Only the last three letters of the mint name (ر-ی-م) are clear and it is difficult to say what the other two are.

It is scarcely likely that two coins of such rarity and so exactly alike should have been struck at the same time in two different places, and the location of the Imperial Court at Kashmir in Tir XX would appear to favour the reading put forward in the Da Cunha Catalogue.

The only known Zodiacal issue of Lahore is the Sagittarius muhr of 1035 20. All the three elements of the date will be found to be correct on a reference to the Table as I Ādar (Sagittarius) XX corresponded to 21 Safar 1035 Hijrī. In this instance also it is useful to note that the Emperor *was in residence* in Lahore at the time. He arrived there on or about the 30th of Muharram 1035, (Muhammad Hādī continuation of the *Tuzuk* 199, l 7) stayed there upto the 16th of Isfandarmuz, and left for Kabul on the 17th (*Ibid*, 400, l 9).

Lastly, there is the unique issue of Urdū mint of 1036-XXII in the Cabinet of Mr Nelson Wright. The Table shows that the date expression is perfectly correct, but as Mr Wright says that he was not "able to ascertain where Jahangīr actually was" at the time it may be worth while to point out that according to the continuation of the *Tuzuk* compiled by Muhammad Hādī the Emperor left Lahore for Kabul on 17 Isfandarmuz XX 1035 (Sayyad Ahmad's 'Aligarh Text, 400 l 9), enter

ed Kābul on 10 Ardibehesht XXI (*Ib*, 408 1 9) left Kabul on 1 Shahrivar XXI (*Ib*, 410 1 12) entered Lahore on 7 Āban XXI (*Ib*, 412, 1 11), started for Kashmir on 21 Isfandarmuz XXI (*Ib*, 419 1 15) and celebrated the *Nauroz of the XXnd year on the banks of the Chenāb* (*Ib*, 418 1 8 from foot) In other words there can be no doubt that he was in Camp or Urdu on the route to Kashmir on the first day of Fāwardin XXII

S H HODIVALA.

282. Bibliography of Indian Coins.

By C. R. SINHA.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	<i>Page</i>
1. Introduction	25
2. List of Abbreviations	26
3. Part I—(Non-Muhammadian Coins) :—	
(1) Bactrian	27
(2) Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian	29
(3) Indo-Parthian	29
(4) Kushan	29
(5) Puri Kushan	29
(6) Kshaharata and Kshatrapas	30
(7) Sakas	30
(8) Gupta	30
(9) Valabhi	31
(10) Punch marked	31
(11) Maukharis	32
(12) Tribal Coins	32
(13) Nāgas of Narwar	32
(14) Āndhra	32
(15) Indo-Samanian	32
(16) Hindu Kings of Kābul	33
(17) Western Chedi	33
(18) Chandela	33
(19) Kāngra	33
(20) Assam and minor states	33
(21) Ārakkān and Burma	34
(22) Gond Kings of Central India	34
(23) Tibet	34
(24) Rājās of Badāsh	34
(25) Sikhs	35
(26) Koch Kings	35
(27) Andamān	35
(28) Malay	35
(29) Maldives	35
(30) East India Company	35
(31) Indo-Portuguese	36
(32) Indo-Danish	36
(33) Indo-Chinese	36
(34) Kings of Vijayanagar	36
(35) Mysore	36
(36) Ceylon	36
(37) South Indian	37
(38) Miscellaneous	37
(39) Buddhist	40
(40) Greek	40
(41) Persian	40

	<i>Page</i>
(3) Kashmir	44
(4) Bahmani	45
(5) Adil Shāhī Dynasty of Bijāpūr ..	45
(6) Nizām Shāhī Dynasty of Ahmadnagar .	46
(7) Jaunpūr	46
(8) Gujarāt	46
(9) Malwa	46
(10) Miscellaneous (Muhammadan) .	46
(11) Akbar	48
(12) Jehāngir	49
(13) Dāwar Bakhsh	50
(14) Shāh Jahān	50
(15) Murād Bakhsh	50
(16) Shah Shuja	50
(17) Aurangzeb	50
(18) 'Azam Shāh	51
(19) Kām Bakhsh	51
(20) Shāh 'Ālam I	51
(21) 'Azīmu-Sh-Shan	51
(22) Farrukhsiyar	51
(23) Rafī-u d-Darajāt	51
(24) Shah Jahān II	52
(25) Muhammad Shāh	52
(26) Ahmad Shah	52
(27) Bedār Bakht	52
(28) 'Ālamgir II	52
(29) Shāh Jahān III	52
(30) Shah 'Ālam II	52
(31) Muhammad Akbar II	52
(32) Bahādur Shāh II	52
(33) Mughal Miscellaneous	53
5. Part III—(<i>Miscellaneous</i>) —	
(1) Native States	57
(2) Durranis	57
(3) Governors of Sind	58
(4) Oudh	58
(5) Ma'abar Coins	58
(6) Sassanian	58
6 Bibliography of Books on Coins —	
Part I—Non Muhammadan Coins ..	64
Part II—Muhammadan Coins ..	66
Part III—Miscellaneous Coins ..	68
7. Addenda	69

INTRODUCTION

At the time of detailed examination of coins in the Prince of Wales Museum, I came across some novel and rare types of coins not noticed before. Before trying to describe them, however, one has to make himself sure as regards their novelty and rarity. This is not an easy task as a numismatist has to turn over several journals and literary publications before he is in a position to express a definite opinion on the coins in question. I therefore felt the need of some help in this direction and an idea occurred to me that if an up to date exhaustive list of articles and notices of coins published in various journals and periodicals were printed it would afford great facility to all numismatists who are handicapped in their work for want of books or the time to go through them.

Before actually launching into the work I consulted Rai Sahab Prayag Dayal and Mr G V Acharya, both of whom approved of this idea and the latter promised me all help in securing the necessary books and classifying all articles on non Muhammadan coins. Thus encouraged I seriously began collecting articles both on Muhammadan and Non Muhammadan coins. A further impetus was given to me in my work by Para 8 of the Presidential Address delivered by Mr H R Nevill at the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India held in the year 1926 at Agra. He said, "One of our foremost wants is a bibliography of Indian Numismatics under the various heads. It is very hard for the student to know where to look for information or rather all the available information on a particular class of coins etc."

These articles have been separated into two divisions viz, Muhammadan and Non Muhammadan, and in each division they have been arranged according to the dynastic order followed in the Indian Museum Catalogue. Where necessary these have again been subdivided according to Kings while such of them as describe coins of more than two kings have been placed under the Miscellaneous heads, e.g. Miscellaneous Mughals, Miscellaneous Muhammadan, Miscellaneous Non Muhammadan etc. Otherwise it would be confusing to numismatists if each article were separated according to the kings referred to.

The articles have been searched and collected from the following Journals, Reports and Periodicals: Journals of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Journals of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Journals and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Journals of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Journals of the Punjab

Historical Society, Journals of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India, Reports of the Archaeological Department of H E H the Nizam of Hyderabad, Indian Antiquary, Numismatic Supplement to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Numismatic Chronicle, and the Indian Historical Quarterly. The articles in each group have been listed according to the alphabetical order of the names of the authors.

My thanks are due to Mr G V Acharya for classifying the list of Non Muhamminadan coins and other help and advice ungrudgingly given from time to time. A list of abbreviations used in this work is attached herewith for ready reference. A bibliography of books and catalogues of coins is also appended for ready reference.

My greatest thanks are due to Prof S H Hodivala who has helped me with his valuable advice and has taken immense pains to revise and put the whole thing into proper order.

C R SINGHAL

Abbreviations.

- ASP —Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India
 IA —Indian Antiquary
 IHQ —Indian Historical Quarterly
 JAS —Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay
 JASB —Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
 JBBS —Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
 JB&O —Journal Bihar & Orissa Research Society
 JPBS —Journal of the Punjab Historical Society
 JRAS —Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland
 MASB —Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
 NC —Numismatic Chronicle
 NS —Numismatic Supplement to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
 PASB —Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
 RIDN —Report of the Archaeological Department of H E H the Nizam of Hyderabad

Bibliography of Indian Coins.

PART I--(NON-MUHAMMADAN COINS)

(1) BACTRIAN

- 1 Bayley, E. C. NC, I, (NS) p 72
Observations on some double struck coins of the Bactrian Kings,
Azes or Azas
- 2 Bird, J. JBBRAS, I, p 293
Observations on Bactrian and Mithraic coins in the cabinet of the
Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society
- 3 Cunningham, A. JASB, IX, p 393
Notice of some counterfeit Bactrian coins
- 4 ————— JASB, IX, p 531
Notes on Capt. Hay's Bactrian coins
- 5 ————— JASB, IX, p 567
Description of, and deductions from a consideration of, some new
Bactrian coins
- 6 ————— JASB, IX, p 1217
Second notice of some forged coins of the Bactrians and Indo
Scythians
- 7 ————— JASB, XI, p 130
Second notice of some new Bactrian coins.
- 8 Hoernle, A. F. R. IA, XXVII, p 225
Scytho Bactrian coins in the British collection of Central Asian
Antiquities.
- 9 Prinsep, J. JASB, II, p 405
Bactrian and Indo Scythic coins
- 10 ————— JASB, IV, p 327
Further notes and drawings of Bactrian and Indo Scythic coins
- 11 ————— JASB, V, p 548
New varieties of Bactrian coins
- 12 ————— JASB, V, p 720
New types of Bactrian and Indo Scythic coins
- 13 ————— JASB, VII, p 1047
Coins and relics from Bactria.
- 14 ————— JASB, VII, p 636
Additions to Bactrian Numismatics and discovery of the Bactrian
Alphabet
- 15 Smith, V. A. IA, XXXIII, p 217
The most southern hoard of Bactrian coins in India
- 16 Swiney, J. JASB, VI, p 93
On the explanation of Indo Scythic legends of Bactrian coins, through
the medium of Celtic
- 17 Thomas, E. JRAS, XX, p 99
Bactrian coins
- 18 ————— JRAS, IX, (NS), p .
Bactrian coins and Indian dates
- 19 ————— NC, II, (NS), pp 170, 259
Bactrian coins.

- 20 Thoms, E. ⁽
Bactrian coins NC, IV, (NS), p 193
- 21 Vost, W
A find of Graeco Bactrian silver coins NS, XI, (60), 1909
- 22 Wilson, J.
Brief notes on certain ancient (Indo Greek) coins JBBRAS, III, p 196

(2) INDO GREEK AND INDO SCYTHIAN.

- 23 Avdall, Johannes
Note on some of the Indo Scythic coins found by M C Masson in Kabul JASB V, p 266
- 24 Burgess, J
The numbus and signs of dedication on the coins of the Indo Scythian Kings by M E Drouin (translated into English) IA, XXXII 427
- 25 Cunningham, A
Coins of the later Indo Scythians Introduction and later Kushans NC, XIII, (3rd ser), p 93
- 26 ———
Coins of the later Indo Scythians, Scytho Sasanians. NC, XIII, (3rd ser), p 166
- 27 ———
Coins of the later Indo Scythians, Little Kushans NC, XIII, (3rd ser), p 184
- 28 ———
Coins of the later Indo Scythians Ephthalites or White Huns NC, XIII, (3rd ser) p 243
- 29 ———
Notice of some unpublished coins of the Indo Scythians JASB, XIV, p 430
- 30 Dikshit, K N
Numismatic notes (Indo Greek and Western Kshatrapas) IA XLVIII, p 120
- 31 Gibbs, J
Imitation Greek coins PASB, 1884, p 39
- 32 Hoernle, A F R
Gold coins from Jalalabad PASB, 1870 p 122
- 33 Pâruck F D J
The Zoroastrian Deity "Ardoshr" or "Ardvishur" on Indo Scythian coins NS, XXVIII, (173), 1917
- 34 Prinsep, J
Bactrian and Indo Scythian coins JASB, II, p 405
- 35 ———
Further notes and drawings of Bactrian and Indo Scythian coins JASB, IV, p 327
- 36 ———
On the connection of the various Hindu coins with the Graecian or Indo Scythic series JASB, IV, p 621
- 37 ———
New varieties of Mithraic or Indo Scythic series of coins and their imitations JASB V, p 630
- 38 ———
New types of Bactrian and Indo Scythic coins JASB, V, p 729
- 39 Smith, V A
A coin of Menander found in Wales IA, XXXIV, p 252
- 40 ———
The form of bust on Indo Scythian coins IA, XL, 179
- 41 Stein, A
Zoroastrian deities on Indo Scythian coins IA, XVII, 69

- 42 Thānāwālā, F. J NS, XXV, (149), 1915
The Zoroastrian Deity "Ardošhr" or "Ardvishur" on Indo Scythian coins
- 43 Thomas, E IA, XII, 6
Indo-Scythian coins with Hindu legends.
- 44 Torrens, H NC, XV, 1892-93, p 22
Coins of the Indo-Scythian Princes of Kābul.
- 45 _____ JASB, XX, p 137
Translations of some uncertain Greek legends on coins of Indo-Scythian Princes of Kābul
- 46 Whitehead, R B NS XIV, (2), 1910
Some rare Indo Greek and Scythian coins
- (3) INDO PARTHIAN
- 47 Hoernle, A F R PASB, 1895, p 82
Copper coins of Abdagases (and Kadphises II)
- 48 Thomas, F JRAS, IV, (NS), p 503
Indo-Parthian coins
- 49 _____ JRAS, X, (NS), p 139
Indo Parthian coins
- (4) KUSHAN
- 50 Cunningham, A NC, IX, (3rd ser), p 265
Coins of the Tochari, Kushans or Yue ti
- 51 _____ NC, XII, (3rd ser), pp 40, 95
Coins of the Kushans or Great Yue ti
- 52 _____ NC, XIII (3rd ser), p 184
Coins of the later Indo Scythians, Little Kushans
- 53 Fleet, J F JRAS, 1908, p 55
A coin of Huvishka
- 54 Hoernle, A F R PASB, 1895, p 82
Copper coins of Kadphises II (and Abdagases)
- 55 Prinsep, J JASB, III, p 227
Notes on the coins (Kushan, Kshatrapas, Gupta, Kuninda, etc.) found by Capt. Cautley at Behat
- 56 Ripson, F J JPAS 1897, p 319
Two notes on Indian Numismatics (Graeco Indian and Goid Śiva on Kushan coins)
- (5) PURI KUSHAN
- 57 Bānerji, R D. JRAS, V, p 287
Notes on Indian Numismatics (3) An inscribed Puri Kushan coin
- 58 Walsh, F H C JBIO, V, p 73-81
Puri Kushan "coins"
- (6) KSHAHARATA AND KSHATHAPAS
- 59 Bhagwanlāl, Indraj JRAS, 1890, p 639
The Western Kshatrapas.
- 60 _____ JRAS 1894, p 341
The Northern Kshatrapas
- 61 Bhāndārkar, D R ASB 1913-14, p 227
Kshatrapa coins from Sarvania.
- 62 Cunningham, A JASB, XXIII, p 372
Coins of Indian Buddhist Satraps with Greek Inscriptions

- 63 Dikshit, K N IA XLVIII p 190
Numismatic notes (Indo Greek and Western Kshatrapas)
- 64 Fleet, J F IA XIV, p 390
A silver coin of Rudrasimha
- 65 Mitra, R L PASB, 1887, p 41
Coins of the Shāh Kings
- 66 Newton H JBBRAS VII p 1
On the Sah Gupta and other ancient dynasties of Kathiawād and
Gujarāt (with lithographed page of coins)
- 67 JBBRAS VI, p 15
Note on a coin connected with the Sāh inscription at Girnar
- 68 Prinsep, J JASB III p 227
Notes on the coins (Kushan Kshatrapa Gupta Kuninda etc) found
by Capt Cantley at Behat
- 69 Rapson E J NS, II (8) 1904
The Kshaharata dynasty circa 100 A D
- 70 JRAS 1899 p 307
The coinage of the Maha Kshatrapas and Kshatrapas of Surashtra
and Malwa (Western Kshatrapas)
- 71 Scott H R JBBRAS XX, p 201
Description of a hoard of 1200 coins of the Kshatrapa kings of dates
203-376 A D found in Kāthiawād
- 72 JBBRAS XXII p 293
Nasik (Joghaltembhi) hoard of Nahapana's coins
- 73 Thomas E JRAS XII, p 1-77
On the Dynasty of the Sāh Kings of Surashtra
- 74 Cunningham A (7) SAKAS NC, V (3rd ser), p 103
Coins of the Sakas
- 75 Allan J (8) GUPTA NS XXIII (137) 1914
The legend on Samudragupta's Aśvamedha coin Type
- 76 Banerji R D ASR, 1913 14 p 208
Coinage of the later Guptas
- 77 JB&O, V, pp 82-87
Notes on Indian Numismatics (1) Samudragupta Spearman type
- 78 Bayley S r E C IA, VI, p 57
Notes on Gupta coins
- 79 Bhattasali N K NS XXXVII, (239) 1923
Notes on the Gupta and latter Gupta coinage
- 80 NS XXXIX, (249) 1923
Attribution of the imitation Gupta coins
- 81 Burn R NC X (4th ser) p 398
A find of Gupta gold coins
- 82 Campbell, W E M NS, XXII, (126) 1914
Gupta gold coins found in the Ballia District
- 83 Daji Bhāu JBBRAS, XII, p 213
Report on some Hindu coins (of the Gupta period)
- 84 Dayal, Prayag NS, XXXIII, (209), 1918
A new gold coin of Chandragupta II
- 85 NS XXXVII, (243), 1923
Two gold Gupta coins

- 86 Fleet J F IA, XIV, p 65
The legends on the silver coins of the early Guptas and others connected with them
- 87 Hoernle A F R JASB LVIII, p 84
Inscribed seal of Kumaragupta
- 88 _____ PASB 1882, p 91
Three Gupta coins found near Mahanad
- 89 _____ PASB 1882, p 111
Coins found at Toomluk
- 90 _____ PASB, 1888, p 127
Notes on some new Bactrian and Gupta coins
- 91 Lal, Pannā NS, XXXIX, (255) 1925
A gold coin of Kumaragupta I
- 92 Prinsep, J JASB III p 227
Notes on the coins (Kushan Kshatrapa, Gupta Kuninda, etc) found by Capt Cautley at Behat
- 93 Rapson, E J NC, X, (3rd ser) p 103
Notes on Gupta coins
- 94 Shastri Hirananda. NS XXVI, (153) 1915
The Ashvamedha coins of Samudragupta
- 95 _____ NS, XXIX, (184), 1917
Novelties in Gupta coins
- 96 Smith, V A IA, XIV, p 179
The coins of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty
- 97 _____ JRAS XXI, (NS) p 1
The coinage of the early or Imperial Gupta dynasty of Northern India
- 98 _____ JRAS, 1893, p 77
Observations on Gupta coinage
- 99 _____ JASB, LIII, p 119
Catalogue of gold coins of the Imperial Guptas.
- 100 _____ JASB LVIII, p 164
Observations on the History and Coinage of the Gupta period
- 101 _____ PASB 1887, p 182
On a find of sixteen gold Gupta coins in the Gorakhpūr District
- 102 _____ PASB 1887, p 221
Find of Gold Gupta coins in the Basti District
- 103 Theobald, W JASB LIV, p 84
On certain Symbols or Devices on gold coins of the Guptas.
- 104 Thomas, E JASB LXIV, p 483
On the coins of the Gupta Dynasty
- 105 Wright H N NS, I (1), 1904
A new variety of the battle axe type of Samudragupta.
- (9) VALABHI.
- 106 Burgess J IA, I p 195
Notes on coins from Valabhi
- 107 Stevenson, Rev J JBBRAS, II, p 3 7
Some remarks on Saurashtra coins found near Junir
- (10) PUNCH MARKED
- 108 Banerji P D NS, XIII (76), 1910
Punch marked coins from Afghanistan

- 109 Bānerji, R D ASR, 1913-14 p 220
Karshapana coins found at Besnagar
- 110 Marshall, Sir J ASR, 1914-15, p 26
Punch marked and other Greek and Non Muhammadan coins from Taxila
- 111 Spooner, D B ASR, 1905-06, p 150
A new find of punch marked coins
- 112 Theobald, W. JASB, LIX, p 181
Note on some of the symbols on punch marked coins
- 113 ——— JASB, LXX, p 38
A revision of the symbols on Karshapana coinage (1890)
- 114 Walsh, E H. C. JBVO, V, 1919, pp 16-72
A find of punch marked coins in Patna City
- 115 ——— JBVO, V, 1919, p 463-94
An examination of 58 silver punch marked coins found at Gorho Ghāt
- 116 Burn, R. (11) MAUKHARIS JRAS, 1906, p 843
Some coins of the Mukharis of the Thānesar line.
- 117 Bānerji, R D (12) TRIBAL COINS NS, XXVIII, (134), 1914
A new type of Audambara coinage
- 118 Douglas, R O NS, XXXV II, (237), 1923
On some Malava Coins
- 119 Mitra, R JASB, XLIV, p 82
On a coin of Kunanda from Karnāl
- 120 ——— PASB, 1875, p 85
On a coin of Kunanda (340 B C.) found at Karnāl
- 121 Theobald W JASB, LV, p 161
Some of the symbols on the coins of Kunanda.
- 122 Bānerji, R D (13) NĀGAS OF NARWAR, NS, XXXIII, (201), 1918
Coins of the Jajapella Dynasty.
- 123 Cunningham, A JASB, XXXIV, p 115
Coins of the Nine Nāgas, and of two other dynasties of Narwar and Gwālor.
- 124 Codrington, O (14) ĀNDHRA JBBRAS, XIII, p 303
Coins of Āndhrabhritya Kings of Southern India
- 125 Gupte, Y R. IA, XL, p 173
A short note on the coins of the Āndhra Dynasty found at Bhāthalapalli, Anantpur District
- 126 Thomas, E. — IA, IX, p 61
Āndhra coins
- 127 ——— IA, VI, p 274
Early coins of Western India
- 128 Burn, R. (15) INDO SASSANIAN, NS, I, (2), 1904
A gold coin of Sri Vighraha.

- 129 Cunningham, A NC, XIV, (3rd ser) p 243
Coins of the later Indo Scythians, Ephthalites or White Huns
- 130 Fleet, J F IA, XV III, p 220
The coins and History of Toramāna
- 131 Indrajī, Bhagvanlāl JBBRAS, XII, p 320
Gadha coins of Gujarāt and Malwa
- 132 Mitra, Rajendralal PASB 1878, p 191
A silver coin of Toramāna
- 133 Smith, V A JRAS, 1907, p 91
White Hun (Ephthalite) coins from the Punjab
- 134 JRAS 1907, p 923
'White Hun' coin of Vyaghramukha of the Chapa (Gujara)
Dynasty of Bhinmai
- 135 Taylor, G P NS III (18), 1904
On the Gadhaiya coins of Gujarat
- 136 Thomas, E JRAS, XV, (N 8), p 73
Parthian and Indo Sassanian coins
- 137 Whitehead, R B NS, XXI, (122) 1913
A find of Ephthalite or White Hun coins

(16) HINDU KINGS OF KABUL

- 138 Bayley, E C, NC, II (3rd ser), p 128
Remarks on certain dates on the coins of the Hindu Kings of
Kābul
- 139 NC, II, (3rd ser) p 291
Postscript to the paper on the dates found on Hindu Kabul coins
- 140 Fleet, J F IA, XV, p 18,
Notes on the coins of the Hindu Kings of Kabul
- 141 Thomas, E JRAS IX, p 177
On the coins of the Dynasty of the Hindu Kings of Kabul

(17) WESTERN CHEDI

- 142 Wright, H N NS XVII, (101) 1912
Coins of Gangeya Deva

(18) CHANDELA

- 143 Banerji R D NS, XXII, (131), 1914
Silver coins of the Chandella, Madhavavarman
- 144 Smith, V A IA, XXV II, p 114
The History and coinage of the Chandel Dynasty of Bundelkhand
from 831 to 1203 A D

(19) KANGRA

- 145 Rodgers, C J JASB, XLIX, p 10
Coins of the Mahārajas of Kangra

(20) ASSAM AND MINOR STATES

- 146 Allan J NC, IV, (4th ser) p 300
The coinage of Assam
- 147 Banerji R D ASR, 1913-14 p 249
Coins of Hill Tippera

- 148 Bhattasālī, N K NS, XXXVII, (238), 1913
Notes on the coinage of Tippera
- 149 Botham A W NS XX (120) 1912
Some Kachari Coins
- 150 Chronology of the Jaintia Kings NS, XXIV, (139), 1914
- 151 The Ahom coins of A D 1648 NS, XXIV, (138) 1914
- 152 Gait, E A JASB, LXIV, p 256
Note on some Ahom coins
- 153 Goswami, K G IHQ, II, p 614
Two coins from Kachar
- 154 Grlerson, G A PASB, 1893, p 85
Rare Assām coins.
- 155 Gurdon, P R T NS, IV, (29), 1904
On a silver coin of Shiva Singha Shāh of Āssam
- 156 Stapleton, H. E JASB, IV, (NS), 1910, p 619
The Coinage of Āssam

(21) ĀRĀKAN AND BURMA.

- 157 Bānerji, R D NS, XXXIII, (204), 1918
Unrecorded Kings of Ārākān
- 158 Fryer Capt G E JASB, XLI, p 201
Notes on the Ārakanese coins
- 159 Latter, T JASB, XV, p 233
The symbolical coins of Ārākān
- 160 Phayre, Capt A. P JASB, XV, p 232
The Historical coins of Ārakan
- 161 Temple, R C IA, XXVI, p 154, XXVII, p 1
Currency and Coinage among the Burmese
- 162 Notes on Currency and Coinage among the Burmese IA, XXXI, p 109
- 163 Theobald, W JASB, LXI, p 102
On a symbolical coin of the Wethali Dynasty of Ārākān

(22) GOND KINGS OF CENTRAL INDIA

- 164 Banerji, R D ASR, 1913 14 p 253
Coinage of the Gond Kings of Central India.

(23) TIBET

- 165 Couperle, A Terrien de La NC, I, (3rd ser), p 340
The silver coinage of Tibet
- 166 Francke, A H IA, XXX, p 456
Some notes on Ladakhi Currency
- 167 Walsh, E H C MASB, II, 1911, p 11
The Coinage of Tibet

(24) RĀJAS OF BADĀUN

- 168 Smith V A IA, XLII, p 305
Coins of Amritapālā, Raja of Badāun

- (25) SIKHS
- 169 Rodgers, C J JASB, L, p 71
On the coins of the Sikhs.
- (26) KOCH KINGS
- 170 Gait, E A. JASB, LXIV, p 237
Note on some coins of Koch Kings
- (27) ANDAMAN
- 171 Temple, R C. IA, XXVI, p 192
The Andaman Tokens
- (28) MALAY
- 172 Ellis, Lt Col H L NC, XV, (3rd ser), p 135
British copper tokens of the Straits Settlements and Malayan Archipelago
- 173 Gerini, Lt -Col JRAS, 1903, p 339
A Malay coin
- 174 Temple, R C IA, XXVII, p 223
Kobang, the Malay coin and weight
- 175 ————— IA, XXXI, p 109
Notes on Malagasy currency before the French occupation
- 176 ————— IA, XLII, pp 85, 125, 153, 161, 203, 237, 252 & 273
The Obsolete tin currency and money of the Federated Malay States
- 177 ————— IA, L, p 248
Tin Currency in the Malay States
- (29) MALDIVES
- 178 Allan, J NC, XII, (4th ser), p 313
The coinage of the Maldivian Islands with some notes on cowries and Larins
- (30) EAST INDIA COMPANY.
- 179 Bucknill, J A NS, XXXVIII, (247), 1925
Observations upon the coinage struck for the British East India Company's Settlement at Penang or Prince of Wales Island (1786-1825)
- 180 ————— NS, XXXIX, (257), 1925
Supplementary observations upon the coinage struck for the East India Company's Settlement at Penang
- 181 Johnston, J M C NC, III, (4th ser), p 71
Coinage of the East India Company
- 182 Kotwâl, C E NS, XLV, (212), 1921
A Bombay Half Rupee of Charles II
- 183 Thomas, E IA, XI, p 313
The coinage of the East India Company at Bombay under the charters of Charles II
- 184 Thurston, E JASB, LXII, p 52
Note on the History of East India Company's coinage from 1703-1835
- 185 Zambaur, E V NS, XXI, (123), 1913
The oldest British Murshidabad Rupee

- (31) **INDO PORTUGUESE**
- 186 DaCunha, J G Contributions to the study of Indo Portuguese Numismatics Part I. JBBRAS, XIV, p 2 -
- 187 Contributions to the study of Indo Portuguese Numismatics Part II. JBBRAS XIV, p 402
- 188 Contributions to the study of Indo Portuguese Numismatics Part III. JBBRAS, XV, p 160
- 189 Contributions to the study of Indo-Portuguese Numismatics Part IV. JBBRAS, XVI p 17
- (32) **INDO DANISH**
- 190 Desikachari, T Indo Danish coins. IA, XXIII p 24
- 191 Hultzsch E Danish coins from Tranquebar. IA, XXII p 116
- 192 Rangachari, T Indo Danish coins. IA, XXIV, p 27
- (33) **INDO CHINESE.**
- 193 Hoernle A F R Indo Chinese coins. IA, XXVIII p 46
- (34) **KINGS OF VIJAYANAGAR.**
- 194 Hultzsch, E The coins of the Kings of Vijayanagar. IA XX, p 301
- 195 Rangachari, T and Desikāchārī T Some unedited coins of the Kings of Vijayanagar. IA, XXIII p 24
- (35) **MYSORE**
- 196 Henderson, J R Notes on the dates of the Maulūdī Era of Tipū Sultan of Mysore. AS, XXIII (132) 1914
- 197 Hultzsch, E The names of the coins of Tipū Sultan. IA, XXIII, p 313
- 198 Jackson, R P The coinage of Bālāpūr (Mysore). NC, X, (4th ser), p 108
- (36) **CEYLON**
- 199 Lowsley, B Coins and tokens of Ceylon. NC, XV, (3rd ser) p 211
- 200 Prinsep, J Specimens of Hindu coins described from the Parthian type and of the Ancient coins of Ceylon. JASB VI, p 288
- 201 Rangachārī, T Two unedited Ceylon coins. IA, XXIV, p 339
- 202 Scott, W H The period of the coins of Ceylon. NC, XVIII, 1855-56 p 83
- 203 Vaux W S W On the coins of Ceylon. NC, XXI, 1853-54 p 121

- (37) SOUTH INDIAN
- 204 Abbott, J. E JBBRAS, XX, p 109
A Preliminary study of the Shivarāi or Chhtrapati copper coins
- 205 Ayyangar, S R NS, XXXIX, (258), 1925
Some South Indian gold coins
- 206 _____ IHQ, III, p 48
Ancient South Indian gold coinage
- 207 _____ NS, XXXIX, (250), 1925
Padmatankas of some of the Yādava Kings of Devagiri
- 208 _____ NS, XXXIX, (260), 1925
Coins of Rājarāja Chola.
- 209 Bhāndārkar, S R JBBRAS, XXI, p 66
A note on some gold coins (of Jagadekamalla ?) found in Bujāpūr Dist.
- 210 Bidie, G JASB, LII, p 33
The Pagoda or Varāha coins of Southern India
- 211 Bird, J JBBRAS, II, p 63
Notice by the Secretary of the Society on ten Hindu gold coins (South Indian Pagodas) found in Southern Konkan
- 212 Codrington, O. JBBRAS, XII, p 400
On some old (Die and Punch South Indian) silver coins
- 213 DaCunha, J G JAS, II, p 155
Numismatic notes on the Fanams of Southern India
- 214 Fleet, J F IA, XIX, p 79
Some gold coins of the Eastern Chālukya King Śaktivarman and Rajaraja I
- 215a Hultzsch, E IA, XXI, p 321
South Indian copper coins
- 215b _____ IA, XXV, p 317
Miscellaneous South Indian coins
- 216 Rānade, M G JBBRAS, XX, p 191
Currencies and Mints under Mahratta Rule
- 217 Tufnell, R. H. C JASB, IV, p 157
Collection of South Indian coins
- 218 Westcott, A. IA, XXVIII, 270, XXIX, p 172
The copper coinage of the Madras Presidency
- (38) MISCELLANEOUS
- 219 Allan, J NC, I, (5th ser.), p 333
Indian coins acquired by the British Museum.
- 220 Bānerji, R. D NS, XXXIII, (202), 1918
Pratihāra gold coins.
- 221 _____ NS, XXXIII, (203), 1918
Gold coins of Udaya Deva.
- 222 _____ NS, XXXIII, (206), 1918
Gurū Govinda of Sylhet
- 223 _____ ASR, 1913-14, p 248
Gold coins of Shiva Simha of Mithula.
- 224 _____ ASR, 1913-1914, p 255
Coins of Śrīdāma
- 225 _____ ASR, 1913-14, p 259
Revised readings of certain coins in the Indian Museum Cabinet

- 226 Binerji, R D ASB 1913-1914 p 20
Coins of Danujamardana
- 227 ————— JBIO V, p 8^a-8
Notes on Indian Numismatics (2) 3^a ens
- 228 Byley E C JASB XLII p 160
Note on two coins from Kausambi
- 229 ————— JASB XLII p 191
Further note on two coins from Kausambi
- 230 Berguy, A V JRAS 1900 p 40^r
Notes on some Brahma Kharoshthi inscriptions on Indian coins
- 231 Burn R NS, VII (4^r) 100^r
A new mediaeval gold coin of Siddha Raja
- 232 Chakravarti, M M JASB LXI p 104
Rama Tankis
- 233 DaCunha J G JAS II p 21^o
On the Primitive and Autonomous coinage of India
- 234 Gibbs J JASB, LIII, p 20
On Medals known as Ramtinkis
- 235 Hoernle A F R JASB LVIII p 36
New or rare Hindu coins
- 236 ————— JASB LX, p 16.
On some new or rare Hindu coins
- 237 ————— JASB LXII p 230
On some new or rare Hindu coins No III
- 238 ————— JASB, LXVI p 133
On some rare or new Hindu coins No IV
- 239 Kittoe, M JASB LXI p 390
Memo on some ancient gold coins found near Benares in 1851
- 240 Leggett F PASB 1884 p 61
Notes on some coins found in Omercote, Sind similar to those styled 'Gadhia Kā para'
- 241 Masson C JASB III 15^o
Memoir on ancient coins found in Kabul
- 242 ————— JASB, V, p 1
Second memoir on ancient coins found in Kabul
- 243 ————— JASB V, p 33^r
Third memoir on ancient coins found in Kabul
- 244 Mitra R JASB LXI, p 401
Note on three ancient coins found at Mahomedpūr in the Jessore District
- 245 Nevill H R NS, XXXIX (26^o) 1920
A new coin of Garha Mandala
- 246 Ojha G H IA XLI, p 200
Coins of Ajayadeva and Sornaladevi
- 247 Oldenberg H IA V p 213
On the dates of Ancient Indian Inscriptions and coins
- 248 Phayre Lt Col A P JASB XXXII p 271
Memo on some medals and coins in the Museum of the Asiatic Society found near Mergui on the Tenasserim coast
- 249 Prinsep J JASB III p 313
On the coins and relics discovered by M le Chevalier Ventura General in service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in the Tope of Mān kyala

- 250 Prinsep, J JASB, III, p 436
Continuation of observations on coins and relics discovered by
General Ventura in the Tope of Mānikyalā
- 251 _____ JASB, III, p 362
Note on coins discovered by M Court
- 252 _____ JASB, IV, p 673
Notice of ancient Hindu coins continued
- 253 _____ JASB, VII, p 1032
Ancient Hindu coins from Jaunpūr and Ujjain
- 254 Rāmaswāmy, P V IA, II, p 139
The evolution of Indian coinage before the Christian Era
- 255 Rapson, E J JRAS 1895, p 865
Countermarks on early Indian coins
- 256 _____ JRAS, 1900, p 97
Notes on Indian coins and seals Part I
- 257 _____ JRAS, 1900, p 423
Notes on Indian coins and seals Part II
- 258 _____ JRAS, 1900, p 529
Notes on Indian coins and seals Part III
- 259 _____ JRAS, 1901, p 97
Notes on Indian coins and seals Part IV
- 260 _____ JRAS, 1903, p 285
Notes on Indian coins and seals Part V
- 261 _____ JRAS, 1903, p 783
Notes on Indian coins and seals Part VI.
- 262 _____ NC IV, (4th ser.), p 311
Ancient silver coins from Baluchistan
- 263 Sarma, L P P IHQ III, p 173
Bālāpūr copper coins of Pratapamalla deva
- 264 Scott, H R JBBRAS, XXIII, p 1
Traikutaka coins from Poona District
- 265 Shepherd, C E JASB, LXVI, p 42
Notes on two coins of the Sunga Dynasty
- 266 Smith V A JASB LXVI, p 1
Numismatic notes and novelties (Ancient and Mediaeval India)
- 267 _____ JASB, LXVI, p 298
Numismatic notes and novelties (Ancient and Mediaeval India)
Part II
- 268 _____ JASB, LXVII, p 130
Numismatic notes and novelties (Ancient and Mediaeval India)
Part III
- 269 Stacey D L JASB, III, p 431
Note on two coins of the same species as those found at Behat
having Greek inscription
- 270 Stuart J R JRAS, IV, p 253
Two plates on coins (Tatar) presented to the Royal Asiatic Society
- 271 Symonds T J JAS II, p 102
On some Indo French and Indo Dutch coins
- 272 Temple R C IA, XXIX pp 29-31
Beginnings of currency
- 273 Theobald W JASB LXVIII p 73
Early local silver coinage in North Western India and in the
Kashan

- 274 Theobald W JASB LXX p 64
On the symbols and devices met with on copper coins of ancient
India from Taxila Eran Benares and other contemporary mints
- 275 Thomas E NC IV (N S) p 40 114
Ancient Indian weights
- 276 _____ NC IV (N S) p 63
The earliest Indian coinage
- 277 Whitehead R B NS XVI (9) 1911
On an unpublished medaeval coin
- 278 _____ JPHS II p 3
The place of coins in Indian History
- 279 Wilson H H NC XVI 1853-54 p 19
Remarks on so called Fish hole money
- 280 Carnac H R (39) BUDDHIST JASB XLIV p 138
Note on some copper Buddhist coins
- 281 Lister Capt T JASB XIII p 571
Remarks on a Buddhist coin or medal
- 282 Birch S (40) GREEK NC II 1839-40 p 57
Mediated Greek coins
- 283 _____ NC IV 1841-42 p 107
List of Mediated Greek coins
- 284 Marshall S r J ASR 1912 13 p 42
List of some rare or unique coins (Greek and others)
- 285 _____ ASR 1913 16 p 31
List of some rare and unique (Greek and others) coins found at
Taxila
- 286 Prinsep J JASB II p 97
On the Greek coins in the Cabinet of the Asiatic Society of
Bengal
- 287 Wilson Prof JRAS III 1832-36 p 351
Observations on some ancient Indian coins (Greek etc) in the
cabinet of the Royal Asiatic Society
- 288 Howarth H H (41) PARTHIAN NC X (3rd ser) p 32
The natural coinage of Parthia
- 289 Piruck F D J NS XXVI (197) 1918
Novelties in Parthian coins
- 290 Prinsep J JASB VI p 233
Specimens of the Hindu coins descended from the Parthian type
and of the Ancient coins of Ceylon
- 291 Strange Cuy Le JRAS VII (new ser) p 54
Notes on some medieted coins (Parthian)
- 292 Thomas I JRAS VI (new ser) p 73
Parthian and Indo Sassanian coins

PART II—(MUHAMMADAN COINS)

(1) SULTANS OF DEHLI

- 293 Allan, J NS, XVI, (96), 1911
Some rare coins of the Pathan Sultans of Dehli
- 294 Bānerji, R D JB&O, V, 1919, pp 82-87
A Muhar of Alauddin Muhammad Shah (Khalji) restruck in
Assam
- 295 JB&O, V, 1919, pp 82-87
New mints and types of Sher Shah's coinage (Panduah, Chanarh
and Kalpi)
- 296 Bayley, E C JASB, XL, p 160
Note on a gold coin bearing the name of Prince Firoz Shah Zafar,
son of Firoz Shah of Dehli
- 297 JASB, XLII, p 311
Note on a gold coin of Nasiruddin Khusrū.
- 298 Bleazby, G B NS, II, (9), 1904
A rupee of Shamsu d-din Kayūmura
- 299 NS, II (10) 1904
A rupee of Shihābu d-din 'Umar
- 300 NS, III, (19), 1904
A new type of rupee of Lakhnauti of Muhammad bin Tughlaq
- 301 NS, III, (20) 1904
A silver coin of Firoz III (Tughlaq)
- 302 NS, III, (21), 1904
A square rupee of Sher Shah
- 303 Blochmann, H PASB 1870, p 181
A coin of Altamsh
- 304 PASB, 1870, p 181
Coins of Sher Shah
- 305 PASB, 1872, p 199
Coins of Altamsh
- 306 PASB, 1873, p 157
A billon coin of Kutbud din Mubārak Shah
- 307 PASB, 1873, p 155
A silver coin struck by Mu'izzuddin Mubārak Shah
- 308 PASB, 1876, p 91
A unique gold coin of Nasiruddin Mahmūd Shāh
- 309 PASB 1877, p 156
A rupee of Muhammad 'Adil Shāh
- 310 PASB, 1878 p 64
A gold coin of Jalaluddin Firoz Shāh (II) of Dehli
- 311 Burn, R NS, VIII, (55), 1907
Pathān and Bengal coins
- 312 Day II, Pravāg NS, XXXVI, (230), 1922
Note on a silver coin of Qutbu-d din Mubarak I
- 313 Delmerick, J G JASB, XLIII, p 97
Note on a new gold coin of Mahmūd Shāh bin Muhammad Shāh
bin Tughlaq Shāh of Dehli

- 314 Delmerick, J G JASB, XLIV, p 126
Coins of the Kings of Dehli
- 315 _____ JASB, XLV, p 291
Coins of the Kings of Dehli
- 316 _____ PASB, 1881, p 137
On a silver coin of Shamsuddin Kaumars
- 317 Gibbs, J. NC, V, (3rd ser) p 213
On some rare and unpublished coins of the Pathāns
- 318 Haig, W PASB, 1897, p 63
Note on a find of coins in the Wun Dist Berār
- 319 Hoernle, A F R JASB, L, p 53
A new find of early Muhammadan coins
- 320 _____ JASB, LVIII, p 30
New or rare Muhammadan (Tughlaq) coins
- 321 _____ JASB, LIX, p 154
Copper coins of the Sūri Dynasty
- 322 Lall, Panna NS, XLVI (193), 1915
A rupee of 'Alam Shah, Sultan of Dehli
- 323 Nevill, H R NS, LVIII, (109), 1912
The Sūri mint of Shahgarh
- 324 _____ NS, XLVI, (153), 1915
Billon issues of Sikandar Lodi
- 325 _____ NS, XXXV, (214), 1921
Firoz Shah Zafar, ibn Firoz Shah
- 326 _____ NS, XLVI, (215), 1921
The currency of the Pathan Sultans
- 327 _____ NS, XXXV, (219), 1921
Mint towns of the Dehli Sultans
- 328 _____ NS, XLV, (221), 1921
Coins of Ghiyas d din Tughlaq I
- 329 _____ NS XLV, (222), 1921
Coins of Firoz Shah and later Tughlaqs
- 330 _____ NS, XXXV, (223) 1921
Coins of the Saiyid Dynasty
- 331 _____ NS, XLVI, (224) 1921
Coins of the Lodi Sultans
- 332 Rodgers, C J IA, XVII p 64
The rupees of the Sūri Dynasty
- 333 _____ JRAS, XIV, (N S) p 24
A coin of Shamsud Dunyāwa ud-Din Mahmūd Shah
- 334 _____ JASB, XLIX, p 81
Coins supplementary to Thomas' Chronicles of the Pathan Kings
of Dehli
- 335 _____ JASB XLIX, p 207
Coins supplementary to Thomas' Chronicles of the Pathan kings of
Dehli
- 336 _____ JASB LII, p 55
Coins supplementary to Thomas' Chr of the Pathān Kings of
Dehli Pt III
- 337 _____ JASB, LV, p 183
Coins supplementary to Thomas' Chr of Pathān Kings of Dehli
Pt IV

- 338 Rodgers, C J. JASB, LXIII, p 61
Coins supplementary to Thomas Chr. of Pathān Kings of Dehli
Pt V
- 339 ————— JASB LXV, p 213
Supplement to Thomas' Pathān Kings of Dehli Pt VI
- 340 Stulpnagel, C R JASB, XLIX, p 29
Coins of Ghiyāsud dīn and Mu'izzud dīn bin Sam
- 341 Thomas, E NC, IX and X, 1847-48, pp 43 127 131 (5 plates)
Coins of the Pathan, Afghan and Ghori Sultans of Dehli
- 342 ————— NC, XV, 1852-53, pp 121-147
Supplementary contribution to the series of the coins of the
Pathān Sultans of Hindustan
- 343 Vost, W NS, II, (12), 1904
Dates of the reign of Muhammad IV bin Farid
- 344 ————— JASB, LXIV, p 37
On some rare Sūri coins
- 345 Whitehead, R B NS, XIV, (83), 1910
Some rare coins of the Pathān Sultans of Dehli
- 346 ————— NS, XV, (94), 1910
Some rare Pathān coins
- 347 ————— NS, XVII, (102), 1912
Shamsu d dīn Mahmūd Shah of Dehli
- 348 * ————— JPHS, I p 81
A new Pathan Sultan of Dehli (Shamsud dīn Mahmūd Shah dated
718 AH)
- 349 Whittell, H M NS, XXXV, (220), 1921
The coins of Muhammad bin Tughlaq
- 350 Wright, H N NS, I, (3), 1904
Silver and copper coins of Ghiyāsu d-dīn Ballān struck at Sultān
pur mint
- 351 ————— NS, II, (11), 1904
A gold coin struck by Muhammad III bin Tughlaq in memory
of his father
- 352 ————— NS, II (13), 1904
Report on 108 silver coins from Malda of Sher Shah, Islam Shāh
Muhammad Ādil Shāh (Sūri)
- 353 ————— NS, V, (31), 1905
On a gold coin of Muhammad III bin Tughlaq, struck at Daula
tabād
- 354 ————— NS, XXVII, (166), 1916
Some small silver pieces of the Sultans of Dehli
- 355 ————— JRAS, 1900 p 481
Addenda to the series of coins of the Pathan Sultans of Dehli
- 356 ————— JRAS, 1900 p 769
Addenda to the series of coins of the Pathān Sultans of Dehli II
- 357 Wright, H N and Nevill, H R NS, XXXVIII, (248), 1927
Some observations on the metrology of the early Sultans of Dehli

(2) INDEPENDENT AND OTHER KINGS OF BENGAL

- 358 Bānerji, R D NS, XVI, (95), 1911
Gold coins of Shamsu-d-dīn Muzaffar Shāh of Bengal
- 359 ————— ASR, 1911 12, p 167
Two new kings of Bengal.

- 360 Bānerji, R D ASR, 1913 14, p 237
A new type of silver coinage of Jalalu d din Muhammad Shah of Bengal
- 361 JB&O, V, 1910, pp 82 87
Gold coin of Ghiyāsu d din Mahmūd Shah of Bengal
- 362 Bayley, E C JASB, XLII, p 311
Note on two Muhammadan Coins (1) A gold coin of Nasiruddin Khusraū the usurper who ascended the throne of Dehli after the assassination of Qutbuddin Mubārak in 720 A H, and reigned a little more than four months (2) A coin of the Bengal Usurper Muzaffar Shah and attributed to Shamsu d din Altamash
- 363 Blochmann, H PASB, 1872 p 202
Remarks on Mr Thomas' readings of the coins of Ghiyasuddin 'Alw and Bengal coins of Altamash subsequent to the Re assertion of his Imperial sway
- 364 Burn, R NS, III, (25) 1904
A gold coin of Nasiru d din Mahmūd I of Bengal
- 365 Pathan and Bengal coins NS, VIII, (55), 1907
- 366 A rare gold coin of Jalalud din Muhammad Shah of Bengal PASB, 1896, p 108
- 367 Delmerick, J G JASB, XLV, p 291
Coins of the Kings of Bengal
- 368 Hoernle, R JASB, LII, p 211
A new find of Muhammadan coins of Bengal
- 369 Laldlay, J W. JASB, XV, p 323
Coins of the independent Muhammadan Sovereigns of Bengal
- 370 Nevill, H R NS, XVIII, (110), 1912
A billon coin of Ghiyāsu d din Bahadur of Bengal
- 371 NS, XXVI, (157), 1915
Treasure trove coins of the Bengal Sultans
- 372 Thomas, E JRAS, II, (N S), p 145
The initial coinage of Bengal
- 373 JRAS, VI, part II, (N S), p 339
The initial coinage of Bengal, under the early Muhammadan Conquerors Part II
- 374 NC, I (N S) p 217
Bengal coins
- 375 JASB, XXXVI, p 1
The initial coinage of Bengal
- 376 JASB, XLII, p 313
The initial coinage of Bengal, Part II
- 377 PASB, 1872 p 109
Readings of Rare Coins
- 378 Wright, H N NS, II, (13), 1904
Report on two silver coins from Mālda of Nusrat Shah
- 379 (3) KASHMIR
Delmerick, J G JASB, XLV, p 291
Coins of the Kings of Kashmir
- 380 Rodgers, C J JASB, XLVIII, p 252
Copper coins of the Sultans of Kashmir

(6) NIZĀM SHĀHI DYNASTY OF AHMEDNAGAR

- 403 Thanāwāla, F J NS, VII (48) 1907
Some rare copper coins of the Nizām Shāhi dynasty of Ahmad
nagar

(7) JAUNPŪR

- 404 Delmerick, J G JASB XLIV, p 126
Coins of the Kings of Jaunpūr
- 405 Gibbs, J NC, V, (3rd ser) p 213
On some rare and unpublished coins of Jaunpūr
- 406 Nevill, H R NS XXXI (158), 1915
A new copper coin of Jaunpūr
- 407 Sherring, M A PASB, 1870 p 296
Coins of the Sharqi Kings of Jaunpūr
- 408 Whittell, H M NS XXXVI, (228) 1922
The coinage of the Sharqi Kings of Jaunpur

(8) GUJARĀT

- 409 Dikshit, K N IA XLVIII p 122
Numismatic notes (two silver coins of Muzaffar II)
- 410 Hodivala, S H JBBRAS, II (N S), p 19
The unpublished coins of the Gujarat Saltanat
- 411 Horwood, T B NS XXXVII, (235), 1923
An unidentified coin of Gujarat
- 412 Master, A NS, XVII, (107), 1912
Two rare coins of Mahmūd I of Gujarat
- 413 Oliver, E E JASB LVIII, p 1
Coins of the Muhammadan Kings of Gujarāt
- 414 Taylor G P JBBRAS, XVI p 278
Coins of the Gujarat Saltanat
- 415 _____ NS, VI, (46) 1900
On some genealogical coins of the Gujarat Saltanat
- 416 _____ NS XXXVI, (162) 1916
A silver coin of Ahmad I of Gujarat

(9) MĀLWA

- 417 Banerji R D ASR, 1913 14 p 206
Silver coins of Mahmūd Shah II Khilji of Malwa
- 418 Blochmann, H PASB, 1869 p 266
On a Malwah Gold Muhur (Ghias Shah)
- 419 Delmerick, J G JASB, XLV, p 291
Coins of the Kings of Malwa
- 420 King, L W NC, III (4th ser) p 356
History and Coinage of Malwa (Part I)
- 421 _____ NC, IV (4th ser) p 62
History and Coinage of Mālwa (Part II)
- 422 Wright, H N NS, XI, (63) 1909
Addenda to the Mālwa Coinage

(10) MISCELLANEOUS (MUHAMMADAN)

- 423 Allan, J NC, I (5th ser), p 333
Indian coins acquired by the British Museum

- 424 Allan, J NC II (5th ser) p 200
Indian coins acquired by the British Museum
- 425 ————— NC IV, (5th ser) p 96
Indian coins acquired by the British Museum
- 426 Amedroz H F JRAS 1905 p 471
On a Dirham of Khusrū Shah of 361 A H
- 427 Blochmann H PASB 18 0 p 151
On Mr Ferrar's Copper Coin
- 428 Bourdillon J A NS VII (54) 1907
A gold coin of Alau d din of Khwārizm
- 429 Brown C J NS XXIV (145) 1914
Note on some copper coins (Gujarat Malwa Suri and Akbar)
discovered in Balāghat C P
- 430 Burn R NS II (17) 1904
A coin of Ghazn
- 431 ————— NS VII (53) 1907
Coins of Alau d din of Khwarizm
- 432 Codrington O JBBPAS XV p 339
On a hoard of coins found at Brosch (Mamluk Sultans—Bahree
Dynasty Ayyoobees Monguls Mudhaffaree Jela'r Ghyasuddin
Tughlaq Mahmud bin Mohd Tughlaq and Persian)
- 433 ————— JBRRAS XVIII p 30
Notes on the cabinet of coins of the B B R A S
- 434 ————— NS XX (121) 1912
Coins or Medals from Kurnul.
- 435 ————— JRAS 1904 p 681
Notes on Musalman coins collected by Mr G P Tate
- 436 ————— JRAS 1905 p 547
Further notes on Musalman coins collected by Mr G P Tate
- 437 Codrington H W NC XVIII (4th ser) p 124
The Persian weight standard in Mediaeval India
- 438 Hoernle A F R JASB LIX p 169
On some new or rare Muhammadan coins
- 439 ————— JASB LXII p 230
On some new or rare Muhammadan coins No III
- 440 ————— JASB LXVI p 133
On some new or rare Muhammadan coins (No IV)
- 441 ————— PASB 1881 p 69
Coins and Antiquities from Khokhrakote near Rohtak
- 442 Ismail Mohd IA LIII p 264
Some copper coins of Southern India
- 443 Jackson R P NC V (4th ser) p 146
Mohd Ali Nawab of the Carnatic and his copper coins
- 444 King L W NC XVI (3rd ser) p 277
History and coinage of the Barakzai Dynasty of Afghanistan
- 445 Oliver F E JASB, LX p 8
The coins of the Chaghatāi Mughals.
- 446 Raverty H G JASB LXI p 8
Some of the Muhammadan coins collected by the Afghan Boundary
Commission from an historical point of view

- 447 Rehatsek, E. JBBRAS, X, p 163
Facsimiles of Muhammadan coins (a rupee of Indore, Alāuddin
Muhammad Shāh Khalji, Ghiyāsuddin Tughlaq and Dīrhem
with Kufic legends)
- 448 Rodgers, C J JASB, LXV, p 226
Coins of Nimroz.
- 449 _____ PASB, 1879 p 178
Coins of Khusrāu Shah and Khusrū Malik, the Ghaznavi Kings of
Lahore
- 450 _____ PASB, 1881, p 4
A find of coins struck by Ghazni Sultans in Lahore
- 451 _____ PASB, 1881 p 75
On some coins from Candahar
- 452 Sewell, R IA, XXXII, p 313 XXXIII p 337
Some doubtful copper coins of Southern India
- 453 Symonds, T J JAS, II, p 239
On the coins of the Nawabs of the Karnatik.
- 454 Thomas, E. JRAS X, pp 267 346
On the coins of the Kings of Ghazni
- 455 _____ JRAS, LVII p 138
Supplementary contribution to the series of the coins of the Kings
of Ghazni
- 456 _____ JASB, XXI p 116
Note on Col Stacey's Ghazni coins
- 457 Taylor, G P NS, XXIV, (143) 1914
Review (The copper coins of India, Part I, Bengal and U P by
W H Valentine)
- 458 Burn, R (II) AKBAR. PASB, 1896, p 109
A new mint (Manil pūr) of Akbar
- 459 Dikshit, K N NS, XXXIII, (208), 1918
A new Jaunpūr mohar of Akbar
- 460 Hodivala, S H NS, XXXIV (210), 1920
Al ul Fazl's inventory of Akbar's mints
- 461 Lāli, Pannā NS, XXVI, (160), 1915
A rare coin of Akbar
- 462 _____ NS, XXVI, (161), 1915
An unpublished coin of Akbar
- 463 Master, A NS, XVII, (106), 1912
A Chahar Tanki of Akbar
- 464 _____ NS, XXIV, (141) 1914
The Gujarāt Mahmudi
- 465 Oliver, E L JASB, LV, p 1
Copper coins of Akbar found in the Kangra District
- 466 Rodgers, C J IA XIX, p 219
Rare copper coins of Akbar
- 467 _____ JASB, XLIX, p 213
Copper coins of Akbar
- 468 _____ JASB, LII, p 97
Ruppes of the months of the Ilahi years of Akbar
- 469 _____ JASB, LIV, p 3
On some copper coins of Akbar

- 470 Rodgers, C. J. PASB, 1882, p 162
The rupees of the months of the Ilāhī years of Akbar (Abstract.)
- 471 Smith, V. A. IA, XXXVIII, p 80
Mathura, a mint of Akbar for coinage
- 472 Taylor, G. P. NS, II, (14), 1904
On the coins of Gujarāt Fabric
- 473 ————— NS, IV, (26), 1904
Akbar's copper coins of Ahmadābād.
- 474 ————— NS, VI, (45), 1905
On the identity of the coins of Gujarāt Fabric and the Surat Mahmūdīs.
- 475 ————— NS, XV, (93), 1910
On the half muhr, No. 172 of the British Museum Catalogue.
- 476 ————— NS, XVI, (100), 1911
Ilāhī synchronisms of some Hīrī New Year's days
- 477 ————— NS, XXIV, (144), 1914
A copper coin from the Nahrwāla Shahr Pattan mint
- 478 Whitehead, R. B. NS, XIII, (50), 1910
Coins of Akbar struck at Jaunpūr and Ajmer mints
- 479 ————— NS, XV, (94), 1910
Coins of Akbar struck at Jaunpūr and Ajmer mints.
- (12) JEHĀNGIR
- 480 Beale, T. W. PASB, 1875, p 115
A rupee of Jahāngir, A. H. , 1030, from Agra
- 481 Beveridge, H. NS, XII, (71), 1909
Salimī coins
- 482 Bird, J. JBBRAS, II, p 63
Notice by the Secretary on a collection of Gold Zodiac coins of Jahangir.
- 483 Blochmann, H. PASB, 1869, pp 245, 255
On two silver coins of Jahāngir.
- 484 ————— PASB, 1870, p 181
Coins of Jahāngir.
- 485 Gibbs, J. JBBRAS, XIV, p 155
Notes on Zodiacal rupees and mohars of Jahāngir
- 486 Hodivālā, S. H. NS, XXXI, (194), 1918
The Mandū Gold Couplet
- 487 Horwood, T. B. NS, XXXVII, (236), 1923
An unpublished copper coin of Jahangir of Ujam
- 488 Lall, Panna NS, XXVI, (156), 1915
A rare rupee of Jahāngir
- 489 Prasād, Jagat NS, XXVI, (163), 1915
A new Muhar of Jahangir
- 490 Rodgers, C. J. PASB, 1894, p 20
Jahāngir's Mohars and Rupees.
- 491 ————— JASB, LVII, p 18
Couplets or 'Baits' on the coins of Shah Nūr-ud dīn Jahāngir the son of Akbar, collected by C. J. Rodgers
- 492 Taylor, G. P. NS, I, (3), 1904
On the date of the Salimī coins of Jahangir.

- 493 Taylor, G P. NS, V, (33), 1905
A zodiacal half rupee (Leo) of Jehāngir and three rupees with the same sign
- 494 _____ NS, X, (50), 1903
A rejoinder on the date of the Salīmī coins
- 495 _____ NS, XI, (70), 1909
Addendum on the date of the Salīmī coins
- 496 _____ NS, XII, (72), 1909
Note on Mr. Beveridge's article on the Salīmī coins
- 497 Temple, R C. IA, X, p 90
Note on some coin legends
- 498 Thānāwālā, F J NS, XXV, (150), 1915
A new couplet muhar of Nūru d dīn Jahāngir, Mughal Emperor of India
- 499 Wright, H N NS, I, (4), 1904
A new zodiacal muhar of Jehāngir.
- 500 _____ NS, V, (33), 1905
Note on a variety of the (Leo) rupee of Jehāngir
- 501 _____ NS, V, (34), 1905
Note on a new couplet rupee of Nūr Jahān, struck at Lāhore
- 502 Delmerick, J G (13) DĀWAR BAKHSH PASB 1884, p 60
On a silver coin of Dāwar Bakhsh
- 503 Wright, H N NS, V, (35), 1905
A rupee of Dāwar Bakhsh.
- 504 Dikshit, K N (14) SHĀH JAHĀN NS, XXXIII, (207), 1918
Nisārs of Shāh Jahān
- 505 Hodivālā, S H NS, XXVII, (163), 1916
The Gulkanda rupees of Shāh Jahān
- 506 Wright, H N NS, V, (36), 1905
Two rare coins of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb
- 507 Wright, H N (15) MURĀD BAKHSH NS, I, (6), 1904
The copper coinage of Murad Bakhsh son of Shah Jahan
- 508 Burn, R (16) SHĀH SHUJĀ. NS, VI, (44), 1905
A new type of the coins of Shāh Shujā.
- 509 Whitehead, R B NS, XX, (116), 1912
Coins of Shah Shujā, Son of Shāh Jāhan
- 510 Bānerji, R D (17) AURANGZEB NS, XXXIII, (205), 1918
‘Alamgīrnagar, a new Mughal mint
- 511 Brown, C J NS, XIX, (113), 1912
A square area rupee of Aurangzeb of the Shāhjahānābād mint
- 512 Dayāl, Prayāg NS, XXXVI, (229), 1922
A Nusratābād rupee of Aurangzeb

- 513 Hodivālā, S. H. NS, XXVII, (167), 1916
The Bijāpūr rupees of 1091 A.H.
- 514 ————— NS, XXVIII, (175), 1917
The weights of Aurangzeb's dāms.
- 515 Prasād, Jagat. NS, XXVI, (164), 1915
A new muhar of Aurangzeb.
- 516 Saboor, M. A. NS, XXX, (190), 1918
An unpublished mint, (Nasirābād) of Aurangzeb
- 517 ————— NS, XXX, (191), 1918
The Lakhnau mint on a gold coin of Aurangzeb.
- 518 Streenivas, T. RADN, for 1921 24, p 34
First issue of Ahsanābād under the name of Gulbarga.
- 519 Taylor, G. P. NS, XV, (92), 1910
On the Bijāpūr Mughal rupee of 1091 A.H.
- 520 Wright, H. N. NS, IV, (27), 1904
A new mint (Purbandar) of Aurangzeb
- 521 ————— NS, V, (36), 1905
Two rare coins of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb
- (18) 'AZAM SHĀH
522 Whitehead, R. B. NS, XXXV, (213), 1921
The official seal of Prince 'Āzam Shāh
- (19) KĀM BAKHSH.
523 Delmerick, J. G. PASB, 1894, p 90
Notes on a Gold coin of Kām Bakhsh
- 524 Irvine, W. NS, V, (37), 1905
Note on Kām Bakhsh
- 525 Taylor, G. P. NS, XI, (66), 1909
On the Bijāpūr rupee of Kām Bakhsh.
- (20) SHĀH 'ĀLAM I
526 Hodivālā, S. H. NS, XXVIII, (176), 1917
Some heavy rupees of Bahādur Shāh Shāh 'Ālam I
- 527 Irvine, W. NS, V, (37), 1905
Note on Bahādur Shah (Shāh 'Ālam I).
- 528 Taylor, G. P. NS, XI, (67), 1909
Was there a Zafarābād rupee of Shāh 'Ālam I?
- (21) 'ĀZIMU-SH SHĀH.
529 Whitehead, R. B. NS, XVII, (103), 1912
A coin of 'Āzimu sh Shāh
- (22) FARUKHSIYAR.
530 Irvine, W. PASB, 1895, p 149
Mint Rules in 1126 A.H.
- 531 Lall, Panna NS, XXXIX, (257), 1925
A gold coin of Farrukhsiyar of Farrukhabād mint
- (23) RAḤI U-D DARAJAT.
532 Allan, J. NS, XIII, (81), 1910
A gold muhar of Raḥi-u-d darajāt.

- (24) SHĀH JAHĀN II
- 533 Blochmann, H A silver coin of Shāh Jahān II PASB, 1876, p 130
- (25) MUHAMMAD SHĀH.
- 534 Irvine, W. Couplet on coins of Muhammad Shāh (1719-1748) PASB, 1899, p 55
- 535 Wright, H N. The Qandahār rupee of Muhammad Shāh. NS, XIV, (88), 1910
- (26) AHMAD SHĀH.
- 536 Hodivalā, S H The Katak rupees of Ahmad Shāh NS, XXXI, (193), 1918
- 537 Wright, H N A new Mughal mint (Mujāhidābad) of Ahmad Shāh NS, V, (38), 1905
- (27) BEDĀR BAKHT
- 538 Stubbs, F W Coins of Muhammad Bedār Bakht PASB, 1871, p 97
- (28) 'ĀLAMGĪR II.
- 539 Wright, H N Two double rupees of Surat Mint ('Ālamgīr II and Shah 'Ālam II) NS, V, (40), 1905
- (29) SHĀH JAHĀN III
- 540 Burn, R A rupee of Shāh Jahān III of 'Azīmabād NS, VII, (52) 1907
- (30) SHĀH 'ĀLAM II
- 541 Allan, J. A rupee struck by George Thomas NS, XVII, (105), 1917
- 542 Ayyangar, S R. Rupees of Shah 'Ālam II, struck at Akarwān NS, XXXIX, (233), 1925
- 543 Lāl, Panna. A new coin of Shāh 'Ālam II. NS, XXIII, (133), 1914
- 544 A rare coin of Shah 'Ālam II NS, XXVI, (159), 1915
- 545 Temple, R O. Note on some coin legends. IA, X, p 90
- 546 Wright, H N Two double rupees of Surat mint of 'Ālamgīr II and Shāh Alam II NS, V (40), 1905
- 547 A rupee of Shah 'Ālam II of Anūpnagar Shāhābād mint NS, XIX, (113), 1912
- (31) MUHAMMAD AKBAR II
- 548 Whitehead, R B and Hodivālā, S H The coins of Muhammad Akbar as Claimant to the Mughal Throne NS, XXXVI, (227), 1922
- (32) BAHĀDUR SHĀH II
- 549 Vost, W A rupee of Bahādur Shah II of Jhalāwar mint. NS, II, (10), 1904

(33) MUGHAL MISCELLANEOUS.

- 550 Allan, J. NS, XVI, (93), 1911
Some rare Mughal coins
- 551 Ayyangar, S. R. NS, XXXIX, (259), 1925
Some Mughal gold coins
- 552 Bleazby, G. B. NS, V, (32), 1905
Rare Mughal coins.
- 553 Brown, C. J. NS, XXII, (130), 1914
On Four rare Mughal coins
- 554 _____ NS, XXV, (151), 1915
The Lakhnau mint
- 555 _____ NS, XXX, (193), 1918
Some remarks on Mr. Hodivalā's articles on certain Mughal mints
- 556 Burn, R. NS, VIII, (57), 1907
Mughal coins found in the Betūl District
- 557 _____ JASB, LXXIII, p 75
The Mints of the Mughal Emperors
- 558 Dames, M. L. NC, II, (4th ser.), p 275
Some coins of the Mughal Emperors
- 559 Dayāl, Prayāg NS, XXXIX, (252), 1925
Three Mughal coins
- 560 Delmerick, J. G. JASB, XLV, p 291
Coins of the Mughal Kings
- 561 Haig, W. JASB, LXVI, p 63
Note on a find of copper coins in Wun District, Barār
- 562 Hodivalā, S. H. NS, XXVII, (169), 1916
The meaning of Tānkī.
- 563 _____ NS, XXVIII, (171), 1917
The Dirham i Shar'at
- 564 _____ NS, XXVIII, (177), 1917
The mint name Srīnagar
- 565 _____ NS, XXVIII, (178), 1917
Bahādurgarh
- 566 _____ NS, XXVIII, (179), 1917
Azamnagar.
- 567 _____ NS, XXVIII, (180), 1917
Panjnagar
- 568 _____ NS, XXVIII, (181), 1917
The Murādī Tanka
- 569 _____ NS, XXVIII, (182), 1917
Fīrūzgarh
- 570 _____ NS, XXXI, (196), 1918
Notes and Suggestions about some unassigned or doubtful Mughal mints.
- 571 _____ NS, XXXIV, (211), 1920
Notes and queries regarding Mughal mint towns
- 572 _____ NS, XXXV, (216), 1921
Historical notes on the Honorific Epithets of Mughal mint towns.
- 573 _____ NS, XXXV, (217), 1921
The Laqab Sāhibqīrān Sāni
- 574 _____ NS, XXXVII, (210), 1923
Persian couplets on the Mughal and subsequent coinages

- 575 **Hodivālā, S H** NS, XXXVII, (241), 1923
The mint name Sitpūr (Surat)
- 576 **_____** NS XXXVII (242), 1923
The mint Gobindpūr
- 577 **_____** NS, XXXVII, (243), 1923
The mint name Kānān (Bajānān)
- 578 **_____** NS, XXXVII, (244), 1923
The mint Panjnagar (Bhujnagar)
- 579 **Irvine, W** NS, VII, (50), 1907
Toragal or Nurgal Which is the correct reading?
- 580 **_____** NS, XII, (73), 1909
Mughal mint towns
- 581 **_____** NS, XIV, (87), 1910
Mughal mint towns—Firoznagar
- 582 **King, L W** NC, XVI, (3rd ser), p 155
Some novelties in Mughal coins
- 583 **Lālī, Pannā** NS XXV, (148), 1915
Two Mughal copper coins
- 584 **Master, A** NS, XVI, (124) 1913
The mint town Zain ul bilad
- 585 **_____** NS XXII, (123) 1914
The Post Mughal coins of Ahmadabād or a study in mint marks
- 586 **Nevill, H R** NS, XXXII, (198), 1918
Some rare Mughal coins
- 587 **Paruck, F D J** NS, XXXVII (233), 1923
Unpublished Mughal coins
- 588 **Rodgers, C J** JASB, LVII, p 27*
Couplets on coins of Kings after the time of Jehāngir
- 589 **_____** JASB LXIV, p 171
Mughal copper coins
- 590 **_____** JASB, LXV, p 220
Rare Mughal coins
- 591 **Saboor, M A** NS, XXXIX, (251), 1925
Some rare coins found in the Central Provinces
- 592 **Streenuvas, T** RADN, for 1924 25 p 18
Some rare Mughal coins
- 593 **_____** RADN, for 1921 24, p 29
Coins of two new Mughal mints of the Deccan, (Parenda and Kankurt)
- 594 **Taraporevala, D V** NS, XXXVII, (246) 1923
Two Mughal muhars
- 595 **Taylor, G P** JBBRAS, XX, p 409
The coins of Ahmadabād
- 596 **_____** JBBRAS, XXII, p 245
Coins of Surat
- 597 **_____** NS III, (24) 1904
On two lists of mints published by Dr O Codrington and Mr R Burn
- 598 **_____** NS, V, (41), 1905
Mumbai Surat or Mahisur Which?
- 599 **_____** NS, VII, (51) 1907
Some dates relating to the Mughal Emperors of India

- 600 Taylor, G P NS, VIII, (56), 1907
Four rare Mughal rupees
- 601 NS, IX, (58), 1908
Review of the Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum, Vol. III,
Mughal Emperors
- 602 NS, XII, (75), 1909
Where was the mint town Zafarābād?
- 603 NS, XIV, (84), 1910
Some coins from the Lāmbdī treasury.
- 604 NS XIV, (85), 1910
The identification of Mahmūdbandar
- 605 NS, XIV, (86), 1910
On the Symbol Sahib Qiran
- 606 NS, XVII, (104), 1912
Islāmbandar 'urf Rājāpūr
- 607 NS, XIX, (114), 1912
Mughal coins of Junagadh
- 608 NS, XX, (119), 1912
The Mughal coins of Cambay
- 609 NS, XXII (127), 1914
List complementary to Mr Whitehead's "Mint towns of the Mughal
Emperors of India"
- 610 NS, XXIV, (142), 1914
Review (Catalogue of the coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore,
Vol II, Coins of the Mughal Emperors by R B Whitehead)
- 611 NS, XXXIII, (200), 1918
The Shāhī Hind coins
- 612 Temple, R C IA, XLVIII, p 236
Sunnee, dated gold mohar
- 613 Thānāwālā, F J NS, V, (34), 1903
Rare Mughal coins
- 614 NS, VI, (43), 1905
Rare Mughal coins
- 615 Vost, W NS, XI, (65), 1909
Some new Mughal mints and rare Mughal rupees
- 616 J ASB LXIV, p 37
On some rare Mughal coins
- 617 J ASB, LXIV, p 69
The Dogīm mint
- 618 Whitehead, R B NS, XI, (63), 1909
The Mughal mint of Gokulgarh
- 619 NS, XI, (69) 1909
Old coins (Mughals, Durrānis and Bahāwalpūr) in the Bahāwalpūr
State Toshakhana
- 620 NS, XV, (82), 1910
Notes on some Mughal coins
- 621 J ASB, VIII, No II, 1912, p 425
The mint towns of the Mughal Emperors of India
- 622 NS, XXV, (147), 1915
First Supplement to "The mint towns of the Mughal Emperors of
India."
- 623 NS, XXVIII, p 93, 1917
Note to Mr S H Hodivālā's article on the Murādī Tanka.

- 624 Whitehead R B NC III (7th ser) p 115
Some notable coins of the Mughal Emperors
- 625 Wright H N NS II (15) 1904
Rare Mughal coins belonging to Mr F J Thanawali of Bombay
- 626 _____ NS III (27) 1904
Abstract of rarer coins in the Ellis collection Lucknow Museum
- 627 _____ NS IV (28) 1904
Coins of the Murshidabad mint between 1748 and 1793 A D
- 628 _____ NS V (38) 1905
Mujahidabad—a new Mughal mint
- 629 _____ NS, V (39) 190
Report on 540 Mughal rupees found in Manbhum District
- 630 _____ NS VII (74) 1909
Treasure trove (Mughal)
- 631 _____ NS VIII (77) 1910
Rare Mughal coins
- 632 _____ NS VIII (78) 1910
Treasure trove (Mughal)
- 633 _____ NS VIII (79) 1910
Treasure trove (Mughal)
- 634 _____ NS VIII (135) 1914
Bairāta or Barar ?
- 635 _____ NS XXVI (76) 1927
Ujhāni as a mint town

PART III—(MISCELLANEOUS)

(1) NATIVE STATES

- 636 Burn, R JASB, LXVI, p 275
Bajranggarh mint and coins
- 637 Campbell, W F M NS, XXII, (128), 1914
Nepalese war medals
- 638 Codrington, O JBBRAS, XVII, p 49
On the coins of Kutch and Kathiawar
- 639 ————— NC XV, (3rd ser), p 59
Coinage of Kutch and Kathiawar
- 640 Cunningham, A NC VI, 1843-44, p 1
The ancient coinage of Kashmir
- 641 Hoernle, A F R JASB, LXVI, p 261
Notes on coins of Native States
- 642 Irvine, W PASB, 1898, p 133
Patalah coins origin of the legend thereon
- 643 Rapson, E J NS VI, (42) 1905
A hoard of Rajput coins found in the Garhwal District
- 644 Rodgers, C J JASB, XLVIII, p 277
Copper coins of the old Mahārajas of Kashmir
- 645 ————— JASB LIV, p 60
Some coins of Ranjit Deva King of Jammū, 100 years ago
- 646 ————— PASB 1897, p 84
Coins struck at Nāhan
- 647 Stein, M A NC, XIX, (3rd ser), p 125
Notes on the monetary system of ancient Kashmir
- 648 Taylor, G P NS XVIII, (111) 1912
On the Baroda coins of the last six Gaikwars
- 649 ————— NS XX (118), 1912
On the Hatakeskhvarā Sai Kori
- 650 Temple, R C IA, LVIII, p 321
The coins of the Modern Native Chiefs of the Panjāb
- 651 Walsh, E H JRAS, 1908, p 669
The coinage of Nepal
- 652 Wright, H N NS, IV, (30), 1904
On a local copper currency in Dewas State

(2) DURRANIS

- 653 Dames, L NC, VIII, (3rd ser) p 32
The coins of the Durrani
- 654 Prasad, Jagat NS XXVI, (165), 1915
A new Muhar of Taimar Shah Durrani
- 655 Rodgers, C J JASB, LIV, p 67
Coins of Ahmad Shāh Abdālī or Ahmad Shāh Durrānī
- 656 Whitehead, R B NS, XI, (69), 1909
Old coins in the Bahāwalpūr State Toshākhāna

(3) GOVERNORS OF SIND

- 657 Vost, W
Coins of the Governors of Sind NS, XI, (61), 1900

(4) OUDH

- 658 Brown, C J
The coins of the Kings of Awadh NS, XVIII, (112) 1912
659 Burn, R
The Machhlidar Subah Awadh coins NS, XXXVI, (225) 1922
660 Wilson, H H
Note on a medal of the King (Haidar) of Oude NC, V, 1842-43, p 129
661 Wright, H N
A coronation medal of Ghāziu d dīn Haidar, first King of Oudh NS, I, (7), 1904

(5) MA'ABAR COINS

- 662 Desikāchari, T
Unpublished Ma'abar coins IA, XXXI, p 231
663 Hultsch, E
The coinage of the Sultans of Madura JRAS, 1909, p 667
664 Rangachari, T
Unpublished Ma'abar coins IA, XXXI, p 231
665 Rodgers, C J
Coins of the Musalman Kings of Ma'abar JASB, LXIV, p 49

(6) SASSANIAN

- 666 Bayley, E C
Note on a hoard of 343 Sassanian coins in possession of Col H Hyde R E JASB XLIII, p 99
667 Hoernle, A F R
Note on certain Indo Sassanian coins found in Mārwarā JASB, LIX, p 163
668 Mommsen, Prof
On the weight of Sassanian coins NC, XIX, 1856-57, p 223
669 Olshausen, Julius
Pehlvi legends on the coins of the last Sassanian Kings NC, XI, 1848-49, p 60
670 Pāruck, F D J
The Drachme of the Sassanian Queen Boran NS, XXVIII, (170), 1917
671 ———
A new type of silver dirham of the Sassanian Monarch Zamasp (Jamasp) NS XXVIII, (172), 1917
672 ———
On a gold coin of the Sassanian King Shāpūr the Great NS, XXVIII, (170), 1917
673 ———
A silver dirham of Bastham NS, XXVIII, (183), 1917
674 ———
Three interesting Sassanian Drachmes NS, XXIX, (185), 1917
675 ———
On a silver coin of the Sassanian King Khorazad Khusrau NS, XXIX, (186), 1917
676 ———
Two rare Sassanian Drachmes NS, XXX, (187), 1918
677 ———
A correction note NS, XXX, (188), 1918
678 ———
The rare Sassanian mint KVIBBA or KVNBBAA ? NS XXX, (189), 1918

- 679 Pāruck, F D J NS, XXV, (192), 1918
A rare type of Drachme of Shāpūr II
- 680 _____ NS, XXV, (218), 1921
Bibliography of Sassanian Numismatics
- 681 _____ NS, XXXVII, (232), 1923
Some rare and unpublished Sassanian coins
- 682 Rapson, E J JRAS, 1904, p 673
Notes on ancient coins collected in Seistān by Mr G P Tate
- 683 _____ NC, XVI, (3rd ser), p 246
On the attribution of certain silver coins of Sassanian fabric
- 684 Thānāwālā, F J XVI (99), 1911
A silver dirham of the Sassanian Queen Purandukht
- 685 _____ NS, XX, (117), 1912
A new type of Silver dirham of the Sassanian Monarch Zamasp (Jamasp)
- 686 _____ NS, XXVI, (154) 1915
A silver dirham of Bastham (Vastham) Sassanian Ruler in Khorāsān in Persia
- 687 Thomas E JRAS, XIII, p 373
Notes introductory to Sassanian mint monograms and gems
- 688 _____ NC XI, 1848-49, p 121
Pehlvi legends on the coins of the last Sassanian Kings
- 689 _____ NC, XV, 1852-53, p 6
Remarkable Indo Sassanian coins
- 690 _____ NC, VI, (N S), p 241
Sassanian gems
- 691 _____ NC, XII, (N S), p 33, 105, 271
Sassanian coins
- 692 _____ JASB, XX, p 525
A letter from, on Sassanian coins
- (The following references have been taken from Mr F D J. Pāruck's work on Sassanian Coins)
- 693 Bartholomaei, J De 1847 8°
'Conjectures sur quelques médailles Sassanides postérieures au roi Firouz St Pétersbourg
- 694 _____ 1847 8°
'Classement de médailles au type Sassanide du point de vue de l'art ' St Pétersbourg
- 695 _____ 1859 4° With 4 pl
'Lettres numismatiques et archéologiques, relatives à la Transcaucasie ' St Pétersbourg
- 696 _____ Mém Asiat, III, (1859) pp 138-148
'Extrait d'une lettre à M Dorn, datée de Lenkoran, 12 Mai 1857, contenant des observations numismatiques concernant les règnes de Kavad et de Khosrou I.'
- 697 _____ Mém Asiat, III, (1859), pp 149-165
'Extraits des lettres à M Dorn, datées de Lenkoran, 30 Juin et 6 Juillet et de Tiflis 11 Août 1857 à propos d'une lettre de M Khanykov, datée de Tébriç, 5 (17) Juin 1857
- 698 _____ Mém Asiat, III, (1859) pp 349-372
'Extraits des lettres à M. Dorn, datées de Tiflis 5, 9, 12 16 et 26 Mai 1858, contenant des observations sur la numismatique Sassanide, avec des remarques de M Dorn.'

- 699 Bartholomaei J De
 'Collection de monnaies Sassanides d' feu le Lieutenant Général
 J de Bartholomaei représentée d'après les pièces les plus remar-
 quables Publiée par B Dorn St Pétersbourg 1873 4° 10 pp
 with 32 plates and a portrait of Bartholomaei 2nd ed 1875 4
 14 pp, 32 pl and 1 portrait St Pétersbourg
- 700 Bayley, C. 1874 8°
 'Sassanian Coins,' Calcutta
(It is an extract from the JASB, 1874)
- 701 Blau, O Num Zeitschr Wien IX (1877) pp 273 283
 Istandara de Méschon Ein Beitrag zur Munztopographie der
 Sassaniden'
- 702 Dorn, B 1812 8 14 pp with 1 pl
 Versuch einer Erklärung von drei Münzen mit Sassaniden Gepräge
 St Pétersbourg
*(It is an extract from the Bullet de la classe histor philol de l'Acad
 Imp des sciences de St Pétersbourg t I col 33-43)*
- 703 ———— Bullet de la cl des sc hist philol etc t
 I (1814) col 107 110
 'Die neueste Bereicherung des asiatischen Münz cabinettes der
 Kaiserl Akademie der Wissensch II Sassaniden'
- 704 ———— Bullet de la cl des sc hist philol etc, t
 I, (1844) col 270 272
 'Die letzte Schenkung von morgenländischen Münzen an das asia-
 tische Museum II Nicht muhammedanische d i Parsen Münzen
- 705 ———— Bullet de la classe des sc histor philol etc, de l'Acad
 Imp des sc de St Pétersbourg t I (1844) col 273 294 with 11 pl
 'Ueber einige bisher ungekannte Münzen des dritten Sassaniden
 Königes Hormisdas I'
- 706 ———— Bullet de la cl des sc hist, philol, etc t,
 V, (1848), col 22-234
 'Bemerkungen zur Sassaniden Münzkunde'
- 707 ———— Mém Asiat de l'Acad Imp des sc de St Pétersbourg t
 II (1856) pp 249 263
 Die Pehlewy Münzen des asiatischen Museums der Kaiserlichen
 Akademie der Wissenschaften III Die Münzen der Isphbede
 Chalifen und deren Statthalter'
- 708 ———— Mém, Asiat, t II, (1856) 387-398
 Noch einige Nachweisungen über Pehlewy Münzen'
- 709 ———— Mém Asiat t II (1856), pp 608-611
 'Ueber die letzten dem asiatischen Museum zugekommenen
 Pehlewy Münzen'
- 710 ———— Mém Asiat, t III, (1859) pp 286-315
 'Noch einige Worte über ein auf Pehlewy Münzen vorkommendes
 sogenanntes Münzzeichen oder Monogram'
- 711 ———— Mém Asiat, t III, (1859) pp 426-433
 'Neue Ansichten in der Pehlewy Münzkunde'
- 712 ———— Mém Asiat, t, III, (1859) pp 460-471
 Nachträge zu den neuen Ansichten in der Pehlewy Münzkunde
- 713 ———— Mém Asiat, t III, (1859) pp 613 610
 Forschungen in der Pehlewy Münzkunde I
- 714 ———— Mém Asiat t, IV, (1863) pp 21-24
 'Forschungen in der Pehlewy Münzkunde, II

- 715 Dorn, B ZDMG, XXI, (1867) pp 161-168
 'Bemerkungen über A Mordtmann's Erklärung der Münzen mit Pehlavi Legenden'
- 716 ——— Mél Asiat, t, VI, (1873), pp 141-144
 'Zwei dem asiatischen Museum zugekommene Münzen werbungen'
- 717 ——— Mél Asiat, t, VI, (1873), pp 675-680
 'Sieben aus dem Nachlass des Gen Laet von Bartholomaei dem asiatischen Museum zugekommene Münzen'
- 718 ——— Mél Asiat, VIII, (1881), pp 197-201
 'Einige Bemerkungen zur Sassaniden Münzkunde'
- 719 ——— Mél Asiat, t VIII, (1881) pp 269-280
 'Sechshundachtzig Silbermünzen mit Pehlewischen Inschriften'
- 720 Drouin, E Paris, 1886 8° pp 98 with 4 plates
 'Observations sur les monnaies à légendes en pehlvi et pehlvi arabe'
(It is an extract from the Revue Archéologique, for the years 1884 and 1885)
- 721 ——— Rev Num, VIII, 3, 1890, pp 378-385
 'Notice sur quelques monnaies bilingues sassanides'
- 722 ——— Rev Num, 1893, pp 167-175
 'Monnaie de Borân reine sassanide'
- 723 ——— Bulletin Numismatique, II, 1893 pp 61-65
 'Une médaille d'or de Kobad'
- 724 ——— Rev Num, 13, 1895 pp 45-64
 'Monnaies sassanides inédites'
- 725 ——— Journal Asiatique, V, ser 9, 1895 pp 165-168
 'Sur quelques monnaies en bronze, de l'époque sassanide'
- 726 ——— 1898 8° p 57
 'Les légendes des monnaies sassanides' Paris.
(It is an extract from the Revue Archéologique, 1898 pp 62-202)
- 727 ——— Gazette belge de Numismatique, Bruxelles, 1901, p 8
 'Les symboles astrologiques sur les monnaies de la Perse.'
- 728 Egger, G A
 'Beschreibung einer Sammlung von Sassaniden Münzen' in Wiener Numismatische Monatshefte I Band Wien 1865, and Fortsetzung in the same journal
- 729 Fraehn, Ch M 1822 4
 'Die Chosroen Münzen der früheren Arabischen Chalifen' Mitau
(It is an extract from the Jahresverhandl d Kurland Gesellsch, t. II, pp 401-416)
- 730 ——— Journal Asiat, (1823) t II, p 257, (1824) t IV p 331
 'Supplément au mémoire sur les monnaies arabes des Chosro et chalifes avant l'an 77 de l'hégire'
- 731 ——— St Petersburg Zeitung, 1823 No 6
 'Ueber eine Münze des Sassaniden Narseh'
- Longperier, A De. 1840, 4°, IV, p 88 with 12 plates
- 732 'Essai sur les médailles des rois Perses de la dynastie sassanide' Paris

- 733 (Arabacek ?) J K Wiener num Monatshefte t I (1860)
pp 20 30 and 59 69 with 2 plates
Beschreibung einer Sammlung von Sassaniden münzen
- 734 Krafft A Wiener Jahrb, t CVI Anzeigblatt für Wissensch u
Kunst (1844) pp 1 33 with 1 pl
Ueber Herrn Professor Olshausen's Entzifferung der Pehlew
Legenden auf Münzen
- 735 Malmusi Modene 188
Monete die Sassaniden
- 736 Markoff Alexis De 1889 8° p 136 and 2 pl
Catalogue des monnaies Arsacides Subarsacides Sassanides etc
des Collections Scientifiques de l'Institut des Langues Orientales
Tom V St Pétersbourg
- 737 Mommsen ZDMG VIII (1854) pp 571 579
Ueber das Gewicht der Sassaniden Münzen
- 738 Mordtmann, A D ZDMG II (1848) pp 108 116
Auszüge aus Briefen an Prof Olshausen
- 739 Schreien an Prof Olshausen ZDMG IV (1850) pp 83-96 and 500-509
- 740 Erklärung der Münzen mit Pehlew Legenden Leipz g
1854 8 p 266 and 10 plates
(It is an extract from the ZDMG VIII (1854) pp 1 209 with 10 pl)
- 741 Erklärung der Münzen mit Pehlew Legenden Theil II Leipz g
1858 8 p 57 with 1 pl
(It is an extract from the ZDMG VII (1858) pp 1 57 with 1 pl
and 4 tables)
- 742 ZDMG XIX (1865) pp 373 436 and Nachtrag p 679
Erklärung der Münzen mit Pehlew Legenden
- 743 * Sassaniden Münzen Grote's Münzstudien V, pp 1-8
- 744 Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung 1873 No 30
Numismatik der Sassaniden
- 745 Zur Pehlew Münzkunde IV ZDMG XXXIII (1879) pp 89 147
- 746 Zur Pehlew Münzkunde V ZDMG XXXIV (1880) pp 1 162 and 1 pl
- 747 Morgan J De Rev Num 1913 pp 10-41 157 189 333-362 and
486-593
Contribution à l'étude des ateliers monétaires sous la dynastie des
Rois Sassanides de Perse
- 748 Nöldeke, Th ZDMG XXXI (1877) pp 147 151
Zur Erklärung der Sassaniden Münzen
- 749 Zur Pehlew Sprache und Münzkunde ZDMG XXXIII (1879) pp 687-693
- 750 Nützel H J Pr K Beiblatt 31 II pp 48 50
Sassanid Münzstempel
- 751 Amtliche Berichte aus den königl Kunstsammlungen
1912 col 41-46 8 fig
(In this article are described the Sassanian gold coins acquired recently
by the Berlin Museum)

- 752 Ouseley, Sir W 1801 4°
 'Observations on some Medals and Gems bearing inscriptions in the Pahlawi or ancient Persick character' London
- 753 Petermann Monatsbericht der Berliner Akad der Wissensch,
 1857, pp 445-448
 'Ueber die in dem Kgl Museum befindlichen Sassaniden Münzen'
- 754 Sacy, S De 1793 4°
 'Mémoires sur diverses antiquités de la Perse, et sur les médailles des rois de la dynastie des Sassanides suivis de l'histoire de cette dynastie trad du persan de Mirchond' Paris
- 755 Salemann, O Travaux de la III sess du congr intern des
 orient, à St Pétersbourg 1876, p 511
 'Ueber eine pehlevisch arabische Münze'
- 756 Smith, V A 1906
 'Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta Includ-
 ing the Cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal' I, part 3,
 Sassanian Coins, pp 217-229 and 1 pl Oxford
- 757 Soret, F 1847 8° with 1 pl
 'Lettre à M J Olshausen sur quelques médailles nouvelles au type sassanide' Genève
- 758 Tychsen, Th Ch Comment Reg Soc Scient Goetting,
 1808 1813 4°
 'Commentationes IV de numis veterum Persarum'
- 759 1812 4° 2 pl
 'De numis veterum Persarum Commentatio tertia, qua regum
 Sassanidarum nummi illustrantur' Gottingae
- 760 Valentine, W H 1921 8° pp 66 and figures
 'Sassanian Coins' London
- 761 Wilson, H H 1841 4° pp 4+2 with 22 pl
 'Ariana Antiqua London
- *762 (Anonymous) Gartenlaube, 1908, p 1092
 'Seltene sassanid Münzen Mit Abb'
 (1 Goldmünze d Sassaniden Königs Varanes III, 2 Goldmünze d
 Königin Purandocht D Aufschriften beider sind in Pehlewí)

* This paper is mentioned in the Jahresberichte der Geschichtswis-
 senschaft XXXI (1908) Perser F, Wilhelm, Part I p 33, No III, but
 the name of the author is not given

It appears from the Orientalsche Litteratur Zeitung, II, pp 45 and
 257 that a gold coin of Bahram III was presented to the Royal Museum
 of Berlin in 1907

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BOOKS ON COINS

PART I—(NON MUHAMMADAN COINS)

- | | | |
|-----|--|------|
| 763 | Allan, J.
Catalogue of the coins of the Gupta Dynasties and of Śāsanka king of Gauda. London | 1914 |
| 764 | Atkins, J.
The coins and Tokens of the Possessions and Colonies of the British Empire. London | 1889 |
| 765 | Brown, C. J.
Catalogue of the coins of the Guptas, Maukharis etc., in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, Allahabad | 1920 |
| 766 | Bucknill, Sir John A.
Remarks upon certain currency notes, coins and tokens emanating from Malaya during and after the war | 1922 |
| 767 | -----
Observations upon some coins obtained in Malaya and particularly from Trengganu, Kelantan and Southern Siam. (Journal of the Malayan Branch R. A. S.) | 1923 |
| 768 | -----
A note on some coins struck for use in Tarun, Southern Arabia. (Journal of Malayan Branch R. A. S.) | 1923 |
| 769 | Codrington, H. W.
Ceylon coins and currency, Colombo | 1904 |
| 770 | Cunningham, A.
Coins of Ancient India from the earliest Times down to the 7th century A.D. London | 1891 |
| 771 | -----
Coins of Mediaeval India from the 7th century down to the Muhammadan Conquests, London | 1894 |
| 772 | -----
Catalogue of Sythians. London | 1895 |
| 773 | Lester, W.
----- | 1903 |

- 781 Macdonald, G 1899 1900
Catalogue of Greek coins in the Hunterian Collection University of Glasgow, Glasgow
- 782 Newell, E T 1921
Alexander Hoards (Nos 3 19 and 21 of A N S) The first Seleucid coinage of Tyre (No 10 of A N S)
- 783 ———
Myriandros Alexandria Katieson
Tarsos under Alexander
Re attribution of certain Tetradrachms of Alexander the Great
- 784 Phryre A P 1882
The International Numismata Orientalia III, Coins of Arakōn of Pegu and of Burma London
- 785 Rapson, F J 1908
Catalogue of the coins of the Andhra Dynasts the Western Kshatrapas etc, in the British Museum London
- 786 Rhys Davids, T W 1877
Marsden's 'NUMISMATA ORIENTALIA' A NEW EDITION PART I
"On the Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon London
- 787 Rodgers C J 1899
Catalogue of coins collected by C J Rodgers and purchased by the Punjab Government Part III Graeco Bactrian and other Ancient coins Calcutta
- 788 Smith, V A 1906
Andhra History and Coinage (Pamphlet)
- 789 ——— 1909
Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta I Oxford
- 790 Stein, A 1887
Zoroastrian Deities on Indo Scythian Coins London 1887 (Reprint from the Oriental Babylonian Record)
- 791 Taylor, G P 1914
The coins of Tipu Sultan (Occasional Memoir of the Numismatic Society of India No 1)
- 792 ——— 1919
On the pre Muhammadan coins of Gujarāt (Gujarat College Magazine)
- 793 Thomas E 1874
Marsden's 'NUMISMATA ORIENTALIA' A NEW EDITION PART I
"Ancient Indian Weights London
- 794 Thurston E 1889
Catalogue of Coins in the Government Central Museum Madras No. 1, Mysore Madras
- 795 ——— 1894
Catalogue of Coins in the Government Central Museum Madras No 2 Roman Indo Portuguese and Ceylon Madras
- 796 ——— 1890
History of the Coinage of the Territories of the East India Co in the Indian Peninsula and Catalogue of the coins in the Madras Museum Madras
- 797 Tuffnell, R H C
Catalogue of the Mysore coins in the Govt Museum Bangalore
- 798 Vidyasahod, R B 1923
Supplementary Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta—Non Muhammadan Series I Calcutta

- 799 Webb, W W 1893
The currencies of the Hindu States of Rajputāna, London
- 800 Whitehead, R B 1922
The Pre-Muhammadan Coinage of North Western India (No 13 of A N S)
- 801 _____ 1914
Catalogue of coins in the Punjab Museum Lahore I Indo Greek Coins, Oxford
- 802 Wroth, W 1903
Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Parthia, London

PART II—(MUHAMMADAN COINS)

- 803 Bhattasali, N K 1922
Coins and Chronology of the early Independent Sultans of Bengal Cambridge
- 804 Brown, C J 1920
Catalogue of the Mughal Coins in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, 2 Vols Oxford
- 805 Govt U P 1923
First Supplement to the Catalogue of Coins of the Mughal Emperors in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, Allahabad
- 806 Codrington, O 1904
A Manual of Musalman Numismatics, London
- 807 Covernton, J G 1903
Malwa Coins of Bahadur Shah of Gujarāt A round copper coin of Ghiyath Shah of Mālwa Reprint from N C
- 808 Dayāl, Prayāg 1925
Catalogue of Coins of the Sultans of Dehli in the Lucknow Museum, Allahabad
- 809 Hodivāla, S H 1923
Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics, (Memoir No 2 of the N S of India) Calcutta
- 810 Leggett, F 1895
Notes on the Mint Towns and Coins of the Muhammadans from the Earliest Period to the Present Time, London
- 811 Marsden, W 1869
Oriental Coins, Ancient and Modern, London—1823-25
- 812 _____ 1869
The Plates of the Oriental Coins, Ancient and Modern, of the collection of the Late W Marsden, London
- 813 Poole, R S 1887
Catalogue of coins of the Shahs of Persia in the British Museum, London
- 814 Poole, S L 1874
Catalogue of the Collection of Oriental Coins of Col Guthrie Hertford
- 815 _____ 1875-1890
Catalogue of the Oriental Coins in the British Museum, I to X, London
- 816 _____ 1884
Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum, Sultans of Dehli, London
- 817 _____ 1885
Catalogue of Coins of the Muhammadan States of India in the British Museum, London

- 818 Poole, S L 1892
Catalogue of the Coins of the Mughal Emperors in the British Museum, London
- 819 ————— 1892
History of the Mughal Emperors of Hindustan illustrated by their coins, Westminster
- 820 Rodgers, C J 1893
Catalogue of the coins of the Indian Museum Calcutta The Sultans of Delhi and their contemporaries in Bengal, Gujarat, Jaunpur, Mālwa, the Dekkan and Kashmir Part I, Calcutta
- 821 ————— 1893
The coins of the Mughal Emperors of India collected by C J Rodgers and purchased by the Punjab Government Calcutta
- 822 ————— 1894
Catalogue of the coins collected by C J Rodgers and purchased by the Govt. of the Punjab Part II, Miscellaneous Muhammadan coins Calcutta
- 823 Taylor, G P 1919
On some coins illustrating the History of Gujarāt. (Gujarāt College Magazine.) Journal Bombay Branch, R A S, 1903
- 824 Thomas, E 1847
Coins of the Pathān Sultans of Hindustan London
- 825 ————— 1866
The initial coinage of Bengal, Hertford
- 826 ————— 1871
Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli, London
- 827 ————— 1873
Initial Coinage of Bengal, Part II, London
- 828 Thurston, E 1853
Catalogue of coins in the Government Central Museum Madras, No 3 Sultans of Dehli Madras
- 829 Valentine, W H 1914
The copper coins of India—Bengal and the United Provinces, Part I, London
- 830 ————— 1914
The copper coins of India—The Punjab and Contiguous Native States Part II, London
- 831 ————— 1911
Modern copper coins of the Muhammadan States, London
- 832 Whitehead, R B 1910
Catalogue of the Collection of coins illustrative of the History of the Rulers of Dehli up to 1555 A D, in the Dehli Museum of Archaeology, Calcutta.
- 833 ————— 1914
Catalogue of the coins of the Mughal Emperors in the Punjab Museum, Lahore Oxford
- 834 Wright, H N 1907
Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta. II, Sultans of Dehli and other Contemporary States Oxford
- 835 ————— 1908
Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta III, Mughal Emperors Oxford

PART III—(MISCELLANEOUS COINS)

- 836 Bleazby, G B 1900
List of Coins and Medals belonging to Pratap Singh Museum,
Srinagar, Kashmir
- 837 ——— 1909
Catalogue of Coins in the Phayre Provincial Museum, Rangoon
- 838 ——— 1908
Catalogue of the existing collection of coins in the Nāgpur Museum.
- 839 Brown, C J 1912
Coins of India, Calcutta
- 840 Durolseile, Chas 1914
Catalogue of coins in the Phayre Provincial Museum Rangoon
- 841 DaCunha, J G 1888
Catalogue of coins in the Cabinets belonging to J G DaCunha,
Bombay
- 842 Elliot, W 1886
The 'International Numismata Orientalia III Coins of Southern
India," London
- 843 Jackson, R P 1913
The Dominions, Emblems and Coins of the South Indian Dynasties
(British Numismatic Journal)
- 844 Marsden, W 1823-25
Numismata Orientalia Illustrata, London
- 845 Michael, I J 1912
List of Coins in the Mac Mahon Museum, Quetta
- 846 Paruck, F D J 1924
Sāsaniān Coins, Bombay
- 847 Poole, S L 1885
Coins and Medals their place in history and art London
- 848 Prinsep, J 1858
Essays in Indian Antiquities, London
- 849 Rapson, F J 1897
Indian Coins Strassburg
- 850 Rawlings, G B 1908

- 856 **Rodgers, C J** 1896
Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum, Calcutta Graeco
Bactrian and Indo Scythian Greek Seleucid Parthian Roman
Sassanian Miscellaneous Muhammadans Ghazni Durrani Auto
nomous Modern Asiatic European and American Coins Part IV
Calcutta
- 857 **Stapleton, H E** 1911
Catalogue of the Provincial Cabinet of Eastern Bengal and Assam
Coins Shillong
- 858 **Tufnell R H C** 1889
Hints to Coin Collectors in Southern India Madras
- 859 **Wilson, H H** 1841
Ariana Antiqua antiquities and coins of Afghanistan London

ADDENDA

- 860 **Stapleton H E** JASB VI NS 1910 p 141
Post Gupta Bengal Coins
- 861 **—————** JASB VI NS 1910, p 148
Early Gold Coinage of the Delhi Emperors
- 862 **—————** JASB VI NS 1910 p 150
First Bengal Coinage of Sher Shah *
- 863 **—————** JASB VI NS 1910 pp 153 166
Origin of the Full Koch Coins and their Relation to those of the
Jaintia Kings.
- 864 **—————** JASB VI NS 1910 p 161
Origin of the Assamese Coinage
- 865 **—————** JASB VI NS 1910 p 161
The Burmese Coinage in Assam
- 866 **—————** JASB IV NS 1923 p 407
Coins of the Early Bengal Muhammadan Sultans A H 690 to
A H 923 Contributions to the History and Ethnology of North
India
- 867 **Allan, J** 1908
Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta Including
the Cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Volume IV Native
States Oxford
- 868 **Hogdanov L.** JASB XXIV, NS 1928 p 419
The Afghan Weights and Measures

* Also cross reference from here to Bloch's account of the Tasodal
find of Bengal coins (JASB Proceedings 1898 pp 161 173)

NUMISMATIC SUPPLEMENT No XLII

ARTICLES 283-297

*Continued from "Journal and Proceedings", Vol XXIV,
New Series, No 3*

283 A FIND OF 182 SILVER COINS OF KINGS OF THE
HUSAINI AND SURI DYNASTIES FROM RAIPARA, *Thāna*
DOHAR, DISTRICT DACCA, EASTERN BENGAL

Mr H Nelson Wright described in 1904 (Numismatic Supplement No 13, pp 233-235 of the *J A S B*, Vol LXXIII, Part I) a find of 110 silver coins that were found at Belbari, *Thāna* English Bazar District Mālda (i.e. at a spot lying immediately to the south east of the citadel of Gaur, the ancient capital of Bengal). These included 2 coins of Nasrat Shah, 63 coins of Sher Shah, 42 of Islam Shah, and 2 of Muhammad 'Ādil. The earliest coin of his find was dated 925 A H (=1519 A D) and the latest 961 A H (=1554 A D) so that they covered a period of 35 solar years and the most recent coin was 375 years old. The following account of a find of 182 coins of more or less the same period merits the careful attention of numismatists as several coins have not previously been described and the Mint names and dates add considerably to our knowledge of the period A H 899-953 (A D 1493-1545) covered by the new find.

2 The find spot in this case was about 2 miles inland from the Mainat Steamer Station on the northern bank of the river Padma and $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles from Nawabganj Police Station which lies further inland along the old Dak Road from Jessore to Dacca (and probably on to Sonarganj). Some labourers were engaged by the Muhammadan owner of the land to dig earth and, in the course of the excavation, a copper pot was discovered on March 6th 1928 containing the coins. As the coins recovered by the Magistrate of Dacca did not occupy more than $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the pot, possibly the 182 coins only represented part of the actual find.

3 Munshi 'Abdul Hakim Chaudhuri (*alias* Tunu Mian) the owner of the land possesses a pedigree showing that his family is descended from a courtier of Akbar and has probably been settled in the vicinity for about 300 years, but as the coins cover a period of 436-384 years ago, it is evident that the coins were buried in the place by some previous owners—possibly, as the name Raipara suggests, a Hindu family of Rāis who were dispossessed of their property during the troubled period that set in after the death of Sher Shah in 1545 A D,

and which led to the re establishment of the Mughal Emperor, Humayūn, on the throne of Delhi after the second battle of Pānipat at the end of 1556 A D

4 Of the 182 coins—

(1) 30 are of 'Alauddīn Husain <u>Shah</u> —	A H
independent King of Bengal	899-925
(2) 36 are of Nasiruddīn Nasrat <u>Shah</u>	
(Son of No 1)	925-939
(3) 3 of 'Alauddīn Firūz <u>Shah</u> (son of No 2)	939
(4) 8 of Ghiyathuddīn Mahmūd <u>Shah</u>	
(son of No 1)	(partial rule 933-939)
	939-945
(5) 51 coins of Farīduddīn <u>Sher Shah</u>	
of the Sūrī Dynasty	946-952
(6) 54 coins of Jalaluddīn Islam <u>Shah</u> (son of <u>Sher Shah</u>)	
..	952-960

5 The following is a detailed description of the coins with reference to Mint Date and (generally) either the Indian Museum or British Museum Catalogue (referred to as I M C and B M C)

I ALAUDDIN HUSAIN SHAH

<i>Dar al Darb</i> 962 (sic for 926 or 922) Similar to I M C No 178 but in triple circle The inscription refers to Husain <u>Shah</u> being the conqueror of Kamrū Kamata, Jajnagar, and Orissa (Fig 1)	
Wts 163 10 142 7 Sizes 1 08 1 1	2
<i>Dār</i> (al Darb) date 922 inscription as on the 2 previous coins but in double circle	
Small coin Wt 162 8 Size 96	1
<i>Ditto</i> similar to previous 3 coins but apparently only in double circle Traces of date Wt 161 7 Size 1 13	1
<i>Ditto</i> date 90 (?) Obverse as in I M C No 188 but reverse as in No 187 date doubtful	
Wts 160 9 163 4 Sizes (both) 1 05	2
<i>Fathābād</i> 899 Inscription as in I M C No 169 but no loops outside circle Wt 161 9 Size 1 01	7
<i>Ditto</i> date (89) 9 type as in I M C No 175 (Kāmṛū, Kamata, etc) Wts 151 2 Size 1 02	2
<i>Ditto</i> date illegible as in I M C No 175 but in double circle Wt 162 4 Size 1 10	
<i>Rev</i> (inscription at 90° to that of <i>Obv</i>) 1 17	1
<i>Ditto</i> date 89 (sic) Smaller coin Same inscription as in previous coins except for the addi	

Brought forward	16
tion of الله between خلد and ملكه in the last but one line of obverse. Wt. 161·2. Size ·92	1
<i>Husainābād</i> : date (90) 8. Type as in I.M.C No. 189. Wt. 160·9. Size 1·05	3
<i>Ditto</i> : date 89 (9). As in I.M.C No. 189 but cruder, especially as regards mint name. Wt 162·6. Size 1·1	1
<i>Khizānah Husainābād</i> . Date 919 (written cursively so as to appear more like 94: cf. B.M.C. No. 130 (where خزانة is erroneously read as سنه—just as, in I.M.C No 179, the word is read خليفة. Possibly the same as in I.M.C. No 179 and B.M.C. No 130, but obverse inscription—in triple circle with loops at 4 quadrants of inner circles—reads Kamata, Jā'nagar and Marwūl; (Fig. 2). Wts 160·7: 163·6: 162·7. Sizes 1·05-1·12	4
<i>Khizānah Husainābād</i> : same date and reading, but only single circle. Wts. 161·8: 141·7. Sizes 1·09: 98	3
<p>The mint Husainābād was active throughout almost the whole of Husain Shāh's reign and may, possibly, be identified with the <i>Taksāl</i> at Firūzpūr, the southernmost quarter of Gaur. This name Firūzpūr may also indicate that it was Saifuddin Firūz Shāh—the Bengal King who reigned from 1486-1489—who was responsible for the prolongation of Gaur by additional embankments to the south of the main citadel, the erection of which was (according to the author of <i>Riyāz us-Salāṭīn</i>) begun by Nasiruddin Mahmūd Shāh (1442-1459) and which, as the recent discovery of an inscription has shown, was still in all probability inhabited in 926 A.H. (=1520 A.D.) by Nasrat Shāh. The Treasury (<i>Khizānah</i>) was situated in the citadel itself: and the following dates have been recorded on coins bearing the name of either Husainābād or <i>Khizānah</i>: 899, 900, 905, 907 (or 917), 909 (or 919), 912, 914, and 919.</p> <p><i>Mint doubtful</i>: ۸۵۷? Barbakābād: cf. I.M.C No. 163 for coin of 'Alāuddīn's predecessor Muzaffar Shāh from this Mint. Dates (9)10 and (90)7. Inscription as in I.M.C. No. 182. Wts. 164·25: 163·5 Sizes 1·08 and 1·13</p>	

Total of Husain Shāh's coins .. 30

II NAŠIRUDDIN NAŠRAT SHAH

- Dar al Darb* Date on one 8 (?) As in I M C
No 211 but different mint
Both sides apparently in double circle with
loops at quadrants Two of the coins are
distinctly larger than the other four (Wts
162 7 165 45 Sizes 93 and 97)
Wts 162 8 161 6 Sizes 84-88 6
- Fathābad Dār al Darb* 965 (for 925) As in I M C
No 202 but another date (?) 99) after
Fathabad on bottom line of obverse Wt 165 0
Size 1 03 1
- Ditto Ditto* The same but cruder and much bol
der lettering Wt 164 9 Size 1 02 12
- Husainābād* 925 As in I M C No 206 but the
reverse reads

نصرشاه

سلطان ابن حسدشاه

سلطان سند حسنی

جلد الله ملكه

وسلطانه ۹۲۵

Wts 162 7 164 5 Size 1 01 1 09 (the for
mer possibly differing in having semi circles
instead of arabesques in margin) 3

Husainabad Dar al Darb 925 As in I M C No 207
Wt 163 5 Size 1 12 2

Husainabad Dar al Darb 925 New type—within
double circle containing crossed lattice work
and dots Inscription as in I M C No 207
but the reading of reverse of the I M C coin
should be corrected as follows —

شاه السلطان

نصرشا السلطان

حسن حاله (sic) ملكه

بن

الحسنی

دار الصرب ۹۲۵

Wts 162 7 160 5 Sizes 1 04 1 07 2
Neither of these coins is clear enough to re
produce but Fig 3 shows a good specimen of

	Brought forward ..	26
this new type from my own collection	Wt.	
161.0. Size 1 05		
<i>Khalīfatābād</i> : date 922. Inscription in double circle :		
coin probably the same as in I.M.C No. 212.		
Wt. 161.8. Size 95 ..		1
<i>Nasratābād</i> In one specimen (?) 97 (for 927) ; in		
the other only 97. Otherwise, as in I.M.C.		
No. 208. Wts 161.1 : 161.2 Sizes 97 : 1 02		2
<i>Ditto</i> . Date 92 (-). As in previous 2 coins but		
inscription in smaller circle. Wts. 159.5 : 163.2		
Sizes 87 : 94 ..		2
<i>Mint doubtful</i> New type. No date In a double		
circle with semi-circles between—		
<i>Obverse.</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	
السلطان	نصرتشاه	
بن السلطان	السلطان بن	
ناصر الدنيا و	حسين شاه السلطان	
الدين المظفر	خلد الله ملكه : برصرودد (sic)	
ابو		

A reproduction of the Reverse of this coin is given in Fig 4 as not only is the reading of the lettering in the bottom left-hand corner unintelligible, but the same type is used as a model by Nasrat's successor *Ghiyāthuddin* in a coin in my own cabinet.

Wts. 164.3 : 162.1. Sizes 98 : 1 0 2

No mint or date clearly visible. New type with crude lettering In a circle surrounded by arabesques—

<i>Obverse.</i>	<i>Reverse.</i>	
	(a)	(b)
السلطان	نصرتشاه	شاه السلطان
ابن السلطان	السلطان ابن	نصرتشاه السلطان
ناصر الدنيا و الد	حسين شاه السلطان	بن حسين حسيني
بن ابو المظفر	حسيني خلد الله - -	خاله (sic) ملكه
	ملكة و سلطانة	و السلطانة .. ٩

The marginal decoration of obverse of (b) has been almost entirely obscured by shroff marks but reverse decoration seems different ; hence, in view of the different reading of Reverse, (b) may be a different coin from the

Brought forward 33

same mint Reproduction of Obverse of (a) and Reverse of (b) are given as Figs 5 and 6

Wts 164 1 162 3 Size (both) 1 03 2

Mint doubtful No date visible Inscription within (on obverse) double and (on reverse) single circle

Obverse

As in previous coins except that the *لدى* is completed in the 3rd line

Reverse

نصرشاه السلطان
ابن حسن شاه السلطان
الحسيني حاد لله ملكه
(4th line illegible
? begins *السلطان* or mint)

Wt 162 9 Size 98 1

Total of Nasrat Shah's coins 36

There are no specimens either for Nasrat Shah or Husain Shah from this find of the Mint *Muhammadabad* which may indicate some newly colonised portion of the old capital of Gaur at which Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah (1415-1431) established a mint. For the commencement of the repopulation of Gaur in the time of this King and various public works done by him there *vide Riyāz us Salātīn* (Abdus Salam's *Bibliotheca Indica* translation p. 118). Jalaluddin was the son of Raja Ganesh who probably minted coins for two years (1417-18) under the title of Danujmardana Deva the Lord who destroys Demons (i.e. apparently his Muhammadan rivals). Most of these coins were struck at *Pandunagar* i.e. Pandua. In the case of the Muhammadabad coin of Nasrat Shah (I M C No 216) the date 934 is found while in the time of Husain Shah coins of this Mint have the dates 900 909 912 and 913 (I M C Nos 194 197).

III ALAUDDIN FIRUZ SHAH

Nasratabad No date Type as in B M C No 145 which in turn was modelled on a coin of Nasiruddin—his father (B M C No 137 and I M C No 208)

In double circle with dots between
Half moon at top of Reverse margin

Obverse as in B M C No 145

Reverse the same for the first four lines but there is an additional 5th line *سلطان و* with *نصرشاه* below

Wt 161 4 Size 10

1

No mint or date New type In a plain area

*Obverse**Reverse*

السلطان بن

بن نصر شاه

السلطان [بن] السلطان

السلطان [بن] حسنى

علاء الدين و الدين

شاه [1] السلطان الحسنى

ابو العظفر محمود

حاجد الله ملكه

شاه السلطان

وسلطان

Wts 162 0 162 9 Size (both) 98

2

Total of Firūz Shāh's coins

3

Fig 7 shows a specimen of the last mentioned coins, illustrating crudeness of lettering, e.g., the omission of ' in 3rd line of reverse peculiar forked form of ال before حسنى etc

It should be noted that in BMC No 144 the mint and date are clearly shown in the Plate figure as ١٣٩ عرصة and not نصر آباد as stated on p 52 The term 'Arsah (tract of country)' is found in a Bengal coin of Jalāluddin Muhammad (A H 834) applied to Chatganw (Chittagong) and before that to Satganw (e.g. A H 790), and Kamrū (A H 759) There is an unpublished coin in my possession of Nasiruddin Nasrat Shāh bearing the same 'Arsah 939, so that possibly Nasrat Shāh at the time of his death was on a visit to some tract of country (? Chittagong) of which his son, Firuz was Governor Firuz Shāh obviously declared himself King from the same place but was shortly afterwards ejected from the throne and murdered by his uncle, Ghiyathuddin Mahmūd who had been previously allowed, e.g. in 933 A H, to strike coins in his own name during the life time of his elder brother A very crudely minted coin of Ghiyathuddin of the usual Badr Shāhi' type but bearing the Mint name 'Arsah and year possibly 399 (for 939) is in my own cabinet Ghiyathuddin also copied (even to the half circle at the top of the side referred to in the I M C as obverse but actually reverse) the first of Alāuddin Firūz Shāh's coins mentioned above in his coin I M C No 217 (reproduced on Plate VI—I M C Part II), which as I pointed out in J A S B Vol VI No 4 (N S) pp 162-4 (1910) has been wrongly described as a coin of Nasiruddin From the absence of date and similarity to 'Alāuddin's coin this coin of Ghiyathuddin is almost certainly also of 939 A H

IV GHIYATHUDDIN MAHMŪD SHAH III

Nasratābād Date 939 Type as in BMC No 147 and I M C Nos 222 226 (the date in the description of the I M C

coin No 222 should be on the *Reverse* and not on the *Obverse* and there is a marginal circle as shown in Plate VII, Fig 147 of the B M C)

In at least one specimen و سلطانہ is missing and in another specimen the first ۱ of the date is *below* the ر instead of to the left

Wts 163 9 161 4 Sizes 1 0 1 06 3

Dar (al Darb) Date 933 As in previous coin but different mint The lettering in the last line is very crude and only *Dār* is certain

Wts 162 9 165 4 Sizes 1 0 1 06 2

No mint or date visible same type 1

No mint or date Type as in I M C No 228 but not quite such bold lettering Reverse also slightly different in having the inscription in 4 instead of 5 lines thus —

السلطان س

حسن شاه السلطان

جلد الله ملكه

و سلطانہ

Wts 161 4 159 8 Sizes 93 98 2

(Total of Chiyathuddīn Mahmūd's coins 8

V SHER SHAH

Agrah 949 Square areas as in I M C No 615 1
Wt 178 0 Size 1 15

Agrah 949 Square areas as in I M C No 618 1
Wt 176 45 Size 1 16

Bhānpur (?) 949 As in I M C No 615 except for different mint and arrangement of date the initial ۱ of the 100 being placed between the up strokes of the J and ۲ instead of in the top left hand corner

Wt 175 6 Size 1 08 1

Chunār 949 Modelled on I M C No 676 and 677 but with fuller inscription

Brought forward .. 3

Obverse.

In a circle the *Kalimah*:
small 6-pointed star between the و and ل of رسول

Margin.

ابوبكر الصديق .

عمر الخطاب

عسما (sic) العارف

علي المرتضى

M.M. No. 8 السلطان العادل

Reverse.

In a circle.

السلطان

شهير شاه

خالد الله ملكه

و سلطان

8-pointed star over ن in
1st line

Margin M M. No. 8 *Srī*
Ser Sāh (in Hindi)

مريد الدنيا و الدين

ابوالمظفر

صرب چنار سنه ۹۴۹

Wt. 177.7. Size 1.18 1

Chunār: 949. Same as in the previous coin except for the following variations:—

Obverse.

Margin reads

العاد

السلطان ل

and no M.M.

For similar coin of
Jahānpanah cf. the first
one described below

Reverse.

In a circle: the
first 2 lines read:

شاه سلطان

شهير

8-pointed star above
the ن of سلطان. No
M.M. in margin.

Wt 177.6 Size 1.11 1

Fathābād 949 and 951. Type as previously recorded by Nelson Wright (*J.R.A.S.*, 1900: p 491). The word under the *Kalimah* on the obverse may be صاحبه in which case it might be linked up with the ابوبكر etc. in the margin to mean "the Companion (of Muhammad) is Abū Bakr," etc. etc. On the other hand in one specimen (reproduced as Fig. 8), a dot apparently converts the *hā* into *jīm*, which at first made the writer think that the word was صاحد (noble) and that it might be an ungrammatical qualifying word of Muhammad. This, however, cannot probably be the case as the first letter seems clearly to be a *sād*. By the kindness of Mr J Allen (of the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum), casts have been obtain-

Brought forward .. 5

ed of 2 similar coins in the B.M. collection, but as they are apparently identical with the 2 specimens from the Rai-pārā find they throw no further light on the problem.

Wts 177.84: 177.0. Sizes 1.05: 1.07.. .. 2

Fathābād: 946 Type as Thomas (*Chron*, p. 395, No. 343, where it is described as unique), but slightly different from the latter in arrangement of Reverse and in possessing a mint name. This coin and the 2 now to be described must have been among the very first struck in Bengal after *Sher Shah's* defeat of *Humāyūn* at *Chonsa* (*Safar*, 946 A H = June 1539 A D).

Obverse

السلطان العادل

بِسْمِ

مَلِكِ

المؤيد الرحمن

فريد

الدنيا والدين

فتح آباد ٩٤٦

Reverse.

ابو المظفر

الله

شاه

سلطان

خالد ملكه

و سلطانہ

٩٤٦

Wts. 177.0: 161.7. Sizes .96: .9 Fig. 9 .. 2

Gwāliar; 950 As in I.M.C. No. 623 and No. 625 but different date.

Wt: 177.2: Size 1.23 .. 1

Ditto: 951 and 952, but smaller coin .. 2

Wt 177.8 Size 1.12 .. 2

Jahānpanāh (Delhi): 948 As in I.M.C. Nos. 628, 630 and 632 (i.e., one with no mint mark and the other two with mint marks 6 and 7 respectively), No. 632 being a coin from the Belbārī find. It is to be noted that, on the Reverse, the last but one line of the square area, viz., سلطانہ ٩٤٨, is separated from the Hindi inscription below, not by a line but by a prolonged *me*.

Wts 174.7: 174.3: 176.7. Sizes 1.05: 1.12: 1.08 3

Jahānpanāh: 949 Identical with the coin figured by Thomas (*Chron*, Pl. V, Fig. 179) but this coin is not described—the corresponding reference on p. 398 being to a coin of a different type. The type is similar to that of I.M.C. No. 676, but the latter has no mint name, and different mint marks

Brought forward .. 15

Obverse.

In a circle *Kalimah* with
M.M. 6 between و and ل of
رسول in the 2nd line

Margin: M.M. 8 (inverted) علي
اناكر عمر
عثمان السلطان العادل.

Reverse.

In a circle

(a) شاه

شهير السلطان

خلد الله ملكه

و سلطانده ٩٤٩

(a)=M.M. 7

In Margin

دريد الدنا و الدين

امو المظفر جهانپناه

Srī Ser Sāh (in Hindi)

Wts. 177.0: 176.1. Size (both) 1.2 .. 2

Khalīfatābād (?): 951. As in I.M.C. No. 654 and Nelson Wright, *J.R.A.S.* (1900) p. 779: Plate II, No. 18. From Nelson Wright's figure the marginal reading at the bottom of the *Kalimah* side between the two M Ms. seems to be clearly علي دار ضرب, and although the Raipārā coin is clipped at this place, the reading also appears to be the same. Further to the left, beyond the second Mint Mark, the reading of the Raipārā coin seems to be خليفة ناد which is in agreement with Nelson Wright's suggestion that the coin comes from a Bengal mint. It may also be noted in this connection that the mint *Khalīfatābād* had been in operation under Ghiyāthuddin Mahmūd Shāh III within ten years previous to 951 (*vide* I.M.C. No. 225).

Wt. 176.4. Size 1.05 1

Satgānw: 950. Identical with I.M.C. No. 638, a coin which came from the Belbāri find. It is to be noted that the Reverse margin of both coins reads دريد الدين و الدنيا لبر

Wt. 177.1. Size 1.13 1

Satgānw: 850. As in previous coin, except that mint name on the reverse margin is between the Nāgrī inscription and date instead of the date between the Nāgrī inscription and the mint, i.e., read: [Hindi etc.] ضرب مستغانر ٩٥٠ دريد

Wt. 161.98: 176.76. Size 1.06 (clipped): 1.10 .. 4

Shārīfābād (Burdwan): 948. Type as in I.M.C. No. 640 (which also came from the Belbāri find), the *Khalīfah's*

Brought forward 23

names on the margin of the obverse running clockwise instead of in a retrograde direction as in B M C Nos 526-529 : e على is on the left and عمر on the right

Wt 176 7 Size 1 08 2

Sharifabad 949 As in description of I M C No 641 the date being *before* the Nagri inscription of the Reverse margin In the illustration however in I M C Pl VIII the date *follows* the Hindi inscription : e it is between the Hindi and ورد although the coin is of the same year

The use of the double circle type of coin at *Sharifabad* may be compared with its occurrence at *Khalifabad* vide coin of this mint and type previously mentioned

Wt 176 7 Size 1 09 1

Shergarh 948 Inscription in a double square as in I M C No 645 which is a coin from the Belbari find (The ornament in the right bottom corner of reverse area looks like a flying bird and may be a Mint Mark)

Wt 175 2 Size 1 08 1

Shergarh urf Hadrat Dehli 949 As in I M C No 652 (a coin of 951) but much better specimen The reading of the right margin of obverse is العل على المرنصى On the reverse area the flower like ornament above the ح of حلد is different from that on the I M C coin and is somewhat similar to the ornament found in the same place on both the Agrah coins of 949 already described It is however turned to the left instead of to the right

Wt 177 1 Size 1 13 1

Shergarh (?) 947 Type as in I M C No 615 and in the first of the Agrah coins of 949 just mentioned but the mint is very doubtful only the word گره being certain

Wt 175 7 Size 1 2 1

Shergarh 947 As in I M C No 627, but mint on left seems to be شر گره and not جهاپناه The coin is very similar to the Jahanpanah coins of 948 of this find previously described but has no M M in the loop of the ج in the top line of the reverse area

Wt 174 1 Size 1 02 2

No Mint 946 (3) 948 (2) and 952 (2) As in I M C No 655 (Var α) It is to be noted that in all the coins

Brought forward 31

(including that figured in I M C Plate IX), there is some letter after مرید on the right hand margin of reverse

Wt 175.7-176.8 Size 106 7

No Mint: 947 (16) and 948 As in I M C No 659, (Var β), being chiefly different from the previous coins in not having a duplicate شاه in the first line of reverse. Differences from the coin of the Belbari find, figured as No 659 of I M C, Pl IX, are —

- (a) two *triangular* groups of 3 dots in the last line of reverse instead of 3 in a straight line
- (b) the reading of right margin of reverse is حصرة بلد, which looks as if an ignorant mintmaster had got muddled between 2 different models one with مرید الدسا, and the other having حصرت بلد, followed by mint name
- (c) the addition of ۛ after الدسا in bottom reverse margin

Wts 177.66 177.0 Sizes 102 104 2

No Mint 948 Similar to I M C No 664 which came from the Belbari find, but the bottom margin, which is almost cut off, seems *not* to be the usual الدسا. Possibly by error of the press, the سنه and Nagri inscription at the bottom of the square area of reverse has been omitted from the description of the reverse of the I M C coin

Wt 173.9 Size 102 .. . 1

All the above 10 coins almost certainly were minted in Bengal the mint being possibly Fathabad *cf* Nelson Wright *J.R.A.S.*, 1900 p 491 and Pl I, Fig 21

No Mint 949 As in I M C Nos 668 and 669. The Raupira coin differs from the last mentioned coin which came from the Belbari find, in slight differences of lettering as well as in having the Catherine wheel Mint Mark No 6 between و الدس and ابو المظفر on the right reverse margin, instead of to the left over the با of الدسا. There is also an inverted Trident M M over the و of ابو المظفر. A further very important difference (but one not noted by Nelson Wright in the I M C description) is that the margin of the Belbari coin has *no* Hindi inscription after the date on reverse, but, instead, there

Brought forward 41

is some mint name (? Lakhnauti) The Raipara coin has the usual Hindi inscription after the date like I M C No 668

Wt 176 6 Size 1 1 1

No Mint 940 (1) 950 (1) and 952 (2) As in I M C Nos 668 670 and 671 The inscriptions are the same as in the previous coin except that on the obverse they have the M M No 4 over *عبدال* in the margin of obverse, and the same M M in the loop of the *ن* of *الدی* in the margin of reverse The inverted Trident M M is also found on the reverse but over the *و* of *ابو* These coins are larger than the previous one and differ slightly from one another in lettering and size of central circle of obverse

Wts 177 1 178 0 178 0 and 177 5 Sizes 1 28
1 26 1 32 and 1 35 4

No Mint 951 (2) and 952 (1) As in I M C No 675 the Solomon's Seal M M being between the date and *محمد* instead of (as wrongly stated in I M C) before the date

Wts 177 0 177 4 Sizes 1 05 1 18 3

No Mint 949 and 950 Identical with the previous 3 coins except that instead of the Solomon's Seal M M, there is a new M M shaped like an *س* between the date and *محمد* In the obverse margin of one of the coins there is an additional *ل* after *العادل* and a superfluous *ل* after *ابا* of *ابا* (*vide* Fig 10 (a))

Fig 10 (b) shows the reverse of the other and better coin

Wts 177 2 and 178 0 Sizes 1 05 and 1 1 . 2

Total of Sher Shāh's Coins 51

VI ISLAM SHAH

Apart from 17 specimens of the commonest type of this King (*viz* I M C No 804 without Mint name 1 from Gwalior of 952 (as in I M C No 786 but with difference *eg*, instead of star in left bottom corner of obverse a mark like a flying bird) and 1 of 952 from Shergarh (Delhi ?)—also with the new flying bird mark (over the *و* of *مسل*) of the obverse) the majority of the 54 coins of Islam Shāh that occurred in the Raipara

find seem to have been struck in Bengal, and constitute a valuable addition to our knowledge of Bengal numismatics during the reign of this King. The following are the details of these coins under their respective mints, with a few notes on those in which no mint name is found.

Fathābād. 952. Type a curious hybrid between the Satgānw coin of 952 (I.M.C. No. 796 from Belbāri), and the coin without mint name of 954, or more probably 952 (I.M.C. No. 803). As the latter more closely resembles the coin now described, it probably was also minted at Fathābād.

Obverse

In a circle the Kalimah
M.M. 8 at end of last line

Reverse

In a circle

شاه

اسلام ابن

شیر شاه الله

سلطان خلد

ملكه و سلطا و اعلى

(1) مرة نه

Margin.

ابا بكر عمر عثمان علي السلطان العادل *Margin.* reading counter-clockwise. After Hindi,
ضرب فتحاناد ۹۵۲ جلال الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر
No. M.M. No. M.M.

A specimen of this coin is reproduced as Fig. 11 to enable comparison to be made with the reproductions of I.M.C. No. 796 and 803 on Pl. XII of I.M.C.

Wts. 176.7 and 177.1. Sizes 1.10 and 1.16 .. 2

Fathābād: 952. As in the previous two coins except for the interposition of a new mint mark of nine squares between the date and جلال on the reverse margin. The *l* of امره is also not missing. Fig. 12 shows the reverse of this coin.

Wt. 177.36. Size 1.19 1

Fathābād: 952. Exactly as in the previous coin except that the marginal inscription is twisted round the central inscription by 180°, the mint mark thus appearing at 2 o'clock instead of 8 o'clock.

Wt. 177.46. Size 1.21 1

Fathābād: 952. As in I.M.C. No. 803, but differing from the latter in not having the Solomon's Seal M.M.

Brought forward 4

between the date and *حلال* on the margin of reverse, and in having *معاذ* instead of *و اعلى امره* as the last line of the central reverse inscription Fig 13 shows the reverse of this coin

Wts 117 6 and 158 4 (probably clipped) Sizes 1 2
and 1 12 2

Gwāliar 952 As in I M C No 786 but instead of star at left bottom corner of obverse there is a mark like a flying bird Also, on reverse, 3 dots over *ح* of *حلد*

Wt 176 6 Size 1 1 1

Satgānw 953 Type as in I M C No 797 (a Belbari coin) but there is no *سنه* under date on obverse, and reverse margin is differently arranged The coin is apparently the same as the coin now in the Madras Museum described by Rodgers, *Indian Antiquary* No 17 (1888) p 67 and figured as No 20 in his Pl II

Wt 176 5 Size 1 14 1

Satgānw 952 (3) and 953 (1) As in Rodgers No 19 (Madras Museum)

Wts 177 4, 177 06 176 88 (953 coin) Sizes 1 14
1 16 1 12 (953 coin) 4

Satgānw 952 As in I M C No 796 (a Belbari coin)

Wt 177 06 Size 1 16 (specimen sent to Dacca Museum) 8

Sharīfābād 952 (8) and 953 (3) As in No 917 of Lucknow Coin Catalogue the type of which is directly derived from *Sher Shah's* *Sharīfābād* coin described and figured as I M C No 641

Obverse

In a double circle the
Kalimah

Reverse

In a double circle

شاه
اسلام سلطان
ان شير شاه
سلطان حلد
الله ملكه

1



3



5



6

2



7



4

8

10(a)

12



10(b)

13

9

11

14



8



10(a)



12



10(b)

13

9

11

14



Brought forward .. 20

Margin

السلطان العادل ابو بكر عمر
عثمان علي

Margin. At bottom (in almost Bengali characters)

Srī Islām Sāhī ١٤٢٠.

M.M. between علي and السلطان resembling M.M. No. 6 but with knobs on each of the 6 points. To left, before ١ (reading clockwise, and the tops of the letters facing inwards).

حلال الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر شرفا باد

Wts. 177.58 (Fig 14): 177.36; 177.0; 177.3 (the last 2 being coins of 953). Sizes 1.14 (Fig. 14): 1.17: 1.15 (both 953 coins) .. 11

Shergarh (Delhi?): 952. Type as in I.M.C. No 780: but, instead of star in left-hand bottom corner of obverse, an elaborate M.M. similar to M.M. No. 8 but with 3 loops on the top: also an adjacent mark under the ر of رسول similar to a flying bird. The second portion of the mint name at the bottom margin of reverse is almost entirely cut off, but may be دعلي.

Wt 177.68. Size 1.1 1

No Mint: 952 (or 4). As in I.M.C. No. 803.

Wts 176.98: 176.66. Sizes 1.25: 1.26 .. 2

No Mint: 952 (or 4) As in the previous coins, but the date is inverted so as to read in continuation of the quasi-Bengali inscription in which, as in the other coins of the same sort, the name of the King is written ৱাশ্বাৎ ৱা.

Wts 176.7: 178.0. Size (both) 1.26 .. 2

No Mint: 952 (or 4) As in the two last but one coins, but *no Mint Mark on the margin of obverse.*

Wt. 176.7. Size 1.27 1

No Mint: 952 (9) and 953 (8). Common type, as in I.M.C. No. 804. The number at the top seems to ١٤٧٧, and not ١٤٧٧ as suggested by Thomas (*Chron.* p. 411) and Blochmann, *J.A.S.B.*, 1875, p. 298. If so, it cannot be the chronogram for آية الله (The Sign of Allah).

Wts. 176.9 (952 coin): 176.8: 177.1. Sizes .3
(952 coin) 1.3: 1.26 17

Total coins of Islām Shāh .. 54

6 I have to express my best thanks to Maulvi Maqbūl Ahmad, M A, Lecturer, Presidency College, for assistance in dealing with this very important find of coins as well as to Major M Stagg, O B E, R E, Mint Master, Calcutta not only for the weights that are quoted in the paper, but also for having the specific gravity of nearly two dozen selected coins determined, with a view to ascertaining their silver content¹

The cost of the two Plates that illustrate this paper has been generously met by the Government of Bengal who also permitted the retention of a selected number of coins for further study after the official report on the find had been submitted

WRITERS' BUILDINGS,

CALCUTTA,

H E STAPLETON

29th October, 1929

¹ When the paper was first prepared it was thought that the silver content of the coins could be deduced from the Specific Gravity on the assumptions that—as the coins were not brittle—no lead could be present and that apart from traces of gold, the only other metal likely to be present would be copper (Sp Gr 8.92). Hence the Specific Gravity method seemed likely to provide an easy way of comparing the standards of purity observed in Bengal during the reigns of different Kings. As however doubts were thrown on the validity of this method at the meeting of the Numismatic Society of India held in Calcutta on December 22nd 1929 the opportunity was taken of the return to me from various Museums of six coins from the Raipara find to have these (as well as two Delhi coins of Alauddin Khilji dating from c 700 715 A H) assayed at the Bombay Mint. The annexed table summarises the results of the assay and also gives the silver content as calculated from the Specific Gravities

From this table it will be seen that the percentage of silver as calculated from the Specific Gravity, is almost invariably lower than the actual silver content as shown by the assay. As the first two coins are almost pure silver their specific gravity should approximate to that of pure silver viz 10.51 while the specific gravity of No 1 should be slightly greater than No 2. The low actual specific gravity of No 1 may of course be due to air holes but the figures in the last column clearly show that the Specific Gravity method of calculating the silver content is entirely unreliable.

The explanation (as Dr W A K Christie of the Geological Survey of India suggests) is the fact not previously known to me that the Specific Gravity of cast silver varies from 10.424 to 10.511 owing to minute air cavities by which the density is apparently reduced. The presence of even traces of other metals may also introduce a further possible error viz that the volume of the alloy need not necessarily be the same as the volume of the constituent metals. Finally without a complete assay, it is not known what metals other than gold and copper are present.

I have to express my indebtedness to Dr Christie for his careful discussion of the subject to Major Stagg for kindly arranging for the eight coins to be assayed and lastly to Mr K C Ray late Additional Assistant Director of Public Instruction, for calculating the percentage of silver from the specific gravity of the selected coins.

APPENDIX

Results of Assay of Selected Coins and calculation of Silver content from their Specific Gravity

Name of King	Mint and Date (A H)	Specific Gravity	°o Silver (Assay)	°o Silver (calculated from Specific Gravity)
1 Alauddin Muhammad Khilji (of Delhi)	Hazrat Delhi No date	10 34	99 14	90 8
2 Ditto	Dīral Islām c 700-715	10 42	99 08	95 1
3 Husain Shāh (of Bengal)	Husainābād No date	10 38	96 30	93 0
4 Nasrat Shāh (do)	Dar al Darb Fath ābād (Farid pūr) } 925	10 44	95 38	96 3
5 Mahmūd Shāh (III)				
(do)	Nasratābād 933	10 41	98 12	94 6
6 Sher Shāh	Satgānw 950	10 40	98 58	94 1
7 Islām Shāh	Satgānw 952	10 44	98 70	96 3
8 Ditto	Sharifābād (Burdwān) 952	10 41	98 56	94 6

All the coins were reported to contain traces of Gold and Copper. The Specific Gravity of pure Silver is 10 51

284 NOTES ON A FEW RARE INDIAN COINS

The object of these notes is to give a short description of some rare Indian coins which have come into my possession at various times.

I do not pretend that all the following coins are unpublished or unique, but many of them I have been unable to trace elsewhere though I must say that I have never had the opportunity of inspecting the large public and private collections in India and elsewhere.

I have arranged the coins roughly in chronological order in dynasties and states.

In my estimation the most interesting piece is the Shāh 'Alam II copper of Najibābād (No 9), this I believe is for the

three reasons set out below, a standard weight, used at that mint for a double Rupee

Najibabad, as is well known, issued a few double Rupees one or two of which are in the British Museum (see B M Catalogue, Pl XXIX, No 1200), and it is probable that a standard weight was kept in the mint especially for an unusual denomination

My reasons for the above statement are shortly as follows —

(a) It weighs 348 grs which is exactly the weight of the double Rupee illustrated in B M C No 1200

(b) Its style is entirely unlike that of the usual copper coins of this mint though it corresponds fairly accurately with the above mentioned silver coin The copper coins are almost without exception of non couplet type and nearly always fairly rough in style

(c) Its peculiar shape which is obviously intentional was probably intended to prevent any possibility of this piece being confused with the ordinary copper coins and issued as currency Each edge is carefully bevelled up to a well defined ridge which runs down the centre of each edge. The side view of this piece appears thus



There may, of course, be another explanation which will fit this piece equally well, but it seems reasonable to hold that the above points support my theory

I will now give a short description of the remainder of the thirteen pieces, each piece being catalogued at the end of these notes

Sultāns of Dehli

1 Muhammad Bin Sam, Billon 55 The obverse type of this coin, though barbarous appears to depict an elephant, at least, it resembles an elephant more than any other quadruped, the trunk and tusk being visible The Nagari legend above this type I have been unable to read, the first character being possibly श्री I have not seen this type figured before I have another specimen completing the legend

2 Qutbu d din Aibak (?) AE 55

This coin apparently bears the word *طبع* on both sides in a circle (see Valentine, The Copper coins of India, vol II, Nos 121/122), while those in the above reference have the well known type of humped bull, but the rayed circle differs

Governors of Bengal.

3 Ghiyasu d din 'Iwaz, AR Rupee A H. 616, 19th day of the Month Safar, but no mint

This coin has an unusual marginal legend as follows —

مبارج التاسع عشر (صرب) (؟) الصفر سنة سدة (sic) عشر ستامة

which gives the date of the day of the month and the year but does not give the mint

I have been unable at present to find any definite information as to why this particular day was so commemorated, but this ruler's career was somewhat chequered. He commanded in Deokot in A H 608 and shortly afterwards assumed the Royal Powers. He submitted to Altamash the Sultan of Dehli in A H 622 but almost at once revolted and was defeated and slain by Nāsiru d dīn Mahmūd in A H 624

Mughal Emperors

4 Akbar, *Æ* half Dam Burhānpūr II^{ah} 4x Bahman

This is a very rare coin and is in fairly good preservation but unfortunately the unit of the date is illegible

5 Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr I, *Æ* Paisa Ūdaipūr A H 108x

This coin is in poor state and partly illegible but the letters [ا] [و] [ر] [ر] seem reasonably certain and I think this coin can be safely attributed to Ūdaipūr, but so far I have not found any reference to this mint having been in operation during the reign in question. Unfortunately on the plate, the cast has been slightly misplaced. Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahan coined a few rare copper pieces at Ūdaipūr, one of the latter being illustrated in the Punjab Museum Catalogue, and it is probable that Aurangzeb coined in this mint at least in the early part of his reign

6 This is a half Paisa of Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr I struck at Mailāpūr. Rodgers published another coin something similar to this in JASB 1895 "Mogul Copper Coins". Coins of this mint are, I believe very rare, especially in copper

7 A half Rupee of Muhammad Shāh date A H 115x, RY27, which I think can be definitely attributed to Jahāngīr nagar mint. The letters [ح] [م] [ا] [ن] [ر] [ن] are visible and I think the top of the ح can also be faintly seen on the actual coin. The five pointed star mark to the right and above سدة is a mark used by this mint. I have not seen any mention of a half rupee of this mint and reign elsewhere

8 Ahmad Shāh Bahādur Half rupee of 'Azīmābād mint A — 116b, RY6. Like other half rupees of this mint of the two immediate successors of Ahmad Shāh (see I M C No 2209 'Ālamgīr II and no 2267 of Shāh Jahan III) the mint name is off the flan, but the Trisūl mark is a certain indication of the mint

9 Shāh 'Ālam II-double-rupee weight, noticed above

Mahārānās of Dholpur

10. Kirat Singh A Muhar struck in the name of Muhammad Akbar II A H 1252, RY 31 This coin, as far as I am aware, is quite new. Webb in the 'Currencies of Rajputana' has stated that "Silver only has been coined in this state". This coin is obviously genuine and compares pretty closely to the Rupee Webb, Pl XII 12 Marks Chhatā (obv.) and Tamancha (rev), but this coin lacks the triple bow shown on the above Rupee. The coins of this state are now rather uncommon, I believe, and gold coins of the native states of Rajputana are rarely met with except some varieties of Jaipur.

Mahārāo of Bundi

11 This is a four Anna piece of Rām Singh with the name of the Queen Victoria A D 1858 S 1915 Webb in the 'Currencies of Rajputana' makes no mention of this denomination and it is also absent from the British Museum collection. For the type compare Webb Pl VIII 4.

Mahārājās of Mārūwār (Jōdhpur)

12 This is a very rare and interesting coin and I believe unpublished in this metal. It is a A Muhar struck by Sardar Singh with the name of King Edward VII. The flan is unfortunately small and I have not been able to elucidate the whole of the legend though I am much indebted to Mr J Allan of the British Museum for his valuable help. The British Museum possesses some fine copper coins of this reign but no gold or silver. It is unfortunate that the obverse legend of this coin is differently arranged from that of the copper coins. To the left of the *Jhār* and above it is apparently مبارک مبارک while the ك is below the برمان at the top. There is also a part of another word مبار which may be the سنلی of هندوسان or انگلسان while below the words امر هند seem fairly legible. The larger copper coins read in the bottom line امر انگلسان و هندوسان.

I might mention in passing that the British Museum possesses three silver pieces with the name of King George V, namely 8, 4, and 2 Annas sizes.

Manipur.

13 This is a square Rupee of rather heavy weight (186.4 grs) struck by Chandrajita Simha in S 1734 (A C 1812). This is a rare and unusual piece something similar to the two earlier Muhars of Gaura Simha published by Marsden Pl III,

Nos. MCCXXII and MCCXXV, dated respectively S. 1684 and S. 1694, and I am again much indebted to Mr. J. Allan for deciphering the legend. This coin is a great improvement on the usual small base silver uniface pieces assigned to Manipūr.

I append below a list of the coins in numerical order as I believe this is easier for reference.

In conclusion, I wish to thank Mr. J. Allan of the British Museum for kindly supplying the casts and also Mr. H. Nelson Wright for his help in revising this paper.

SULTANS OF DEHLI

1. MUHAMMAD BIN SAM

Obverse

Rude figure of elephant to left
above. (?) Sri... in Nagari.

Reverse

السلطان
الاعظم
معز الدين
[محمد بن سام]

Billon. 55; weight 44.5 grs.

2. QUTUB-D-DIN AIBAK (?)

Obverse

Within rayed circle قطعه

Reverse

apparently the same as
Obverse.

Æ. 55; weight 29 grs. Cf. Valentine, Vol. II, Nos 121-122.

SULTANS OF BENGAL

3. GHYASU-D-DIN 'IWAZ

Obverse

Within double circle, the outer
consisting of dots and the
inner being linear,
The Kalima.

Reverse

السلطان المعظم
مباي الدين و الدين اور
الفتح عوض بن الحسين
ناصر امير المؤمنين

Margin, between inner circle
and outer circle of dots

تاريخ الناصر عشر ربيع الأول (1) الصفر
سنة ستة عشر ستائة

At Rupee, 1.05; No mint. A.H. 616
the 19th day of Safar

weight 164 grs.

MUGHAL EMPERORS

4 AKBAR

Obverse

برهانپور

فلوس

Reverse

۴۰ الہ
ماہ بہمن

Æ ½ Dam 65, Burhanpūr, Ilāhī 4 × Bahman weight 163 grs

5 AURANGZEB 'ĀLAMGĪR I

Obverse

۱۸

سنة

[۱۰] د پو [۱۰]

Reverse

سناك

حلوس

Æ Paisa 8 Ūdaipūr A M 108 × RY— weight 212 grs

6 AURANGZEB 'ĀLAMGĪR I

Obverse

عالمگیر

ش۱۸

[فلو] س ناد

Reverse

سلا نور

Æ ½ Paisa 7, Mailapur A H —RY— weight 95 grs

7 MUHAMMAD SHĀH

Obverse

۱۱۵ محمد شاه

نادر شاه ۱۱۵۷ عار

Reverse

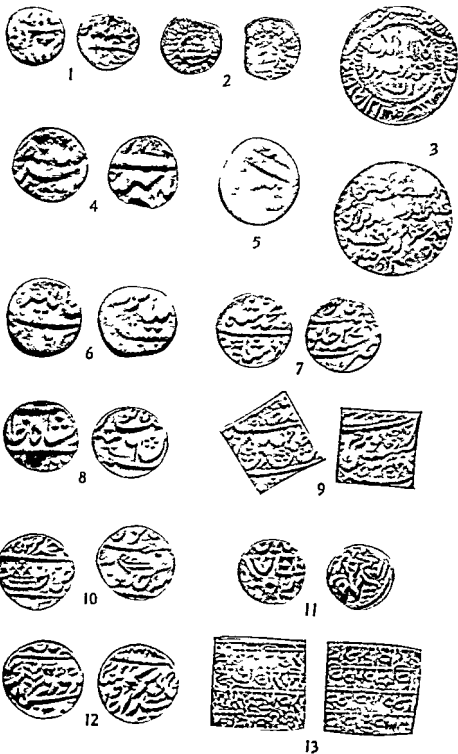
عانبوس

صمدب

۲۷ سنه حلوس

[ح۱] آنه [نرنگر]

Æ ½ Rupee 65 Jahangirnagar A H 115 × RY 27 weight 89 grs.



8. AHMAD SHĀH BAHĀDUR

Obverse

ہا [در]
[با] دشاہ غاز
۱۱۶۶
[مکہ] مبارک

Reverse

[عظیم آباد]
[ضرب]
میمنت مانوس
[جلو] س ۶
سنہ

AR $\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee 'Azīmābād A.H. 1166 RY 6

weight 89.5 grs.


9. SHĀH 'ĀLAM II

Obverse

... محمد شاہ عالم با [د]
شاہ
[سا] بد [فض] ل حامی (دین ۲۰۸ [۱]
مکہ
[زد بر وقت] کشور

Reverse

نجیب آباد
ضرب
میمنت مانوس
[جلو] س ۳۴
سنہ

Æ Square. 8 Double-Rupee-Standard-weight. Najībābād A.H. 1208 RY 34. weight 348 grs. Bevelled edges thus 

MAHĀRĀNĀS OF DHOLPŪR

10. KIRAT SINGH in name of Muḥammad Akbar II

Obverse

... محمد اکبر ۲ [۱۲]
صاحب قر
مکہ

Reverse

مانوس
میمنت
۳۱
سنہ جلوس

AV Muhar. 7 [Gohad] A.H. 1252 RY 31. weight 165 grs.
mint mark, chhātā (Obverse), Tamanchā (Reverse).

MAHĀRĀOS OF BŪNDI

11. RĀM SINGH with name of QUEEN VICTORIA

Obverse

[VIC]
[T]OR[IA]
QUEE[N]
1858

Reverse

[رام]दीप
[राम] सिंह
[१]९५५::

AR 4 annas. S.6 in: A.D. 1858 S.1915.

Weight 42 grs.

MAHARAJĀS OF MĀRWĀR (JODHPŪR)

12 SIRDAR SINGH with KING EDWARD VII

Obverse

برما
اندورد
س
س
امرهدد

Reverse

श्री माताजी
२२
[در]
[دبرا] ح سر
مہاراجہ
[حر] د [*] نور

A/ Muhar S 75 in Jodhpūr S—Weight 168.5 grs (has been mounted)

MANIPŪR

13 CANDRAJITA SIMHA

Obverse

Legend in four lines within square lines border

- (1) Śrī mat Manipure
- (2) śvara Śrī Candrajita
- (3) Simha nṛpavara
- (4) sya Śake 1734

Reverse

In four lines as on obverse

- (1) Śrī mad Radha Go
- (2) vinda padan vi-
- (3) nda makaranda ma
- (4) no madhukarasya

A □ Rupee S 85 in S 1734 = A C 1812 Weight 188.4 grs

London, 1929

P THORBURN

285 ĀNDHRA COINS IN THE LORD IRWIN AGRICULTURAL MUSEUM, KOLHĀPŪR

(A Paper read before the Numismatic Society of India at Bombay on the 6th June, 1929)

1 In the year 1877 a hoard of coins was found at Brahma puri near Kolhapūr, while excavating for the bridge over the river Pañchagangā. Some of them were sent to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and some to Rao Saheb Mandlik, and all of them were examined by Pandit Bhagavānlal Indrajī, who published an article on these coins in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XIII P. 307. Some more were distributed to various other Museums, where they were examined by Messrs. Cunningham, Codrington, Pearse, and Burgess. The remaining coins are now exhibited in the Lord Irwin Agricultural Museum, Kolhāpūr.

2. These coins fall naturally into two groups, viz. :—those of copper called *Potín* by Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar, an alloy of copper and tin, and those of lead. The so-called *potin* coins were analysed chemically by Dr. S. V. Shāh, Ph D., Professor of Chemistry, Rājārām College, Kolhāpūr, and were found to contain nothing but copper. The coins can further be subdivided into Śātavāhana Coins and Kolhāpūr Coins. The Śātavāhana Coins bear on the obverse an ornamented elephant with its uplifted proboscis on which are the legends Śīri Puḷumāvīsa, Śīri Satakar nīsa, Śīri Satasa, and Śīri Yaśña Satakarnīsa; and on the reverse they bear the Ujainī cross and balls. One particular type requires special mention here. Some of the coins of Pulumāvi bear on the reverse a crescent, on the Ujainī symbol.

In the second division are included the coins of Vāsishthī-putra Vilivāyakura, and Gotamī-putra Vilivāyakura. These coins bear on the obverse a bow, with its string downwards, fitted with an arrow pointing upwards surrounded by a legend in Brāhmī, Rāño Gotamī puttasa Vilivāyakurasa, and Vāsithī-puttasa Vilivāyakurasa, and on the reverse they bear a Chaitya surmounted by a Bodhi tree, on the left side of which is a Nandī—pāda (the head of a trident below which is a circle, the mark of a Buddhist wheel).

3. The lead coins contain the names of three kings only viz. :—

- (a) Vāsishthī-putra Vilivāyakura,
- (b) Mādhari-putra Sivalakura, and
- (c) Gotamī-putra Vilivāyakura.

These coins may be classified thus :—

(1) Coins bearing on

obverse—a bow with its string downwards, fixed with an arrow pointing upwards surrounded by the legend Rāño Vāsithī-puttasa Vilivāyakurasa

reverse—a Chaitya of four tiers, with a dot in each arch, surmounted by a crescent, standing, together with a tree on left, within a railing ornamented with scroll and dots; above Svastika, (as in Prof. Rapson's Catalogue of Coins No. 16.) No. 1 of the plate.

(2) Coins bearing on

obverse—a bow and an arrow as in No. 1 and the legends ... vāsithī-pu...
, and Rāño Mādhari-puttasa
 valakurasa; and an effaced bow is seen in an oblique position,
reverse—Chaitya etc. as in No 1, with traces of another Chaitya with dots in the arches beneath the railing.

They are the coins of Vāsishthī putra Vīlīvākura restruck by Madharī putra Sivalakura (as in Prof Rapson's Catalogue Nos 25 29 and 30)

(3) Coins bearing on

obverse—a bow and an arrow and also the legend as in No 1

reverse—Chaitya and crescent as in No 1 but the tree is on the right

(4) Coins bearing on

obverse—a bow and an arrow as in No 1, surrounded by the legend Rano Madharī puttasa Sivalakurasa

reverse—Chaitya crescent and Bodhi tree as in No 1

These coins are perfectly cylindrical while the others have all sloping edges

(5) Coins bearing on

obverse—a bow and an arrow as in No 1, and the legend as in No 4

reverse—Bodhi tree is on the right of the Chaitya

The coins with Nos 4 and 5 are very much worn showing thereby that the currency was in long continuance These are smallest in size

(6) These are of the same size as Nos 4 and 5 and bear on

obverse—a bow and an arrow as in No 1 surrounded by the legend Rano Gotamī puttasa Vīlvāyākura

reverse—a Chaitya of four tiers surmounted by Svastika and Bodhi tree on left within a railing ornamented with scroll and dots

(7) These are the double struck coins of Gotamī putra They bear on

obverse—the usual bow and the arrow surrounded by Gotamī puttasa Vīlī and

Rano Gotamī puttasa Vīlvāyākura

reverse—Chaitya is seen obliquely twice No III of the plate

(8) These are a little larger than those in No 6 above, they bear on

obverse—the same as in No 6,

reverse—Bodhi tree is on the right (as in Prof Rapson's Catalogue Nos 47-51)

(9) These are similar to those in No 8 But on the reverse traces of a railing in a previous striking are visible

(10) These are of Vāsishthī putra Vīlvāyākura restruck by Gotamī putra Vīlvāyākura They bear on



1



2



3



4



obverse—the legends.....*siṭhi puttasa*.....
and *Rāño Gotamī-puttasa Vilivāyakurasa*, and
 on

reverse—the confused images of two Chaityas. No.
 II of the plate.

- (11) These are the coins of *Mādhari-putra Sivalakura*
 restruck by *Gotamī-putra Vilivāyakura*. They
 bear on

obverse—the usual bow and arrow surrounded by the
 legends *Rāño Mādhari-puttasa*....., and *Rāño*
Gotamī-puttasa Vilivāyakurasa, and on

reverse—confused images of two Chaityas and two
 trees.

- (12) These are the coins of *Vāsishṭhi-putra Vilivāyakura*
 restruck by *Mādhari-putra Sivalakura* on the
 reverse, and further restruck by *Gotamī-putra*
Vilivāyakura. They bear on

obverse—The usual bow and arrow, and also the faint
 marks of a bow and a Chaitya surrounded by the
 legends.....*siṭhi-puttasa*.....

and *Rāño Gotamī-puttasa Vilivāyakurasa*, and on
reverse—confused images of Chaitya and bow sur-
 rounded by the legend.....*Mādhari-puttasa*.

No. IV of the plate.

- (13) The No. 12 coins give a clue to the existence of coins
 of *Vāsishṭhi-putra Vilivāyakura* restruck by
Mādhari-putra Sivalakura on the reverse.

4. Pandit Bhagavānlāl in his article on the Kolhāpūr-
 coins says that the beauty of the coins gradually merges into
 ugliness on account of the carelessness of the die-cutters. I beg
 to differ from the Pandit in regard to these coins. His
 opinion may be correct in the case of the others. But the
 coins of *Gotamī-putra Vilivāyakura*, which are quite fresh as if
 just coming out of the mint, are very well struck and very well
 preserved. The Chaitya, the tree, and the Svastika are very
 beautiful on the reverse. The letters in the legend on the
 obverse are more beautiful than those in the coins of the other
 kings. They are superior even to the letters in the coins of the
 Western Kshatrapa kings. The die-maker, it seems, had taken
 special care in chiselling out the letters, and also in designing
 the Chaitya and the tree; otherwise they would not have come
 out so very clear and beautiful.

5. Coins of Nos. 1, 4, 5, and 6 are of the smallest size, and
 have the tree on the left. Coins numbering 3, 5, and 7 bear
 the tree on the right. The photograph shows the increase in
 size of the restruck coins as they are of a soft metal. The size
 is still further increased when restruck a second time as in

the case of the coin No 12 above. There are however exceptions to this. Coin number 23 of Prof. Rapson's Catalogue though not showing any signs of restriking is naturally of the size of once restruck coins. Coins numbered 15, 22, and 23 of the same Catalogue show marks of restriking and yet have the tree on the left. No hard and fast rules can therefore be deduced as regards the size of the coins. The position of the tree will be considered later on.

6 From the present available sources the history of these coin strikers can not be traced. No inscriptions giving the names of Vihavayakura and Sivalakura have been found. Nor do the Puranas give the names of these kings. It cannot also be said with certainty whether any inscriptions can be found if excavations are undertaken at Brahmapuri. Leaving this question aside, this much can be said from the coins themselves that these kings were Buddhists by religion. Some of the Andhra Coins of Satakarni, Pulumavi, Siri Yajña Satakarni etc bear on the obverse, unlike these coins ornamented elephants with uplifted proboscis and horses. Some of the Vāsishthi putra Pulumavi's coins and those of Siri Yajña Satakarni bear on the obverse a Chaitya and beneath a waved line. The adoption of the Chaitya on the latter coins can be traced to the influence of the Kshatrapa type. For, Pulumavi married the daughter of Rudradaman (a Buddhist), and she was the mother (probably) of Siri Yajña Satakarni. On all the Kshatrapa coins are the Chaitya, the sun and the moon. Wherever the Kshatrapa influence has overweighed, therefore these kings have adopted the Chaitya and the crescent for the symbol, and in its absence they have stuck to their own. We may stretch our imagination a little further and say that Pulumavi fighting with his father in law, Rudradaman, lost the greater part of his kingdom in the north west. In anger he left out therefore, the Chaitya in his coins and out of love for his wife retained the crescent only, which is seen on the reverse of his coins above the Ujjaini symbol. The influence of the dowager queen mother is generally felt by a young king, and Siri Yajña Satakarni could not have been an exception to it. A majority of his coins bear a chaitya on the reverse. It seems that he was able to do away with it only after her death.

In the Matsya Purana the Andhras have been called Śūdras. The Kshatrapas were Parthians, and the Vākatakas who were related to the Guptas have been called in the Ajanta Inscription "Yavanas". But afterwards all these have been absorbed into the Hindu fold. It seems that the kings of all these dynasties were conscious of the fact that they were held in low esteem by the high class Aryans and in a crazy mood of aspiration to be included into the high class people, they named their daughters Gautamis, Vāsishthis, Balasris, etc. It is an admitted fact that the Andhras were Hindus and were of

Manavyasa gotra They were not Buddhists. Inter marriages in olden days were quite common among the ruling races and continued down to the 11th and 12th centuries. The latest instance of this system can be quoted from the Chālukyas, where the Emperor Vikramāditya married a Jain princess, Chandrikadevi, of the Silahara dynasty of Kolhapūr. It is no wonder, therefore, if the Hindu Pulumavi had married a Buddhist Kshatrapa princess.

The Āndhras were tolerant kings. For, they have made grants to Buddhist monks, and this fact is alluded to in their inscriptions of Nāsik, Kanheri, Nanaghāt, and Karle caves. Why should we not suppose then that the kings of Kolhapūr also, themselves being Hindus, were tolerant to Buddhists? The answer is not far to seek. The Āndhra kings, the contemporaries of these, have not totally accepted a Buddhistic symbol for their coins, while these kings have no other symbol but a chaitya on their coins. These kings of Kolhapūr were, therefore, purely Buddhists.

Ptolemy was certainly contemporary with Pulumavi, and the information which he gives concerning him is probably correct. He says, "Paithana was the capital of Pulumavi, and he and Qashtana the grand father of Rudradaman were contemporaries." "There is more difficulty," says Prof. Rapson in his Catalogue of Coins "in explaining a notice which occurs in the section of Ptolemy immediately following the one in which Pulumāvi seems to be mentioned—VII I 83, 'Hippokura the capital of Vihvayakura'—the name or title which occurs in conjunction with the metronymics Vasishthi putra and Gotami putra on coins found at Kolhapūr." This difficulty of Prof. Rapson can very easily be surmounted if Pulumavi and Vihvayakura are supposed to be two different persons. Otherwise, Ptolemy would not have mentioned the name of Vihvayakura when Pulumavi was reigning at Paithana. Again one and the same person cannot at one and the same time rule at two different places.

Weighing all these arguments well, one will arrive at the conclusion that the kings of Kolhapur were not the Āndhra kings themselves.

7 "The peculiar titles Vihvayakura and Sivalakura have been found nowhere else, and it is not unlikely that they were used by the Āndhra sovereigns only in that province of their empire in which Kolhapūr was included. If this view be accepted, we must conclude that the Kolhapūr coins furnish us with no proper names but merely with the metronymics and the peculiar local titles of the Āndhra kings. Having available only the imperfect and unsatisfactory evidence, we must regard the following identifications as purely tentative.

No 2 Madhavi putta Sivalakura may perhaps be the

Madharī putta Swamī Sakasena (Kanherī inser) and the Saka sena or Sakasada of the coins from Āndhra deśa

No 3 Gotamī putta Vilivayakura may be the great Gotamī putra of the Nasik and Karle inser who restruck with his own type the coins of Nahapāna in the Nasik District

The identification of No 1, Vasīthi putta Vilivayakura must remain doubtful. The evidence of the restruck coins shows that he can not possibly be identified with the best known Vasīsthī putra, viz, Pulumavī who was the son of Gotamī putra, but this metronymic was common in the dynasty and there is no difficulty in supposing that it was borne by the predecessor of Madharī putra in the Kolhapur District. Prof Rapson's Catalogue of Coins P lxxxviii

Such a suggestion was made by Pandit Bhagawānlal Indrajī in his article on the Kolhapūr Coins, and it has been upheld by Prof Rapson. This argument of Pandit Bhagawānlal is based on similarity of the names, Gotamī putra and Madharī putra. The argument of Prof Rapson is contradicted by the following one of himself. 'Like the coins of fabric B from Andhra deśa they have a 'horse' for their type, but they are of rougher workmanship and they have a different reverse type '1 chaitya, r tree'. This reverse, it may be noticed, connects them with the class which is tentatively assigned in the Catalogue to 'Feudatories of the Āndhra Dynasty. Indeed it is not improbable that they may belong to the same class." Prof Rapson's Catalogue of Coins P lxxxī. He tentatively admits here that such princes may have been feudatories. Vasīsthī putra Vilivayakura Madharī putra Sivalakura and Gotamī putra Vilivayakura have struck coins of the above type i.e., coins on the reverse of which is a chaitya on l and tree on r. These princes may, therefore, have been tributaries of the Satavāhana or Āndhra kings according to V A Smith and Dr Bhandarkar

8 Vashsthī putra Vilivayakura, and Madharī putra Sivalakura have struck coins bearing on the reverse a chaitya surmounted by a crescent instead of the usual svastika. This is evidently, it has been noticed due to the influence of the Kshatrapa coins. Pulumavī has the crescent in his coins. It seems then, it will not be far from the truth to suppose that Vasīsthī putra Vilivayakura and Madharī putra Sivalakura were the contemporaries of Pulumavī and Gautamī putra of Pulumavī and Sīri Yajña Satakarnī. The idea may be stretched a little further, and it may be said that after Madharī putra, Gotamī putra ascended the throne of Kolhapūr in the troubled times of Pulumavī and fought with him for independence

9 The following historical material can be gathered from these notes. These princes of Kolhapūr were the Governors under the Āndhras, as V A Smith and Dr Bhandarkar opine

Their coins bear the tree on left and right of the chaitya on the reverse. According to Prof. Rapson's tentative theory based on the position of the tree on the reverse, these princes did not like the supremacy of the Āndhras, and were always waiting for an opportunity to gain their independence, which they got when Rudradāman invaded their country. Mādhari-putra's independence lasted long, to the end of his reign as Pulumāvi had no time to look to internal affairs when he was fighting with his father-in-law. The next prince coming to the throne of Kolhāpūr was Gotami-putra Vilivāyakura, the early part of whose reign was spent in peace and independence. Soon after he had to fight with Pulumāvi, Vāishthi-putra Siva sri Sata karni (his brother), and Gotami-putra Siri Yajña Satakarni (probably his son), for his independence. By this time the Kshatrapa war was over, and the Sātavāhana kings were paying attention to the internal feuds and warfare. For this very purpose, it seems, Gotami-putra Vilivāyakura had to strike and restrike his coins so many times. At last he died for his independence on the battle-field. His coins came into disuse, and those issued last in his reign were not, therefore, at all worn out and spoiled.

K. G. KUNDANGAR.

286 A SILVER COIN STRUCK IN NEPĀL IN THE NAME OF
'ALĀ-UD-DIN MUHAMMAD SHĀH KHILJĪ.

This coin weighs 151 grains or 84 Ratis and is 1.25" in size, about 8 grains less than the weight of a well-preserved coin of silver (TANKA) in my cabinet.

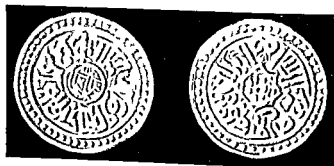
On the Obverse within a triple circle of lines, and 48 beads, the Arabic legend in the margin reads "SĪKANDAR-US-ŠĀNĪ NĪŠĪRĪ AMĪR-UL-MUMANĪN YAMĪN-UL-KHILĀFAT," and in the middle within a small ASHTAKON of TANTRIC form or double square, there is a small winged lion of the well-known NEPĀL type, and an elephant below it facing to right; also a trifoliate over the word "KHILĀFAT".

On the Reverse again within a triple circle of the same form with 52 beads, the Arabic legend reads "AL 'AZAM AS-SULTĀN ABUL MUZAFFAR MUHAMMAD SHĀH, 'ALĀ-UD-DUNIĀ-WAD-DIN," with a small conch (SHANKU) in the margin.

In the middle within a small circle in NĀGARĪ characters of the 13th century, the words SHRI SHRI — with two crescents and stars above each and a floral design below, are inscribed.

The Arabic characters of the legend are rather crude and of a rounded form and it is apparent that though the die-cutter copied the legend from an original coin of the SULTAN, he was not literate in Arabic, and has committed several mistakes in copying the letters.

The words "AMIR" and "YAMIN" are broken up into two parts, and the title "YAMIN-UL-KHILĀFAT" has been placed after "NĀSIR I AMIR-UL-MUMININ" contrary to the usual legend on the original coins of this king. On the Reverse again, he has put the word "AL 'AZAM" of which the loop of the letter ʔ (ZOE) is missing, before the word "SULTĀN," and the position of the words "ABUL MUZAFFAR MUHAMMAD SHĀH" has been changed, and they have been put before "ALĀUD-DUNIA WAD-DIN," omitting the last word "SULTĀN" of the legend, but he has copied the style of the word "SHĀH" exactly, making a floral design of it, just as on the ordinary coins. The title "ŚRĪ ŚRĪ," and the two crescents with small dots representing stars, the trifoliate, the SHANKU, (conch) and the circle of beads are exactly as in the later silver coins of PRITHVI NĀRĀYAN SĀH DEV, and SRI GURVĀN YUDHA VIKRAM

*Obv**Rev*

SĀH DEV OF NEPĀL. The TANTRIC ASHTAKON and the winged lion with raised tail are peculiar to the NEPĀL coinage, thus establishing the mintage of this coin in NEPĀL or its territory.

It is possible, that according to the custom in NEPĀL, the name of the ruling king "ŚRĪ ŚRĪ GAJ SINH" or "GAJENDRA NARSINH" of the period is depicted by the figures of an elephant and a lion.

Although there is no mention of 'ALĀUD-DIN's conquest of NEPĀL or its territories in the histories, it is possible that the Sultan may have turned his eyes towards that country and compelled the then ruling Rājā to acknowledge his suzerainty and strike coins in his name in the NEPĀL style.

I obtained the coin in Benares along with another copper coin of NEPĀL of the SURYA VANŚI LICHHĀVI dynasty of the 1st century A.D. bearing an image of the sun, in the centre, and the legend "PASHUPATY" in Brahmi characters of the GUPTA style on the obverse, and the image of a bull on the reverse.

DURGĀ PRASĀD.

287. AURANGZEB'S RUPEE OF DĀRU-S-SURŪR-I-BURHĀNPŪR.

Obverse.

عالم گير
 اورنگ زیب
 شاه
 چو بدر منير

Reverse.

حلوس مانوس
 مہمنت
 سنہ دار السورور
 ضرب
 برہانپور



Aurangzeb Rupee.

Mint Burhānpūr Dāru-s-surūr.

Hijri 1107.

Regnal year 39.

(The number 9 in the Regnal year is not clearly readable.)

Size .95.

Weight 170.

In the Panjāb Museum Catalogue, a unique rupee of Aurangzeb of Burhānpūr mint is recorded with the honorific epithet بلد فاخرة, "the sumptuous town." See No. 1617. In all the other issues from this mint, the usual couplet type of Aurangzeb appears but the mint is not distinguished by any epithet. On the above coin, the mint-town is provided with the honorific prefix دار السورور 'abode of pleasure.' This epithet began to be first used on the issues of Shāh 'Ālam I, who in 1120 H, gave this epithet to the mint. There is nothing to show that on the coins of this mint issued by Aurangzeb, Burhānpūr was styled 'Dāru-a-Surūr.' This is the only specimen in which the epithet دار السورور accompanies Burhānpūr during the reign of Aurangzeb.

VIOAJI D. B. TARĀPOREVĀLĪ.

Note—But in the Historical literature, this epithet is associated with the name of Burhānpūr from the times of Shāh Jahān. See N S. XXXV—Editor

288 COINS OF NAŠIR SHAH OF GUJARAT

While exhibiting coins of the Gujarat Sultans in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay, I came across the following three copper coins. They belonged to the late Dr G P Taylor's Collection which was purchased by the Director General of Archaeology and were offered for sale at the Indian Museum, Calcutta in 1922. They formed one lot (No 160-163 of the Sale list of Indian Museum, Calcutta dated 8th July 1921) and were bought by this museum at As 2 per coin.

During the course of the exhibition these coins which had been assigned to Ahmad I seemed to me on more careful examination to be of a Nasir Shah. In order to be sure of my reading I placed them before Mr M P Khareghat for his independent reading and I was delighted to find that he also read



them in the same way. However before writing anything on the subject I invited the opinion of Professor S H Hodivala who informed me that no coins of a Gujarat Sultan called Nāsir Shāh were known.

Now the question arises as to the identity of this Nāsir Shāh. Up till now, we are not aware of any Sultan of Gujarat of this name and much less of coins in his name. When we refer to history, we find that in 932 A H = 1525 A D 'Imādu l mulk having accomplished the murder of Sikandar seated his younger brother Nāsir Khan on the throne under the title of Mahmūd II. This Sultan ruled for a short while when Bahādur Shāh poisoned him and sat on the throne himself. Possibly these coins belong to this Sultan of Gujarat.

The coins are round in shape and weigh (1) 140 grains and (2) 134 grains. The inscription on the obverse is 'Nasir Shāh

al Sulṭān' and on the reverse 'Nasir al dunyā-wa uldīn Abul-fath' Unfortunately there is no date on the coins

The legend reads as under —

Obverse

ناصر شاه

السلطان

Reverse

ناصر الدنيا و

الدين ابو

العقيق

C R SINGHAL

289 THE UNASSIGNED COINS OF JALAL SHAH SULTANI

The Indian Museum contains two coins which Mr Nelson Wright was obliged to place in the 'Unidentified' class. Each of them weighs 70 grains and shows on the obverse the name ناصر الدنيا و الدين and on the reverse جلال شاه سلطانى. The date is 841 H (I M C II p 262). Now we know that Ibrahim Lody had a brother named Jalal Khan who assumed the title of Sultan Jalal ud-din, "set up a jewelled throne," went through the ceremony of a coronation, and even waged open war with his brother. But these events occurred in 923-4 A H not about 841 (Elliot and Dowson, V, 11-13). The *Tābaqāt-i-Vāsiri* mentions another Jalalu d dīn Mas'ūd Shah who rebelled against his brother, the Sultan Nasiru d-dīn Mahmūd and made a bid for the throne, but he did so in the second quarter of the seventh century of the Hejira and not the ninth (*Ibid* II 349, 353, 371 III 378). A Jalalu d dīn Muhammad Shah and another Jalaluddin Mahmūd Shah (or Fath Shah) are also included among the Independent Sultans of Bengal, but the known dates of neither, 817-835 A H and 886-892 A H are in accord with the requirements of the problem before us (I M C II 131, Firishta, Tr Briggs, IV, 337).

In a word it has not been hitherto possible to trace in the published histories of the Muhammadan period any reference to a reigning Sultan, usurper or claimant who bore the name Jalal Shāh and ruled or arrogated sovereign power in or about 841 A H. It may be therefore permissible to submit for the consideration of the readers of this Journal, a clue to the solution of the puzzle for which I am indebted to the "Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum." In his notice of a General History called '*Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi*' compiled by a Bihāmād Khan in 842 A H, Dr Rien writes

"Nasiru d dīn Mahmūd Shah B [in] Firūz Khan B [in] Tajud dīn Turk fol 436 b. This chief, who held the fief of Kalpi, founded there, in A H 792, a Muhammadan city, which he called Muhammad abad, made himself independent after the

death of Ghiyasu d dīn Mahmūd, and enlarged his dominions by successful wars with his Hindu neighbours. He died in 813 A H. His son Ikhtiyāru d dīn Abul Mufahid Qādir Shāh fol 446 b. At his death, A H 835, his three sons fought for the succession their powerful neighbours, Ibrahim Shah of Jaunpūr and Hūshang of Malwah, joining in the struggle, the second Jalal Khan was eventually placed on the throne by Hūshang" (*Op cit* I 86)

As regards the author, who calls himself, Muhammad Bihamad Khan, we are told that he was the son of Malik s Sharq Malik Bihamad ' who was brought up in the house of Firūz Khan B [in] Malik Taj ud dīn Turk who was appointed Vazir by Ghiyasu d dīn Tughlaq Shah on his accession, and was slain with that prince, A H 791. (See Briggs' *Ferishtah* Vol I p 466) After that event, the Vazir's son repaired to Kālpi (Muhammad abad) where he made himself independent, assuming the name of Nasiru d dīn Mahmūd Shah and conferred the title of Vazir on his brother Junaid Khan. Bihamad Khan who had passed into the latter's service distinguished himself in several military campaigns and as a reward received in fief the town of Irich in Bundelcund. From this he was ejected, some years later by the troops of Ibrahim Shah of Jaunpūr, after a desperate struggle in which the author's mother was slain, and the author himself, then a youth, was severely wounded, but he was subsequently reinstated in his possessions by Mubarak Khan, the son and successor of Junaid Khan. He was still alive in A H 842. The author relates various expeditions in which he was sent by his father in command of the troops. He became however, a Murid of Shaikh Yūsuf Budah, * * * and embraced a religious life. He then devoted his leisure to the composition of this work which * * * he completed in A H 842" (*Op cit* I. 84)

A "*Tārīkh-i Muhammadī*" is quoted in his list of authorities by Nizamu d dīn Ahmad (*Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, Lakhnau Lithograph, p 318 from foot) and a history bearing that name is also cited by 'Abdul Haqq Dahlavī who speaks of it as "a work that somebody composed" (*Elliot-Down* VI 484), but it does not appear to be known to other writers and the copy in the British Museum is probably the only one in existence.

But I will presently show that almost every one of the statements made by this unknown author in regard to the semi-independent rulers of Kālpi receives confirmation from the *Tārīkh-i Mubārakshāhī* and other works. The only point in which they fail us—is the name of the successor of 'Abdul Qādir or Qadir Shah. This link in the dynastic list has been hitherto missing and that loss was responsible for our inability to assign the coins. The *Tārīkh-i Muhammadī* now enables us to complete the series and the problem is thus solved.

In the first place then, we read in the *Tārīkh-i Mubārak-*

shāh: that after the departure of Timūr, "the districts (*Shiqq*) in the Dūab, and the fiefs in the neighbourhood of the capital came into the possession of Iqbal Khān, but the territories in general remained in the power of the *Amirs* and *Maliks* who held them. Thus Gujrat * * was held by Tatar Khān *, Multan * * by Khizr Khān, 'the *Shiqq* of Mahoba and Kalpi by Mahmūd Khān, son of Malikzada Irūz, the fiefs on the side of Hindustān * * by Khwaja Jahan, * * Dhar by Dilawar Khān, Sāmāna by Ghalib Khān, and * * Bayana by Shams Khān—into so many portions were the territories of Dehli divided" (Elliot Dowson IV 37). A very similar statement occurs in the *Tabaqāt-i Akbari* of Nizāmu-d din, who adds that all these governors aspired to independence and not one of them was willing to obey another.

و هر کدام آنها دم استقلال مردود و اطاعت نکردگی نمودند *

Op Cit Lakhnau Lith 129 l 10

Firishta repeats the phrase about 'independence' and declares even more emphatically that "most of them, by the decree of the Most High, attained to power and Sovereign rule."

دولت و مملکت رسیدند Lakhnau Lith I 159, l 7, Briggs (I 498) says all of them "styled themselves kings."

The above reference to Mahmūd (or Muhammad) Khān of Kālpi occurs in the chronicle of 802 A H. The next entry is found in the annals of 816 A H and relates to his son Qadir Khān. "Intelligence was now brought," writes the author of the *Mubārakshāhi*, "that Sultan Ibrahim, was besieging Qadir Khān, Son of Sultan Mahmūd Khān [in Kālpi] but Daulat Khān had not sufficient forces to attempt to relieve him" (E D IV 44 5. See also *Tabaqāt-i Akbari* 133 l 7. Firishta, I 161, l 11 from foot). Once more we are informed that when Mubārak Shāh marched against Bayāna in 830 A H, "a letter reached him from Qadir Khān, the Governor of Kālpi informing him that Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi was coming up against Kālpi with a strong force. The Sultan therefore deferred his march to Bayana, and turned to meet Sultan Sharqi." The battle which followed was indecisive and both the Sultans returned to their capitals (E D IV 63-4, *Tabaqāt-i Akbari* Text 140 l 6). Firishta's account is almost identical—and the only difference is that he speaks of the ruler of Kālpi as Qadir Shāh (Text, I 165, l 7 from foot).

The latest mention of Kālpi in Yahya bin Ahmad's history relates to the events of 837 A H. We read

"Subsequently, he [Mubārak shāh] proceeded towards Hindūstān for he had heard of war having broken out between Sultan Ibrahim and Alp Khān [i.e. Sultan Hūshang of Malwa] on account of Kālpi. He had previously contemplated leading his armies in that direction * * Orders were sent in every

direction for the *Amirs* * * * to gather their forces * * and to join His Majesty" He was soon after assassinated (*Tārīkh : Mubārakshāh* in E'D IV 79, *Tabaqāt : Akbari* Text, 145, l 12, *Firishta* Text I 169 l 6) In his account of the Sultans of Jaunpūr, *Firishta* informs us that "in the year 839, [*recte* 837], Ibrahim Shah Sharqī proceeded to reduce Kalpi where he was opposed by Sultan Hūshang of Malwa, but on receiving intimation that Sayyad Mubarak of Dehli was in full march to attack Jaunpūr he countermarched without risking an engagement, and Kalpi fell into the hands of the King of Malwa" (Briggs, Trans IV 366) In the Malwa Chapter *Firishta* adds that "having ordered public prayers to be read in his name and having received homage from 'Abdul Qadir Sultan Hūshang delivered over the charge of the government to him as before, and returned to Malwa' (*Ibid* IV 185) In this translation, or rather loose paraphrase, Briggs speaks of the Kalpi ruler only as 'Abdul Qadir, but in the original he is called

عبد القادر الموسوم بقادر شاه

i.e., Abdul Qadir having the name (or designation) of Qādir Shāh" (Text, Vol II. 306, l 13) He is called Qadir Shāh by Nizamu d-din Ahmad also in his Section on the Sharqī Sultans (Text, 531, l 9 from foot and once more, by *Firishta* at Text, II, 307, l 15)

Qadir Khan or Qadir Shah appears to have died, as the *Tārīkh : Muhammadi* informs us, in or about 835 A H, and the intervention of Ibrahim and Hūshang was really provoked by fratricidal strife among his sons It resulted in the installation by the Malwa Sultan of Jalal Khan, whose name is not mentioned in any of the published chronicles, but is clearly given by Bihamad Khan, and he was alive in the year 842 A H in which this unique chronicle was completed We do not know when the reign of Jalal Khan (or Jalal Shāh) came to an end, but it is certain that his brother Nasir Khan was ruling in Kalpi five years later, for we read

'In the year 847, he [Sultan Mahmūd Shah Sharqī] sent an envoy to the court of Malwa to inform Sultan Mahmūd Khalji that Nasir Khan, the son of Qadir Khan of Kalpi, had within the last two or three years, disgraced the Muhammadan name by encouraging the Hindu faith, and had carried his views of toleration so far as to permit Muhammadan females to dwell with infidels * * In conclusion, he observed that if the King of Mālwa did not * * send troops to restore the religious observances of the faithful at Kalpi, he himself would march to effect that object Sultan Mahmūd [Khalji] * * sanctioned the advance of Mahmūd Shah Sharqī to bring Nasir Khan to a due sense of his obligations as a true believer" (Briggs Trans IV 367 8, *Firishta*, Text, II, 307, l 2, *Tabaqāt : Akbari*, 529 530)

It is scarcely necessary to pursue the story. It will suffice to say that after some fighting Nasir Khan was temporarily deprived of Kalpi and obliged to retreat to Irich but Kalpi and its dependencies were after some time restored to him.

The point for us to note here is that in the *narrative of the same events* in the Section devoted to the Sultans of Malwa Nasir Khan is spoken of by Firishta as

نصرو لد عدد العادر صانطه كالى نه حود را نصر شاه نامده دم ا استقلال مرود *

Nasir son of Abdul Qadir Governor of Kalpi who having styled himself Nasir Shāh was pretending to independence (Text II 247, l 4) and these identical words occur in the Malwa Chapter of the *Tabaqāt-i Akbari* also (Text 550 l 8 from foot). As a matter of fact they appear to have formed part of the original letter addressed to the Jaunpūr Sultan by his brother of Malwa and must have been borrowed by Nizamu d dīn and Firishta from the summary of that missive which they had found in the detailed histories of that province from which their own accounts were compiled. In a word there can be little doubt that Nasir Khan had like his father assumed the title of Shāh.

The facts which emerge from this catena of extracts may be stated thus.

Nasir d dīn Mahmūd Khan the son of Malikzada Firūz—the Vazir of Ghiyasud dīn Mahmūd Shah Tughlaq made himself master of Kalpi during the period of anarchy which followed upon the invasion of Taimūr. He appears to have been practically independent and is called Sultan by the writer of the *Tārīkh-i Mubārakshāhi* (ante p 39) and Shah by the author of the *Tārīkh-i Muhammadi*. He was succeeded in 813 A H by his son 'Abdul Qadir or Qadir Khan—who is styled Qadir Shāh by Nizāmu d dīn and Firishta as well as the author of the *Tārīkh-i Muhammadi*. 'Abdul Qadir was obliged in 830 A H under the stress of an invasion of his territories by Sultan Husang Ghorī to acknowledge the latter as his suzerain. Abdul Qadir died in 835 A H and one of his sons Jalal Khan was installed in or about 837 A H as his successor. Jalal Shah died at some time after 842 A H and was followed by his brother Nasir Khan—of whom the Sultan Mahmud Sharqi complained that he was giving himself airs of independence and that he had assumed the title of Nasir Shāh and even apostatised from Islam.

My submission is that the coins under discussion were struck by this Jalal Khan who had like his father and grand father before him and his brother after him, given himself the title of Shah. He seems to have taken advantage of an apparently favourable moment to shake off the nominal yoke of the Malwa Sultan and openly assert his pretensions to

the *Khuṭba* and the *Sikka*. This opportunity he seems to have found in 841 A H. Both the neighbouring kingdoms of Dehli and Malwa which could claim him as a vassal were at the time reduced to a condition of impotence by domestic strife and internecine conflict. Sultan Mubarakshah of Dehli had been assassinated in 837 A H by Sarwar ul mulk and the hands of his feeble son and successor were fully occupied with the extermination of his father's murderers and the suppression of disturbances created by Jasrath Khokhar in the Panjab and the Langahs in Multān. In Malwa the death of Hūshang was followed by the accession of his incapable son Muhammad who was poisoned after a short reign at the instigation of his minister Mahmud in 839 or 840 A H. The change of dynasty and the usurpation of the throne by the *Khaljis* was not effected without civil war and the new Sultan was fully occupied during the two or three years after his accession in suppressing revolts putting down pretenders and repelling an invasion from Gujarāt (Briggs IV 189 205 *Tabaqat-i Akbari* Text 545 7). Nor had Jalal Shah any thing to fear from the side of Jaunpur. The long reign of Ibrahim Sharqi was now coming to a close and Nizamuddin Ahmad informs us that in 840 A H a disease from which he had been suffering returned with such violence that no remedies produced any effect until he died in 844 A H (Text 529 1 7 from foot).

It may be permissible to add a few words in regard to one of the by products of this inquiry. On Akbar's coins of 963 and 964 A H Kalpi is styled Muhammad abad (PMC Intro xiv). It has not been hitherto possible to say when the old Hindu town acquired this Musalman alias or to determine the name of the ruler who was responsible for bestowing it. The *Tarikh-i Muhammadi* now enables us to answer both these questions satisfactorily.

S H HODIVALA

290 SHASHKANI OR SHASHQANI?

The monetary denominations *عشکای دوکای گانی* and *عشکای گانی* are inscribed on some of the mintages of Muhammad Tughlaq. The *دوگای* and the *شکای* (with the *gaf*) are specifically mentioned by the contemporary chronicler Barani in his account of the *Muḥr-i mis* i.e. the Forced currency introduced by that monarch (*Bibl Ind* Text 476). The historian Shams-i-Sirāf also informs us that among the numerous varieties of coins issued by Firuz Tughlaq were the *چهل و هشت گانی* و *عشک گای* و *دوگای* و *درارده گانی* و *نسیب و چهار گانی* و *نسیب و پنج گانی* و *یک چهل و شش گانی* (*Bibl Ind* Text 344). Lastly the Syrian traveller Shihabuddin Dimishqi has left us in one of the

extant portions of the *Masālik*-*b*-*Absār* an observant stranger's account of the currency system of Muhammad Tughlaq and transcribed, as a person writing in Arabic might be expected to do, the names by which the graduated subdivisions of the Tanga, from the one sixty-fourth part to the one-fourth, from the *یکانی* to the *شانرده کانی* (with the *kāf*) were known among the common people.

The diversity which is observable in the orthography of these designations has naturally led to difference of opinion in regard not only to their true pronunciation, but also to their origin or derivation. Thus Prof. Dowson in his translations of the passages from Barani and Shams-i-Sirāf writes 'Shashgāni,' 'Dogāni,' 'Chihl-o-hashtgāni', etc. (Elliot and Dowson, III 240, 357.) On the other hand, the distinguished author of the 'Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Delhi' invariably speaks of them as the 'Ekāni,' 'Doḡāni,' 'Shashkāni' and so on. And Dowson himself employs the 'k' and not the 'g', in deference to his opinion, in the English version of the extracts from the *Masālik*. "I retain," he writes, "the original spelling, as Mr. Thomas contends that *kāni* and not *gāni* is the true reading." (*Ibid.* 582 and note.)

Mr. Thomas sought to justify his own mode of pronunciation on the ground that Muhammad Tughlaq must have borrowed the nomenclature from the South-Indian dialects, in which *kāni* signifies "the $\frac{1}{64}$ th part in the measurement of land and other linear calculations." (Chronicles, 218 note) Here again, Dowson put in a weak note of dissent and said that *gāni* was most probably "connected with '*gān*,' an aggregate particle added to numerals, although Mr. Thomas had found quite a different origin for the term" (E.D III. 357 note). Prof. Dowson knew little or nothing of coins, and would appear to have been mortally afraid of differing from the 'Prince of Indian Numismatologists' on such a question. His feeble protest has, naturally enough, passed unheeded, the *kāni* of Mr. Thomas has continued to hold the field, and our catalogues of the coins of the Delhi Sultans and other works bear witness to the passive acquiescence of many distinguished writers in his theory.

It is to be regretted that no one should have attempted to state the other side of this question with the fulness which it demands and deserves. I beg permission to set out what, appear to me to be good reasons for pronouncing 'Shashgāni' and not 'Shashkāni' and for rejecting the derivation of the suffix from Canarese or Telugu.

In the first place, then, these designations are found spelt with the 'gāf' in manuscript copies of the Histories of Barani and Shams-i-Sirāf and the *Bibliotheca Indica* Editions of these authors.

It is true that in the only known manuscript of the *Masā-*

luku-l-Absār, the 'Kāf' only is used, but this is really immaterial, and does not affect the point at issue as there is no symbol to represent the hard sound of 'g' in the Arabic alphabet. The author of that work has tried to reproduce the sounds he had heard as faithfully as the limitations of the Semitic script would permit and no more. As a rule, the 'g' in words borrowed from Persian or other foreign languages is changed in Arabic into a 'j'. It is not difficult to understand why Dimishqī has not followed this course. He must have felt that *Ejānī* and *Dojānī* and *Shashjānī* would convey to his readers in Syria and Egypt an altogether erroneous notion of the sounds as they had fallen upon his own ears during his sojourn in Hindustān.

It is also true that on the coins of Muhammad, the 'Kāf' has one stroke only, but this decides nothing, as the second stroke of the 'gāf' is almost invariably left out in coins as well as Inscriptions (Wright, I.M.C. II, Pl. VIII, Nos. 615, 622, Pl. X, 697, Pl. XII, 780.) Regarding the etymology, my submission is that it is not at all necessary to go so far afield and laboriously explore Canarese or Telugu dictionaries, when a perfectly satisfactory explanation is to be found in contemporary usage, in the idiom of the Persian language itself, as it was spoken and written in those times. In modern Persian, 'gān' the sign of the plural ordinarily affixed to nouns ending in *z*, is invariably left out after numerals, and we would say ده می پنجاه حنظل, سه تنگه, ده می and so on, but it is clear from the pages of Minhāj, Barani, Shams-i-Sirāj and others that in their day, the particle 'gān' was more often than not, added to *all* numerals. The following examples will, I trust, suffice to make the point clear.—

برادران پنجگانه *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, Bibl Ind Text.

50, l. 2.

سلطانان هفتگانه *Ib* 69, l. 16.

ده گان پانزده گان اسیر *Ib*. 368, last line.

نست یگان چوب *Barani, Tārikhi Firūzshāhi*, Bibl Ind

Text. 308

یست گان می گان تنگه

„

„

63, l. 3 from foot

نست گان می گان هزار تنگه

„

„

162, l. 11.

سه گان چهار گان ماه

„

„

22, l. 3.

شصت گان هفتاد گان هزار حنظل

„

„

30, l. 6.

دوگان سه گان شب

„

„

210, l. 6.

سصد گان تنگه نقد

„

„

244, l. 5 from foot

ده گان و پنجگان هزار تنگه

„

„

209, l. 3 from foot

Several other instances will be found in the same work at pp. 31, 86, 123, 239, 271, 289, 318, 333, 550, 560, and 567.

Similarly Shams-i-Sirāf has

سه گان سیر غله *Tārīkh-i Fitrūzshāhi*, Bibl. Ind. Text, 233, l. 8.

صد گان پنجاه گان بیست گان یازده گان *Ibid*, 268, l. 13.

ده گان معنی *Ibid*, 310, l. 2.

دو گان و سه گان نفر بنده *Ibid*, 317, l. 9.

ده گان تنکۀ پنجاه گانی *Ibid*, 348, l. 3

The idiom appears to have survived upto the last decade of the sixteenth century, as in the Persian translation of the *Bāburnāma*, made by the Khāni Khānān 'Abdur-Rahīm about 1595 A.C. we find him speaking of چهار گان ماء and دو گان ماء. Bombay Lithogrāph of 1308 A.H. p. 203, l. 8.

I do not mean that Mr. Thomas was not aware of this fact and he may have noticed it in the course of his reading, but he had never meticulously studied the style of Barani, whom he held in scant esteem, and whom he speaks of as having at one time "denounced in no limited terms." (Chronicles, 133 and Note.) However that might be, what he appears to have been puzzled by was the strange denomination یگانی which he had found on the unique coin belonging to General Cunningham, which is figured in the 'Chronicles'. And it was probably this difficulty, the affixing of the plural sign to the unit—which first led him to seek and find a derivation from the Dravidian. But it is plain that یگان and even نیم گان was in conformity with idiomatic usage in the fourteenth century, as witness the following:—

یگان دو گان سال Barani, 51, l. 10.

نگل معینۀ عمر ,, 68, l. 12.

یگان پایی ,, 104, l. 3.

یگان چینل ,, 238, last line.

. The particle گان is affixed even to the word for 'half' (نیم) at 309, l. 1 and 333, l. 5 from foot.

And there is no lack of parallels in his contemporary Shams-i-Sirāf, who writes:—

نگان بنگه نقد	Tār Fīr	121, 1 7
نگان بقرا امرای کهار	,	196 1 9
نگان ملوک کنار		199 1 1
نگان دوگون دور		229 1 11
نگان حنر		256 1 2
نگان طناب رسایل		310 1 2

Briefly it can scarcely be doubted that this نگان stands for کنگانی : e for what Barani speaks of above as نگان حنل and this has been shortened into نگی the Kāf having been elided as in نگان for the sake of euphony and the ی having been added as in ننگان چهل گنی برک چهل گانی (Barani 26 1 11 27 1 9 65 1 6) and نرکان چهل گنی (Ib 550 1 14)

This is not all There are some passages illustrating the idiom in a much earlier writer which seem to me to possess even greater significance and which I must now quote They occur in the *Farḥ* : *Nasir* of Abul Fazl Baihaqi—a History of the Ghaznavides which was written about 1063 A C (455 A H)

In giving an account of the appointment of Bū Sahl Zauzanī as عارض or muster master of the army of Sultan Mas'ūd Chaznavi he writes —

او را دو صاحب یکی سرای دزونی و یکی نیروی بحاصه خانه بردند
و حلب سبب ناجر پوشانیدند و کمر زر هفتصد گانی که در شب اس همه
را سب کرده بودند *

Bibl Ind Text 182 II 7 5 from foot

This is thus translated in Elliot and Dowson—

He was conducted to the wardrobe by two guards one of whom served outside and the other inside the palace A rich Khil at was bestowed on him and a girdle with [recte worth ?] seven hundred pieces of gold which had all been prepared over night (History of India II 73)

Elsewhere speaking of a similar function on the appointment of Ahmad Nialtigin as commander in chief of Hindustan Baihaqi says —

دویم شعبان اس سال امیر فرمود نا احمد نیاالتین را بحاصه خانه بردند
و حلب پوشانیدند حلبی سبب ناجر و پیش آمد کمر زر هزار گانی بسته
و نا کلاه دو شاخ و ساحنش هم هزار گانی بود *

Ibid 326 l 13

This is thus rendered by Dowson, or rather by his Munshi (See Vol II Preface p ix)

"On Sunday the second of Sha'aban of this year [424 A H] the Amir [i.e. Sultan Mas'ūd] ordered Ahmad Nialtigin to be taken to the wardrobe and he was invested with the *Khil'at* It was very splendid, first came the golden girdle, which was of the value of *one thousand kânis* and with it also was given a cap with two points, which was also prepared at the expense of the same sum" E D *Ibid* II 118 (The Italics are mine)

Lastly, we are told in another passage which is not translated in Elliot and Dowson's work, that when *Khawaja* Ahmad bin 'Abdus Samad was appointed Prime Minister, he also was given a *Kamar i zar i hazārgāni*

چلغنی سعت فخر راست کردند و دو شنبه ششم جمادی الاولی حلب
پوشانیدند کمر زر عرار گای بود در آن *

Text 462, l 2 from foot

"They prepared an exceedingly rich *Khil'at* for him and he was invested with it on Monday the 6th of Jumad I [424 A H] and in it was included a *Hazārgāni waistbelt of gold*"

Once more we are informed that when the office of *Dioān i 'Ar.* was conferred upon Abul Fath Rāzi in 423 A H, a *Kamar i Haft Sad gāni* (کمر هفت صدگانی) was included in the *Khil'at* *Ibid* Text 417, l 13

But the same author describes the richer dress of honour which had been bestowed upon *Khawaja* Ahmad Hasan Maimandi when he was appointed to the office of Prime Minister somewhat differently and in the following words —

بنای مغلطوب بعدانی بود سپیدی حورد نقش پیدا و عمامه نصب بزرگ
و زینت بزرگ و کمربندی ارغزار منقال *

Text *Ibid* 177 l 2

And this is translated as follows

"There was a garment of scarlet cloth of Baghdad embroidered with small flowers, a long turban of the finest muslin a large chain and a girdle of *one thousand misqāls*" E D II 69

Elsewhere again we are informed that when a *Khil'at* was bestowed upon the Amir Sulaiman on his nomination as 'Shahna' (governor) of the Jabāl i Herāt, he received along with other things a *Kamar i pānd Manāl* i.e. a golden girdle of five hundred *Misqāls* (Text *Ibid* 24, l 3 from foot)

It will be observed that the Munshi who drafted the English version of the three passages given in Elliot (see vol II, Pre

face, p ix) has translated کمر زر معصود گانی correctly enough, as, "a golden girdle with [*Recte* worth ?] seven hundred pieces of gold", but he has rendered کمر زر هزار گانی "as a golden girdle which was of the value of one thousand *Kānis*" !

Kanis indeed ! and in Nishāpūr ? Are we to think that they were the *kānis* of Mr Thomas's Dravidian dictionaries, —and that the golden girdle 'studded with turquoises which was presented to the Grand Vazīr was worth one thousand *kānis* or Jitals that is, $\frac{1000}{64}$ or a little more than fifteen Tankas !

Surely not. But if that is not the meaning, what does *Hazārgāni* really signify ? Well, there can be little doubt that the other version given by the Munshi himself is fairly near the mark—a thousand "pieces of gold"

It is of course possible that the meaning may be a thousand, [or seven hundred pieces] of silver. However that may be it is fairly clear from the surrounding context that کمر زر هزار گانی and معصود گانی signify here 'seven hundred' and 'one thousand' current coins of some sort which were in general use at the time as measures of value and media of exchange. Elsewhere the girdles are spoken of as کمر زر هزار مثقال and کمر زر پانصد مثقال and an envoy from the Khalif of Baghdad also is said to have received along with a robe of honour and other things صاحت زر پانصد مثقال (Text, 363, l 2). In these cases, the

meaning may be "girdles weighing 'one thousand' or 'five hundred' misqals" or girdles worth, that is, of the value of 'one thousand' or 'five hundred' misqals of gold (or of silver). Now we know that the misqal weighed about 72 grains (Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics, pp 9 10) and we also know that many of the *Dirhams* and the *Dinārs* of the Ghaznavides turn the scale at some such weight.

I am therefore quite prepared to admit that the phrases 'five hundred misqals' and 'one thousand misqals' are equivalent to 'five hundred dinars' (gold coins) or five hundred *dirhams* (silver coins) and 'one thousand *dinārs*' and 'one thousand *dirhams*'. And if any one were to assert that *Hazārgāni* and *Haftsadgāni* should be understood as '*Hazār misqāl* and '*Haftsad*' misqal' I should have no particular objection to that mode of interpretation, as for the purpose of my argument, it comes to the same thing.

For my point is that all such expressions are elliptical, abbreviated or familiar modes of speech in which a numeral is prefixed to a noun signifying a thing or object universally understood e.g., some unit for measuring weight, value or time which is suppressed or implied as being too well known to require specific mention. Thus in the *Hazārgāni* and *Haftsadgāni* of Baihaqi the suppressed noun may be *Dinār* or *dirham* or

Miqāl In the *Dogānī*, *Shashgānī* etc., of the Tughlaqs the implied substantive is *ḡīrī*. In both cases the final ی signifies holder or container'.

All languages abound in such forms of speech and at least two other instances are to be found in Persian Dictionaries. Thus Steingass says that دیگانی 'Dihgani' was the name of an ancient gold coin. Similarly بسگانی 'Bistgani' occurs frequently in Baihaqi's *Tārīkh-i Nāsiri* (Text 61, l 9 312 l 5 322 l 2 from foot, 488 l 16) as well as the *Siāsatnāma* of the Nizamul mulk and is explained by the lexicographers as a monthly pension' which was so called because it used to be paid on the *twentieth* day. 'Richardson's Persian English Dictionary', Steingass s v.

In this connection attention may be usefully invited to the recent discovery in the Kurram Valley of an anonymous copper coin exhibiting the legends *Jital i yagānī* (or *Yagānī*) and 'Zarb i Akurman' in characters of the early part of the Seventh Century of the Hejira. (Num Supp xxxviii, p 33.)

It is impossible to suppose that the knowledge of the Dravidian 'Kānī' had penetrated to the Kurram Valley a hundred years before the accession of Muhammad Tughlaq or that the ruler on the North West Frontier who stamped this coin also had borrowed the designation from the languages of Southern India.

But it is scarcely necessary to pursue the matter further. It would appear that *Yagānī*, *Dogānī* etc. are short forms bearing a close resemblance to the modern English 'five' and 'tenner' or the Latin 'Sestertium' which was worth 2½ asses and which was so called from Semi half and tertium' third.

In a word, my submission is that Mr Thomas was wrong in regard to this question. And here I may invite attention to the fact that under the influence of certain metrological preconceptions of his own that eminent writer had repeatedly proclaimed his firm allegiance to the doctrine that the silver tanka of the 'Pathans' was worth sixty-four jitals although Firishita had explicitly asserted that it was valued at only fifty in the time of 'Ala'uddin. The chance discovery of the meaning borne by *Kānī* in Canarese and Telugu must have consequently appeared to him as something very different from a fortuitous coincidence and he must have seen in the one supposition an astonishing corroboration of the other. In the circumstances the attempt to fortify his speculative metrology by the etymological conjecture his problematical theory of the relation of the *Tanka* to the *Jital* by the hypothetical derivation of its fractional denominations from the Canarese was quite natural. But fuller knowledge has now shown that there is at

least as much to be said for the 50 jital theory as for its rival (Num Supp xxxviii § 248), and it is obvious that if the metrology is shaken, the philology also is suspect. It may be permissible to trust that the foregoing discussion will help in shunting back the car of inquiry from the wrong line to the right.

S H HODIVALA

291 AKBARPŪR TĀNDA AND AKBARPŪR

Akbarpūr is such a common place name in this country that it seems hopeless to locate that mint-town with any thing like certainty. But Akbarpūr Tanda appears to stand on a different footing. It seems to have been described specifically in that way with the object of differentiating it from the other Akbarpūrs. There are good reasons for holding that it is the place of that name in Oudh, which is 35 miles South east of Faizabad town. Thus Akbarpūr is now connected with Tanda by rail, and the distance between these two places is only eleven miles. But Mr Nelson Wright says that he can "trace no notice of the Akbarpur in Oudh in the chronicles of the Akbari period, and that where Akbarpūr is mentioned, the reference is to the place on the Narbada river south of Ujjain at the crossing of the great Dakhan road" (I M C III, xxvii). It is not unlikely that other cautious enquirers also may be pressed by the weight of this difficulty. If Akbarpūr in Oudh was a place of such insignificance as to be ignored altogether in the literature of the period, there would be a fair presumption against its having been a mint town for several years. It may be therefore permissible to say that this objection can be met, that the town is mentioned in the *Akbarnāma* of Abul Fazl and that there are several indications of its having been a place of some note during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir.

"On the 13 Bahman," [XXV, R. 22nd January, 1581,] the historiographer writes "when a watch of the day had passed, an engagement took place near Sultānpūr-Bilahri, 25 kos from Awadh", between Ma asūm Khān Farankhūdī and the Imperial troops under Shahbaz Khan. Shahbaz himself was routed and "took the road of flight", but the left wing contrived somehow to defeat the foe. When they "heard of the rest of the troops having given way and encamped at Akbarpur, twelve kos from Awadh, they sent "swift messengers to convey the news of victory to Shahbaz Khān and the other leaders." Beve ridge's Trans III 487, Bibl Ind Text, III 4.

But the matter does not end here. According to the official Gazetteer of Faizabad District, Akbarpūr was "founded in the days of Akbar, by Muhammad Muhsin who was in charge of the old Pargana of Singhauli. He built a fort on the high bank of the Tons He also built a mosque and the bridge

over the Tons The former stands in the Fort, where the Tahsil buildings are now located It bears a Persian inscription stating that this officer constructed it during the reign of Akbar, when Mun'im Khan Khan-i-Khanan was Governor of Oudh in the year 976 H_{ijr} The bridge is of great strength and solidity and was originally entirely of masonry On the North face there is a stone slab containing an inscription in which the date of the building of the bridge is given as 976 H and these buildings are said to have been erected under the direction of the Emperor himself when he passed through the place on his return from Jaunpūr to Āgra" United Provinces Gazetteer, Vol XLIII, by H R Nevill, pp 179-80 See also the Imperial Gazetteer, Vol V, s n

Akbarhūr Tanda is also mentioned by William Finch, the English East India Company's factor who was in this country from 1608-1611 A C "From Oude to Acabarpore", he writes "30 C[oss], some 30 C[oss] from whence lyeth Banarce, the principal mart of Bengala goods From Acabarpore to Jounpore 30 C[oss]" Early Travels in India, Ed Sir William Foster p 176

And there is a very similar statement in the *De Imperio Magni Mogolis* of De Laet which was published in 1631

"From Oudee to Achabarpore is 30 Cos, about 30 Cos from this place, but away from the route is Bonarce, a famous emporium for the products of Bengala From Achabarpore to Jounpore 30 Cos" (*Op cit* Trans, J S Hoyland, p 65)

It will be seen that so far as Akbarpūr Tanda is concerned, we are on fairly firm ground and the place is easily identified But the same statement cannot be made about the other Akbarpūr as several places bearing that name can lay claim to antiquity and can be shown to have been in existence about the same time Thus the Akbarpūr which is 12 miles N W of Mathūra or about 24 koss from Āgra is mentioned more than once by the Emperor Jahangir (*Tuzul*, Tr Rogers and Beveridge, II 112 and 193), by William Finch (*Early Travels in India* Ed Foster, 155), and by Sir Thomas Herbert (*Travels*, Ed 1665, p 76) The Emperor and Herbert merely name the place but Finch describes it at some length and in the following words "January the ninth, [1611] I departed from Āgra for Lahor

The places I passed through were Rownocta [Rankata], twelve courses, Badeg Sara 10, Acabarpore 12c formerly a great city, still famous for the antiquities of Indian gobins [gourins?] or saints A little short of the place is a fair deurv, [deura, temple] enclosed with a stone wall, in which is a devoncan, and round about a little distance in vaults (or cloisters) are to be seen many pagods, which are stone images of monstrous men fearful to behold but adored by the Indians with flowers and offerings"

The Akbarpūr live loss from Mandū is more summarily described by him as 'a prettie town and faire castle' which had a ferrie place on the Narbada (*Op cit* p 140) and the place arrests attention in the Itineraries of John Jourdain (who was in India about 1611 A C) and Sir Thomas Roe also (*Journal* Ed Sir W Foster p 147 and *Embassy* Ed *Ibid* Hakluyt Society Publications p 101) There is besides a clear reference to it in the *Bādīshāhnāma* of Abdul Hamid (*Bibl Ind* Text I 1 336) The Akbarpur near Kalpi which is said by the author of the *Khulasatu t tauārīkh* to have been the birth place of Raja Birbal is noticed in the *Akbarnāma* and Abul Fazl has recorded the visit paid by the Emperor to the house of his favourite on the 23rd of Ābān \XVIII R—991 A H (Beveridge's Trans III 617 Text III 415) But Prof Jadu Nath Sarkar informs us that it is only a pretty village and must be distinguished from another Akbarpur in the same part of the country which is 28 miles west of Cawnpore and the head quarters of a tahsil in that district, as the latter is not at the junction of the rivers Jamnā and Chambal but far away from both (*Ind a of Aurangzeb* p 18 note)

There is still another Akbarpur at the foot of Fort Rhotās in Bihar Peter Mundy (1632 A C) and Jean Baptiste Tavernier (1665 A C) both speak of having passed through it on their journeys (*Journal* Ed Sir R C Temple II 167 *Travels* Ed Ball I 121)

But this does not exhaust the list A *Mahāl* of that name in the Sarkar of Sirangpūr and a *pargana* with the identical designation in Sirpur Gargun (Sūba Malwa) are included in Abul Fazl's Rent roll of Akbar's dominions (*Āin i Akbari* Trans Jarrett II 203 and 209)

Lastly a reference to Thornton's Gazetteer shows that there is an Akbarpur 42 miles south east of Bareilly and another 56 miles south of Dehli (*Id* 1857 p 18)

Rhotas fort came into the possession of Akbar only in 982 A H and it would be possible to scratch or disqualify some of the other competitors also but even in the last analysis at least two claimants would remain and we should have to decide between the crossing place on the Narbada near Mandu and the other Akbarpūr which is close to Mathura Both of them are advantageously situated at the junction of the great high roads—the main arteries of commerce and communication in the land and I know of no decisive reasons for preferring one of them to the other

292. THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE ZODIACAL COINS. A POSTSCRIPT.

In the article on this subject which appeared in Num. Supp. XLI, I was able to discuss only those Zodiacal pieces which were known to me from the Catalogues generally available to students in this country. I beg permission to-day to say a few words about some other unique specimens in British and continental Museums, for the knowledge of which our grateful acknowledgments are due to Mr. Allan and Mr. Whitehead.

These unpublished coins are the following:—

- (1) Ajmer, Gemini, 1033—XVIII, Guthrie collection, Berlin.
- (2) Āgra, Aquarius, 1029—XV, Paris.
- (3) Lāhor, Sagittarius, 1034—XX, Vienna.
- (4) „ Gemini, 1035—XX, Bodleian Library.
- (5) „ Sagittarius, 1036—XXI, Gotha.
- (6) „ Capricornus, 1036—XXI, Gotha.
- (7) „ Pisces, 1036—XXI, Vienna.
- (8) „ Pisces (Nūr Jahān), 1036—XXI, Royal Scottish Museum.

The first of these pieces satisfies the historical test but not the chronological, if the sign figured is Gemini. We know that Jahāngir was in Ajmer in the XVIIIth *Julūs*. He arrived there on 9th Khurdād (*Tuzuk*. Text, 361, l. 12), and stayed there up to the 2nd of Ādar=1 Safar 1033 A.H. (Text, 373, l. 6 from foot. Trans. II. 261 and 282.) But Gemini-Khurdād XVIII, R, corresponded to Rajab-Sha'abān 1032 A.H. not 1033. Here again the possibility of the Hījri date having been wrongly read must be borne in mind and a careful re examination of the coin itself would appear to be advisable, as the symbols for *r* and *ṛ* are very liable to be mistaken one for the other.

The Āgra Aquarius in Paris would seem to be false from both points of view, as Bahman XV, R commenced on 25 Safar 1030 A.H., nearly eight weeks after the last hour of 1029 H. had struck. The Emperor himself was not in Āgra at all at the time. He had left the capital and arrived in Kashmīr on 11th Fravardīn of that year (*Tuzuk* Text, 297, l. 13; Trans. II. 139). He arrived in Lāhor from Srinagar on 9 Ādar=5 Muḥarram 1030 A.H. (*Ibid.* Text, 318, l. 12; Trans. II. 183), and reached Āgra only on 14th Isfandārmuz XV. (*Ibid.* Text, 325, l. 27; Trans. II. 197.)

The Lāhor Sagittarius of 1034—XX cannot be impeached on the historical ground, but is open to suspicion on the chronological. The Emperor was in residence in Lāhor in Ādar XX, R. We know that he left Srinagar in Mīhr XX on 19-1-1035 H. (Hādī continuation of *Tuzuk*, 398.) As the exact date of his arrival at Lāhor is also recorded,

as 3 Ādar XX R (*Iqbāl-nāma* 247), and he must have been holding his Court in Ādar (Sagittarius) at Lahor where he stayed up to the 25th of Isfandārmuz XX R (Jumād II 1035 A H) But Sagittarius Ādar XIX R corresponded to Safar Rabi I 1034 H and Sagittarius Ādar XX to Safar Rabi I 1035 H (*Vide* Table Num Suppl XLI p 16) In other words if the Hijri year is correct the Regnal date is an error, and if the *Julus* reckoning is right, the Hijri correspondence is wrong And the question is decisively settled adversely to this coin by the fact that the Cabinet des Medailles in Paris possesses a Lahor Sagittarius which exhibits the correct date expression 1035—XX

No 4 is a piece struck at Lahor in 1035—XX and bears on the reverse the figure of a woman holding some object under each arm which has been taken to be an infant The figure has been consequently supposed to stand for Gemini Now Gemini Khurdad XX corresponded to Sha'aban Ramadan 1034 A H—not 1035 (*Vide* Table in Num Supp XLI.) Moreover, Jahāngir spent the summer of that year in Kashmir and was not in Lahor at the time We know that he left Lahor in the middle of Isfandarmuz XIX (*Iqbāl-nāma* 240 Hadī 394 l) reached Srinagar on Tuesday, 18th Ardibehesht XX R (*Ibid*, p 243, 396 l) stayed there up to 19th Muharram 1035 H and arrived in Lahor on 30 Safar 1035 A H (Ādar XX R) *Ibid* 247, 399, l 6) See also Elliot and Dowson VI 418 In other words the coin is suspect from both points of view if the figure is supposed to represent Gemini But it is quite possible that this supposition is an error, and that the object in the arms is not an infant but a *hāndī* or water jar Mr Gibbs thought that B M C 340 was not a Virgo, but an Aquarius—a woman carrying two handis on the head It is not unlikely that a careful scrutiny of the coin under discussion may prove that the figure is meant for a female Aquarius carrying or pouring out two vessels of water

Nos 5 6 7 and 8 are all absolutely correct It will be noticed that they were all struck at Lahor and that they are of the three signs—Sagittarius Capricornus, and Pisces—of one and the same year—the XXIst This is explained by the fact that during the last years of his life the state of the Emperor's health made it necessary for him to spend the summer in Kashmir and the winter in Lahor The Dutch factor Pelsaert who was in India from 1620 to 1627, explicitly says so The reason of this King's special preference for this country [*scil* Kashmir] is that, when the heat in India increases, his body burns like a furnace owing to his consumption of excessively strong drink and opium excesses which were still greater in his youth He usually leaves Lahor in March or April and reaches Kashmir in May (Remonstrantie Tr Moreland and Geyl p 35) But if Lahor was too hot for him in the summer,

Kashmir was too cold and moist for him in winter. He used therefore to return to Lāhor about December (Ādar) and leave it again about Isfandārmuz. We know as a matter of fact that in the XXIst year, he left Kābul on 1st Shahrivar XXI *Iqbāl-nāma* 273; Hādi 410), entered Lāhor on 7 Ābān (*Ibid.* 278; 412) and left for Kashmir on 21 Isfandārmuz—(*Ibid.* 290; 419). That is to say, he was in Lāhor while the sun was in the signs Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricornus, Aquarius, and Pisces. A glance at the Table will show that the Hijri months corresponding to this period were Safar—Jumād II. 1036. The date-expressions also are therefore perfectly in order

S. H. HODIVĀLĀ.

293. THE COINS BEARING THE NAME OF NŪR JAHĀN.

The coins of the Empress Nūr Jahān are among the most remarkable curiosities of the Mughal series and have always possessed a considerable attraction for historians and numismatists. For this interest, they are indebted not only to the fact of their providing the only known examples of the appearance of the name of a Queen-consort on the currency of the Musalman rulers of this country, but to the halo of romance which surrounds the legend of her birth in circumstances of abject poverty, the rapid rise of her father to greatness, Prince Salim's infatuation with her young beauty, the tragical fate of her first husband and the web of enchantment and intrigue which she succeeded in weaving round the head and heart of her second. But in the eyes of the mere coin-hunter, they are precious perhaps, for a very different reason, *videlicet*, the all-sufficient and all-atoning virtue of rarity. The persistent search of scores of enthusiastic collectors has resulted in the discovery of about two hundred specimens of these issues in the course of a century. Fourteen only are registered in the British Museum Catalogue; the Indian Museum can show but 13, the Lucknow Museum possesses 27, but the great collection in the capital of the Punjab has not more than 7. There were five only in the magnificent cabinet of Dr. White King and Lord Grantley's could boast of even less (3).

The incorporation of the 'style and titles' of a female in the poetical legend inscribed on the 'coins of the realm' seems to have aroused the wonder and astonishment of contemporaries and the fact is recorded not only by the Muhammadan chronicler, Mu'atamad Khān (*Iqbāl-nāma*, Bibl. Ind. Text, 56; Elliot-Dowson, VI, 405; *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, p. 318), but by several European travellers of the period. The earliest reference in a foreign author is found in the 'Remonstrantie' of the Dutch factor, Pelsaert, who was in India from 1620 to 1627. Speaking of the Muhrs of his day, he writes:

"There are gold coins but only of one series, named *mohur*. The double coin weighs a *tolā* or 12 *māshas* and is equivalent to 14 Rupees the half coin in proportion. The inscriptions are similar to those of the rupees, except those which have been coined by the Queen, her coins, both rupees and mohurs bear the twelve signs of the Zodiac, one sign on each coin" (*Jahangir's India* Tr Moreland and Geyl p 29)

Peter Mundy the English East India Company's factor (1628-1634) in speaking of 'Nour Mahalls' marriage says

'Rather hee [*scil* Jahangir] became her prisoner by marrye ing her for in his tyme shee in a manner ruled all in ruleing him Coyninge money of her owne buildinge and disposeinge as shee listed putting out of the Kinges favour and receivinge whom shee pleased' (*Journal* Ed Sir Richard Temple, II 206)

Tavernier (1641-1667) in his usually credulous way repeats the curious legend that Nūr Jahan danced one day before Jahangir when he had 'drank briskly,' and obtained from him the boon of reigning as sovereign for a day and ordered at once 'the coinage of two millions of Roupies of Gold and Silver bearing her own name' and the 'figures of the Twelve signs in the 'space of twenty four hours' (*Travels* Trans J P 1678 Part II pp 10-11)

Lastly Manucci (1656-1712) relates how "they struck coin in her name which had for symbol the twelve signs of the Zodiac and in her time they were current money" (*Storia* do Mogor Trans Irvine I 162)

It will be seen that all these writers confuse the Zodiacal issues with the coins of the ordinary type and none of them would appear to have possessed any real knowledge of their history or morphology. The coins of the Zodiacal type are really the rarest of Nūr Jahan's mintages and are so exceptional that only four or five specimens altogether are known.

I have said that the total number of coins bearing the Empress's name does not exceed two hundred, but when they are compared together and the duplicates are eliminated they are found to have been struck in only eight places and to cover a period of not more than four years.

The following list comprises all the examples that are known to me

AR Agra	1035-20	I M C 811
"	1037-22	B M C 523-4
AV Ahmadabād	1035-21	B M C [L M C II 27]
"	1037-2[+]	P M C 919
AR "	1033-XIX to	1037-XXII
" Akbarnagar	1037-22	L M C 1739
Ilhabād	1037-22	(Cabinets of Mr Whitehead and Mr Brown) [L M C II 27]

AV Kashmir	1034-20	Zodiacal (Cancer) Dacunha, Gibbs
„ Lahor	1035-20	Zodiacal (Sagittarius) Paris
„ „	1036-21	Zodiacal (Pisces) Royal Scottish Museum
„ „	1034-19	P M C 1 82
„ „	1034-20	B M C 516-7
„ „	1035-20	P M C 1183
„ „	1036-21	Zodiacal (Capricornus) Mr Brown's Cabinet L M C II 27
AR Patna	1037-22	B M C 525-6 [inet
AV Surat	1036 [+]	B M C 513, Mr Wright's Cab
AR „	1033-19	B M C 514
„ „	1034-19	L M C 1749-50
„ „	1034-20	L M C 1752
„ „	1035-20	I M C 1180
„ „	1035-21	L M C 1754
„ „	1036-[+]	B M C 521
„ „	1036-21	P M C 1181
„ „	1037-22	I M C 823

The issues of Sūrāt are comparatively the commonest. Those of Ahmadabad, Lahor, Āgra and Patna rank next in order of rarity, while the mintages of Akbarnagar, Ilhabad and Kashmir are each represented by not more than three or four specimens.

We know that Gold coins were struck in Jahangir's name in about twelve towns and Silver coins in as many as twenty five. But the Muhrs of Nūr Jahan were put forth by only four cities in numbers so limited as to be counted on one's fingers and the total number of mints which stamped her name on Rupees is but seven. In the circumstances the question which naturally occurs to us is 'Why were the Imperial orders in this behalf obeyed in only eight towns and that also in such a casual and perfunctory manner that the issues of each of four mints are confined to a solitary year and are in number so few as to be all but unique?' The science of Numismatics has been justly compared to a handmaid carrying the lamp of Truth for her mistress, History in such a way as to shed its light on the path of both, and it is obvious that the answer to this question must be sought in the Chronicles which record the political events of the reign.

Mihru n nī a was married to Jahangir in the 6th year after his accession (*Iqbalnāma*, Text, 54 Elliot and Dowson VI 103-4) but her name is first mentioned in the *Tuzuk* only in the Diary of the 9th (Beveridge's Tr I 266). In the annals of the 10th, Jahangir records the bestowal upon her of the title by which she is now universally known (*Tuzuk*. Aligarh Text,

p 156 l 21 Rogers and Beveridge s Trans I 319) The Emperor himself was passionately fond of Shikar, and his love and admiration for the 'Light of the Harem' must have been undoubtedly enhanced when she killed four tigers with only six shots and on the same day in the 12th (*Tuzuk* Text 186 l 5, Trans I 375) But she had at least one powerful rival in his affections in Sal ha Banu who had the style of Padishah Mahal and Padishah Banu Begam and it was only after her death in the 15th (*Tu ul* Tr II 86 n and 159) that she became the chief wife In the 16th year the Emperor had a violent attack of asthma and the physicians after doing all they knew despaired of his recovery and even declined to undertake further treatment But

Nur Jahan Begam whose skill and experience are greater than those of the physicians especially as they are brought to bear through affection and sympathy endeavoured to diminish the number of my cups and to carry out the remedies that appeared appropriate to the time and soothing to the condition * * * and the signs of health became apparent (*Ibid* II 213 214) About the same time her daughter by her first husband was married to the Emperor s youngest son Shahriar (*Ibid* II 187-8) and her son in law was soon afterwards promoted to a Mansab of 8000 and 4000 horse (*Ibid* II 199) This alliance entirely transformed her political outlook Hitherto she had thrown the weight of her influence into the scale on the side of Prince *Khurram* against *Khusru* But her one object in life hereafter was to retain her own ascendancy by securing the succession for the ne'er do well who had married her daughter and all her talents and energies were now directed to the consummation of that end We now notice her interfering openly in political affairs and writing a letter in her own name to the mother of Imam Quli *Khān* the ruler of Turan (*Ibid* II 205) When her father died in Bahman XVI R Jahangir says he gave the establishment and everything belonging to the government and Amirship of *Itimad ud daula* to Nur Jahan Begam and ordered that her drums and orchestra should be sounded after those of the King (*Ibid* II 222) This practically meant that she became the first subject and second person in the Empire and that she took precedence even of the Princes of the blood royal So long as her father was alive she had been restrained by his prudent and moderate counsels, but after his demise her brother Asaf Khan was not strong enough to keep her under control and her dominion over the Emperor became absolute The rebellion of Shah Jahan which soon followed was undoubtedly due to and fomented by her intrigues and it is significant that the opening act of the Prince s offensive was the sequestration of her personal Jagirs (*Ibid* II 235) The defeat of his forces at Baluchpūr the rout of his adherents in Gujarat and the final reverse on the banks of the Tons naturally raised her

influence to its height and we find that towards the end of the XVIIIth year, her patronage and protection was sufficient to secure pardon and immunity for the truculent traitor Jagat Singh, the son of Rājā Basū. (*Ibid* II 289) Jahangir's constitution also was breaking down under the strain of nearly forty years' addiction to spirits and opium. He tells us himself that he had to give up writing "the notes of events and occurrences with his own hand, as heart and brain did not accord" (*Ibid* II 246) His bodily and mental powers were beginning to fail, and it was at this time probably that he made the famous declaration about "bestowing the sovereignty on Nūr Jahan Begam and requiring for himself nothing beyond a Ser of wine and half a Ser of meat" (*Iqbāl-nāma* Text, 57, Elliot and Dowson VI 405) This same author tells us that she used to sit in the balcony of the palace, that the nobles had to present themselves and listen to her dictates, and that in all Farmans, receiving the Imperial Signature, the name of Nūr Jāhān the Queen Begam was jointly attached" (*Ibid*) And the shrewd and observant Pelsaert who was in charge of the Dutch factory at Āgra, writing in 1626 A C describes the situation at Court in the following words: "The king does not trouble himself with public affairs, but behaves as if they were no concern of his. If any one with a request to make at Court obtains an audience or is allowed to speak, the king hears him indeed, but will give no definite answer of Yes or No, referring him promptly to Āsaf Khān, who in the same way will dispose of no important matter, without communicating with his sister, the Queen and who regulates his attitude in such a way, that the authority of none of them may be diminished. Any one then who obtains a favour must thank them for it and not the king" (*Op cit* 50-51)

The earliest Coins bearing her name are dated 1033 A H, and may be justly said to mark her arrival at the zenith of her power. By that time the unhappy Khusrū had been done to death by Shāh Jahān. Shāh Jahān himself had been hounded out of the Empire while Parvīz was driven from Court and sent in fruitless pursuit of his insurgent brother from one end of the kingdom to the other. The Emperor's entourage consisted mainly of her relatives and adherents and her game was to set the political chess board in such a way that at the critical moment, she could effectually checkmate her opponents. These coins are peculiarly interesting as they tell us in a way how slowly and gradually she was able to work out her plans and indicate also how partial and incomplete was her success.

The Metropolitan Province of Āgra was obviously of capital importance for her purpose and we find that Qasim Khān Juvaini was named Subadar of Āgra in succession to Muqarrab Khān in the XIth year of the Jula (Juli) (*Iqbāl-nāma* Text, 240, Muhammad Hādī Takmīla or Continuation of the

Tuzuk i Jahāngīrī Aligarh Text, 394, l 12) The exact date of his appointment is not stated, but as the departure of the Emperor for Kashmīr in the middle of Isfandarmuz XIX (Jumād I 1034 A H) is recorded a few lines lower down it must have been about the end of that regnal year. This position he appears to have retained upto the end of the reign, for he is expressly said to have been the Sūbadar of Āgrā at the coronation of Shah Jahan in Jumad II, 1037 A H and to have been then transferred to Bengal (*Bādīshāhnāma*, Bibl Ind Text, I l 125 last line)

This Qasim Khan was married to Nūr Jahān's sister, Maniḡa Begum and the author of the *Maāsuru l Umarā* informs us that the wits of the day used to speak of him as قاسم حان — Maniḡa's Qasim Khan' and thus playfully allude to the wife having been the foundation of the husband's fortunes (Text III 79) There is a reference to 'Maunissa Begum', in De Laet also who tells a story of Qasim Khan having been superseded by Muzaffar Khan and to have been restored almost immediately in consequence of the secret intrigues and dominating influence of his wife (*De Imperio*, Fr pp 223 228) Now the earliest Coin of the Agra Mint is of 1034—XX, and the latest of 1037—XXII, which is in perfect accord with these facts, and there can be little doubt that they were struck by the Daroghā of the Āgrā mint because the Queen's brother in law was the Governor of the Province

The rich Sūba of Gujarat had been assigned to the Prince Khurram in the XIIth year of the reign (Beveridge, *Tuzuk* Trans I. 424), and his adherents and nominees held authority in the province But when he rebelled, Dāwar Bakhsh was appointed Governor with his grandfather A'azam Khan as guardian or Ataliq (*Ibid* II 260) When A'azam died in or about Shahrivar XIX R, Dāwar Bakhsh was recalled, and Saif Khan (or Saifkhan), was appointed to officiate, pending the arrival of the new Sūba Khan Jahan Lody (Hadī, 394) But the services of the latter were required elsewhere and he was soon afterwards transferred and made Ataliq of Prince Parviz (E D VI 418 9, Hadī 399) Saif Khan or Saif Khan then became Governor of the province and continued to occupy that position until the end of the reign One of the earliest orders issued by Shāh Jahan after his accession was for dismissing and throwing him into prison (*Bādīshāhnāma* I 1, 76-77, *Maāsuru l Umarā*, II, 419) Saif Khan belonged to a family which had been related to that of Nūr Jahan from old times, and he was married to Malika Banū, the eldest daughter of Nūr Jahān's brother, Āsaf Khan He had been appointed Dīwān of Gujarat in the 12th year of the reign (*Mīrāt-i Ahmadi*, Bombay Text Pt I 201) and acquired great influence there in consequence of having held that office for many years He

was Shāh Jahān's brother-in-law and the Prince had naturally expected that "on account of this connection, Šāh Khān would be on his side. But an eternal decree had gone forth", Jahāngir himself tells us, "for Šāh Khān's loyalty and prosperity", (*Tūzūl*, Trans II. 202) and he had taken the lead in putting down the revolt and driving the Prince's adherents from the Province. (*Ibid.* II 261-267). In a word, he was the chief executive officer in Gujarāt and protagonist on the Imperial side during the last four years of Jahāngir's reign. The Nūr Jahān Coins of Ahmadābād start in 1033-XIX and run on without interruption to the end which is just what we might expect from Šāh Khān's zeal and devotion as her relative and partisan.

The Sūba of Bengal had been assigned to the Prince Parviz and he had given it in Jāgir to Mahābat Khān (XIX R) whose son was in actual charge, as his father's Nāib or deputy. (Muhammad Hādī, 393, l. 2 from foot and 394, l. 6) When Mahābat rebelled, Mukarram Khān was named Governor by the Emperor, but he was accidentally drowned on the very day on which he was to be installed. The province was then assigned to Fidāi Khān. That this was done on the recommendation of Nūr Jahān is obvious from the fact that the new governor undertook to remit ten lacs of rupees every year to the Imperial Treasury, of which five were to be accounted as the *Peshkash* of the Emperor and the other five as *Nazar* for the Begam. (*Iqbāl-nāma*, Text, 291; Muhammad Hādī, 410, l. 3 from foot.)

Fidāi Khān's original name was Hidīyatulla and he had been indebted for his rise in the Imperial service to the patronage of Mahābat Khān, but his sense of loyalty revolted at the sight of the latter's treasonable proceedings and he identified himself heart and soul, with the cause of the Empress. His heroic efforts to deliver Jahāngir from captivity are related with evident admiration by the historians (*Iqbāl-nāma* 261, 264, Muhammad Hādī, 405; *Maāğir-u-Umarā* III 14; Elliot and Dowson. VI. 425-7.) "On the day of the battle on the banks of the Jhelum, he had made an attempt to carry off Jahāngir, by swimming the river at the head of a small body of horse, but his approach was discovered and it was with difficulty he effected his escape. * * * During the confusion of the battle itself, he had made another attempt to enter the enemy's camp, at an unsuspected point and had penetrated so far that his balls and arrows fell within the tent where Jahāngir was seated; but the general repulse forced him to retire and he effected his own retreat wounded." (Elphinstone, *History of India*. Ed. Cowell. 1866, pp. 569-70). The governorship of Bengal was now his reward and the order of appointment seems to have been passed when the Emperor was in Kashmir and at some time after the Nauroz of the XXIInd

year (*Iqbāl-nāma* 291 Hadī 419, 1 3 from foot) Here again, it is significant that the only coins known are of 1037—XXII (L M.C No 1739)

All the four known issues of the atelier of Ilhabad exhibit an identical date (1037 XXII), and may be reasonably presumed to have been indebted for their existence to the commands of Bahādur Khān Uzbek whose appointment as Subadar of the province in the XXIInd year is recorded by Mu'atamad Khān and Muhammad Hadī (Muhammad Hadī, 420, 1 3)

Bahadur Khan was the title borne by Abul Bey (or Abu Nabī) Uzbek an old adherent of the Imperial house, whom Jahangīr had taken under his protection and under whom he had risen quickly and been made Castellan of Qandahar (*Maāsīr ul Umarā* I 400-1 *Tuzuk* Trans I 224, 234) He had subsequently resigned on account of an affection of the eyes and gone into retirement, but after the capture of the fortress by Shah Abbas, he came once more to Court with a view to offer his services and was selected as an auxiliary to the army of Qandahar, which Jahangīr was always talking of sending, but never sent (*Tuzuk, Ibid* II 192, 234) He was one of the numerous adventurers from 'Turan' who flocked to Hindustan in search of honours and emoluments and were ready to side with any party or person who happened to be in command and could satisfy their greed

A cancer Muhr struck in the Empress' name at Kashmīr in 1034 XX was in the Da Cunha cabinet Another gold piece exactly like it had been described by Mr Gibbs, but he thought that the Mint name was Ajmīr I have elsewhere (*Num Supp* XLI, p 20) given reasons for holding that it is really of Kashmīr and Mr Whitehead has signified his acceptance of the suggestion

The Sūbadar of Kashmīr in Tīr XX was Mirza Shahpūr entitled A'ataqad Khān, and he was a brother of Nūr Jahan as well as of Āsaf Khān The government of that 'Earthly Paradise' had been entrusted to him in the XVth year of Jahangīr and he continued to hold power there up to the Vth year of the reign of Shah Jahan (*Tuzuk, Trans* II 216, 269, Muhammad Hadī, 386, *Maāsīrul Umarā* I 180-1)

The known mintages from Patna are slightly more numerous (7) than those of Akbarnagar, Ilhabad or Kashmīr, but they exhibit the very same date 1037—XXII Here again we find that Mir Abū Sa'īd who is described as the grandson of Itimādud daula, that is of Nūr Jahan's father was nominated governor of Bihar early in the XXIInd year (*Iqbāl-nāma*, 291, Hadī 420, 1 3) Indeed, these three appointments—those of Fīdai Khān to Bengal of Bahadūr Khān to Ilhabad, and of Mirzā Abū Sa'īd to Bihar appear to have been announced

on one and the same day and are mentioned one after the other in the course of six lines on the same page in both these authors.

The Government of the Punjāb had been in the hands of Nūr Jahān's father 'Itimādu-d-daula ever since the XIIIth year (1027 A.H.) and appears to have been actually conducted by his Naibs or deputies (*Tuzuk*, Tr. II. 2). On his death in the XVth year (1031 A.H.), it was conferred on his son-in-law Qāsim Khān-i-Manīja (*Ibid* 222, 230). Some time after Jahāngir's arrival in Lāhor from Kashmir on 25th Shahrivar. XIX, Qāsim Khān was transferred to Āgra and the Punjāb was given to Āsaf Khān, the brother of Nūr Jahān (Muhammad Hādī, 393, l. 16; *Iqbāl-nāma*, 240). The same chroniclers record that shortly afterwards, (Favardīn XX), Abū Tālib, the son of Āsaf Khān was ordered to go to Lāhor to carry on the government of the Šūba as the Naib of his father (Muhammad Hādī, 396, l. 10). In Favardīn or Ardibehesht XXI, when the Emperor was in the neighbourhood of Kābul, Sādiq Khān, who was married to another sister of Nūr Jahān and was also her first cousin (*Bādishāhnāma*, I i, 72 ; *Maāsirul Umarā*, II. 729) was placed in charge of the province, as Rāja Basū had rebelled and Āsaf Khān and his son were prisoners in the hands of Mahābat Khān. (Muhammad Hādī, 408, l. 7.) But on the 7th Ābān of the same year (XXIst), the Sāhib-Šūbagi of the Panjāb was again conferred on Āsaf Khān who was at the same time appointed 'Wakil-i-Mutlaq' or Deputy of the Emperor with absolute powers (*Ibid*. 412, l. 11; Elliot-Dowson vi 431). Here again, the coincidence is striking, as the coins start in 1034—XIX and run on into 1034—XX, 1035—XX, and 1036—XXI. It will be observed that the governors were all near relatives of the Empress and members of her faction.

We have seen that the administration of the province of Gujarāt had been controlled by the nominees of the prince Shāh Jahān ever since the day on which Jahāngir arrived in Ahmadābād (*Tūzuk*, Trans. I. 424.) in the XIIth year. It would also appear that the wealthy city of Sūrat was included in his personal *jāgir* (*Ibid*. II. 267). During his revolt, 'Abdulla Khān and others of the Prince's partisans tried hard to preserve the province for their master, but they were defeated and expelled from the Sūba by Saḡī Khān and other loyalists after a pitched battle near Ahmadābād in Sha'abān 1032—XVIII R.—June 1623). Shortly after this victory, Saḡī Khān and his followers marched to Sūrat and laid siege to the Castle, as Shāh Jahān's governor would not deliver it to the adherents of the Emperor. He was, however, obliged at last to capitulate and hand over the castle as well as the government of the city to Saḡī. The event is not recorded in the Persian chronicles, but there is a circumstantial account of these transactions in the letters of the East India Company's factors

in the town which have been edited by Sir William Foster (English Factories in India 1622-23, pp 257, 279) The exact date of the surrender is recorded there as 21st October, 1623 A C (O S) [Zilhajja 1032 A H] (*Ibid* 288) The city was after this, under the authority of Safi (or Saif) Khan and his subordinates, and we have seen that he was one of the members of the family clique of which Nūr Jahan was the head

The earliest coins of the Sūrāt Mint show the date 1033—XIX Now the Hijrī year 1033 began according to Wustenfeld's Tables on the 25th of October 1623 (N S) and corresponded to 1 Aban XVIII R (Table in Num Supp XLI, p 16) As the XIXth year of the *Julus* began on the 29th Jumad I, 1033 A H the earliest coins must have been uttered about five months after the surrender of the Castle to the Imperialists The fact that we possess the issues of 1034 1035, 1036, and 1037, may be fairly taken to indicate that the Daroghā of the Mint was willing to act according to the orders of Safi Khan

In a word Nūr Jahan's coins are not merely numismatic curiosities or rarities They are also historical memorials They were struck deliberately with a view to proclaim and parade before the world, the Empress' power and her absolute domination in the State They were the manifestoes of a party or faction but their paucity and other limitations indicate that the faction had little or no real hold over the country Its power rested on the uncertain foundations of a small family clique, and that clique was completely broken up as soon as the breath departed out of the body of the Emperor with whose life her influence was indissolubly bound up

S H HODIVALA

294 THE KASHMIR COINS OF AHMAD SHAH AND 'ALANGIR II

Among the unpublished coins which Mr Whitehead discovered in the Bhawalpur Treasury was a Couplet rupee struck in the name of Ahmad Shah at Kashmir in 1166-5 R (Num Supp XV 670) About thirty years before Mr Rodgers had described a similar coin dated 1162-2R and assigned it to Ahmad Shāh Durrānī (Rodgers' Collection Catalogue, Lahor Museum, Part II, p 167) Mr Whitehead expressed his doubts as to the correctness of this attribution He confessed that he did not "know the exact state of politics in Kashmir in the years 1162 and 1166 A H", but he was strongly inclined to think that they belonged to Ahmad Shah Mughal "as the style was distinctly Mughal and as the couplet appeared on the rupees of Ahmad Shah struck at Imtyazgarh, where the Durrānī certainly never penetrated" (N S XV p 670, P M C Introd, xcvi) I beg permission to point out that there is still another reason which seems to me to be absolutely decisive and that is

that the Durrāni conquered the Valley only in 1754 A.C., 1167 A.H. (Imperial Gazetteer, Ed. 1908, *S.V.* Kashmir; Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir, passim.*; Hugel, *Travels in Kashmir and the Panjāb*, Ed. 1845, p. 7.)

The issues of 1166-5 R are thus easily accounted for. The really strange thing is that though Afghān rule is known to have been established in the province in 1167 A.H., coins were struck there in the name of 'Ālamgir II of which three specimens are in the Panjāb Museum, showing the dates 1169-2, 1171-3, and 1174-5 (P.M.C. Nos. 2312-14). The history of Kashmir during this period is not a matter of general knowledge and the question demands an answer. It may be permissible therefore to invite attention to an explanation which is found in that exceedingly useful cyclopaedia of Mughal history—the *Maāṣiru-l-Umarā*. The following is the substance of what its author tells us :

When the Durrāni King, Ahmad Shāh, sent 'Abdulla Khān Ishak Aqāsi for the conquest of Kashmir in 1167 A.H., and the latter wrested it out of the hands of the Sūbadar of 'Ālamgir II, he left as his Deputy in the province 'Abdulla Khān alias Khwāja Kichak, with a body of Afghān troops and conferred the office of Diwān on Sakjivan [*recte* Sukhjivan ?]. This man was originally a resident of Kābul and a Khatri

by caste. He had started in life as a clerk (مصدقی) in the service of Shāh Wali Khān, the Vazīr of Ahmad Shāh Abdālī and had been sent on one occasion to Mu'in-u-l-Mulk, the governor of Lāhor for the realisation of the tribute which the latter had bound himself to pay. After a time Sakjivan killed the commander of the Afghān army of occupation, threw Khwāja Kichak into prison and drove him out of the country. He next sent some money to 'Ālamgir II through the Vazīr 'Imādu-l-mulk [Ghāziud-dīn II] and obtained a Farmān appointing himself Hākīm or governor of the province. He appropriated all the Khālīsā lands and the Jāgirs of the Manṣabdārs, but he was otherwise a patron of learning and a good ruler. In 1175 A.H., that is, about the time the Abdālī Shāh inflicted severe chastisement on the Sikhs, [تنبيه براتمي رسانيد], he sent Nūru-d-dīn Khān Durrāni, a cousin of the Vazīr Shāh Wali Khān, with an army against Sakjivan, the Mughal Sūbadār of the province. The latter attempted unsuccessfully to close the passes but was after some resistance defeated and taken prisoner with the members of his family. (*Bibl. Ind. Text.* II. 720-2.)

These coins must have been struck by the command of 'Sakjivan' to legalise and justify his proceedings and show that he was holding the country on behalf of its ancient lord, the Emperor of Dehli against the Afghān usurper.

The date 1174-5 is of course puzzling. Mr. Rodgers says that he had a Rupee of 'Ālamgīr II struck in Kashmir in his 5th year which bore the date 1173. (J.A.S.B., 1885, p. 72). This Emperor was assassinated in 1173 A.H. There must be an error somewhere, but such mistakes are not uncommon at this period, and I must leave the matter there.

P.S.

S. H. HODIVĀLĀ.

Since this article was written, I have found that there is a very similar account of Sukhjivan's rebellion in an English History of the Panjāb published by W. H. Allen and Co., in 1846 (Vol. I, p. 219).

S H H.

295. THE MULTĀN COINS OF 'ĀLAMGĪR II.

The provinces of Lāhor and Multān were cut off from the Mughal Empire and annexed to his own dominions by the Abdālī ruler of Kābul in 1165 A.H. 1752 A.C. (Elliot and Dowson. VIII. 122-3 and 166-8; Cunningham, History of the Sikhs, Ed. 1849, p. 103 and note, Grant Duff, History of the Mahrattas. Reprint, 1873, p. 278). The latest known Multān coins of Ahmad Shāh Mughal are the Rupees dated 1164-4 R. (P.M.C. 2728) and the Muhr of 1165-5 R. (P.M.C. 2641; see also Rodgers, J.A.S.B. 1885, p. 70). The earliest known Multān coin of Ahmad Abdālī is of his 5th regnal year = 1165 A.H. (Rodgers, *Ibid.* p. 70) The city then "becomes a Mint town of the Durrānis" (I.M.C. III. lxviii). But Mr. Whitehead found in Bhāwalpūr a Muhr and two Rupees struck in the name of 'Ālamgīr II, (N.S. XI. 338 and 344; XV. 673; P.M.C. 2738 and 2834). He observed at the time that it would be "interesting to know who issued these coins in the last year of that Emperor's reign". In the Panjāb Museum Catalogue also he referred to these strange-issues and drew attention to the astonishing fact that "the town was already in the hands of the Durrānis and Rupees of the same year are known of Tīmūr Shāh, acting as Nizām for his father" (Introduction, cix).

The fact of the matter is that these revived or belated mintages are coins with a history behind them. They are numismatic reminders of one of the most memorable events in the annals of this country—epigraphs associated with the reckless and unscrupulous proceedings of Mir Shahābud-din (otherwise called 'Imādul-Mulk and Ghāziuddīn II), which provoked two terrible visitations from over the border and ended in breaking to pieces the crumbling fabric of the Mughal Empire and shattering the Mahrāṭṭa power also on the fateful field of Pānipat.

The story of these events can be read at length in Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas, Ch. XXI, Cunningham's

History of the Sikhs, Ed. 1849, pp. 100-107, Elliot and Dowson VIII. 240ff., or Elphinstone's History of India, Ed. Cowell Book XII. Ch. IV. It will suffice to give here a summary for which I am mainly indebted to the first of these authors

Ghāzlu-d-din II was the grandson of the first Nizāmu-l-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh. After deposing and blinding Ahmad Shāh and raising 'Alamgir II to the throne, he conceived the design of recovering the Panjāb which had been surrendered to the Durrāni monarch by M'uinu-l-Mulk (Mir Mannū) after his third invasion (1165 A.H.). Ahmad Shāh Abdālī had soon afterwards seen the wisdom of taking the late Mughal governor into his own service. He gave him the title of Farzand Khān (E.D. VIII., 168) and appointed him Šubadār or Hākīm, on his own behalf, of the conquered territories. On Mir Mannū's death, his infant son was confirmed in the governorship under the guardianship of his mother. When the child also died, the lady continued to rule as before. Ghāzlu-d-din II had been affianced to her daughter, and on the pretext of fetching his bride home, he marched upon Lāhor and contrived to make his mother-in-law a prisoner while she was in bed. She was then deprived of the government and carried off to Dehli and the province was given in charge of the perfidious Adina Beg. The Abdālī provoked by these outrageous proceedings led his fourth invasion (1170 A.H.), re-conquered both the provinces, and marched to Dehli, in plundering which "all the horrors of Nādir Shāh's invasion were repeated," 7th Jumad I. 1170 A.H. (E.D. VIII. 241). A cruel massacre of the devotees at Mathura followed, and the invader retreated only on account of the outbreak of a virulent epidemic in his camp (E.D. VIII, 265). Before doing so, he appointed his son Taimūr Shāh, as Viceroy of the Panjāb and Najibu-d-daula as Mir Bakshi and Amiru-l-Umarā of the Empire. But as soon as the Durrāni's back was turned, Ghāzi-ud-din deprived Najib of all his offices and honours and bestowed them upon his own partisan, Ahmadkhān Bangāsh. As the Emperor and Najibu-d-daula made common cause against him, Ghāzlu-d-din II invited the assistance of Raghunāth Rāo Mahratta and with his help once more made himself master of Dehli and the Emperor's person.

Jahān Khān, the minister and adviser of Taimūr Shāh Durrāni had for a time called into his councils, Adina Beg with a view to profit by his knowledge of the resources and administration of the country. But Adina Beg soon grew suspicious of Jahān Khān's designs, refused to go to Lāhor and flying to the mountains, raised not only the Sikhs against the Afghāns, but called in the Mahrattas. Raghunāth Rāo who was longing for an opportunity to do something grand at once entered the country, defeated the Abdālī's governor of Sarhind and entered Lāhor in triumph. May,

1758 A.C. = Sha'abān 1171 A.H., (E.D. VIII. 267; Cunningham, 106). Adina Beg was now made Sar-Subadār of the Panjāb on the part of the Mahrattas and a Mahratta garrison was left for his support. But he died soon afterwards, it is said of cholera, and was succeeded by a 'native Mahratta'.

Ahmad Shāh Abdālī was at this time occupied in quelling some disturbances in his own country and several months elapsed before he could invade Hindustan once more. But he crossed the Indus in Muharram 1173 A.H. and advanced into the Panjāb. Ghāziuddin then had 'Ālamgir II assassinated on the 8th of Rabī'u s-sāni 1173, A.H. and raised Shāh Jahān II to the throne. Meanwhile, Multān and Lāhor had been evacuated by the Mahrattas on the approach of the Shāh, who also overpowered Sindia and Holkar, one after the other, and once more occupied Dehli. It is not necessary for the purpose of this article to narrate the events which followed or the life and death struggle which terminated with the defeat of the Mahrattas at Pānīpat on 7th January, 1761 A.C. = Jumādī II. 1174 A.H.

It will be observed that the coins bear the dates in 1172-7 and 1173-7. We have also seen that the Mahrattas entered Lāhor in Sha'abān 1171 A.H. and that the Durrāni Shāh crossed the Indus in Muharram 1173. In the circumstances, it is fairly clear that they must have been struck by the Mahrattas in the name of the Emperor to signify the nominal reversion of the province to the throne of Dehli.

S. H. HODIVĀLĀ.


296. COINS EXHIBITED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
NSI. AT BENĀRES IN JANUARY 1929.

(1) Euthydemos (Bactrian).

A round copper coin showing the head of Zeus and prancing horse.



Unchronicled in dichalkon size; the smaller chalkous is illustrated in B.M.C. II 8.

(2) Eukratides (Indo-Greek).

A square copper coin varied from the type B.M.C. VI 3 with the monogram  on reverse

The king wears an unusual flat kausia-shaped helmet and there is a palm branch behind his head instead of the helmet-plume on the normal type.

(3) Artemidoros (Indo-Greek).

Drachm of the type P.M.L.C. VII 553. The obverse shows an irregularly shaped countermark containing a minute monogram . This monogram is very similar to  which

Mr. Whitehead considers may stand for Taxila (Num. Chrom. 1923, pp. 313, 4).

Counter-marked coins of this period are very unusual, the writer only knows of two others, both of these being of Demetrios—vide Cunningham's "Coins of Alexander's successors" Pl. IV 4 and B.M. Cat. p. 6 No. 8.

(4, 5) Azilises (Indo-Scythian).

Two square copper coins of a new sub-type:—

Elephant to right and bull to left, showing different monograms:—

No. 4. Obv.  Rev. .

No. 5. Obv.  Rev. rubbed.

The Greek legends are very debased but are obviously intended for the normal *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΖΙΑΙΣΕΩΥ*

The other varieties of this king's elephant and bull coins are P.M.L.C. p. 139 No. 363 Elephant l and bull l. and No. 364 Elephant r and bull r.

(6) Spalarises (Indo-Scythian).

A square copper coin of type B.M.C. XXII 2.

This is restruck on a coin of Azilises, probably of type B.M.C. XXI 1, and is an additional link confirming that the chronological place of this group of kings is that assumed by Professor Rapson in the Cambridge History of India.

(7) Zeionises (Indo-Scythian).

A tetradrachm of type B.M.C. XXIII 4 with previously unchronicled legends. Unfortunately that on the obverse is too fragmentary to permit of a reading. That on the reverse, however, is clearly "[Mani-] gulasa putrasa

Mahachhatra [-pasa Jibuniassa]".

This coin is the only evidence we have to show that Zeionises had gained promotion from Satrap to Great Satrap.

(8) Kanishka (Kushan).

A large copper coin with reverse type MIIPO, varied from B.M.C. p. 134, Nos. 48-50 in showing an additional monogram on the obverse beside the altar in the left field.

This is an addition to the series with obverse monogram which includes MAO reverse B.M.C. p. 133 No. 39 and P.M.L.C. XVIII 76, and NANA reverse listed by Cunningham in N.C. XII pl. VII No. 15. These coins are as a rule, better executed than those of the normal type with monogram on the reverse only.

(9) Huvishka (Kushan).


A large copper coin of type Elephant-rider to r. and Goddess with cornucopiae (Ardochsho) to r. with legend MAO This is varied from P.M.L.C. page 199, No. 146 as the goddess faces right instead of left. The writer found it, together with three specimens of P.M.L.C. No. 146 near Shinkhari, Mansehra Tahsil, Hazara District, N.W.F.P.

(10) Late Kushan.

A large copper coin of the usual Huvishka type (elephant-rider and deity) but with bilingual legends in Kharosthi and Brahmi.

Obverse.—King, holding ankus, riding elephant to right.

Kh legend "sichhati akusa....."

Reverse —Archer, standing l, looking backwards over his left shoulder and holding vertically in his right hand a long bow with string inwards, in his left hand an arrow (?) with point resting on ground. To l. monogram  and Brahmi legend "Ganesha"

Rāi Bahādur Rāmaprasād Chāndā of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, has very kindly permitted me to publish his readings of the legends of this coin. He suggests that the Kharosthi legend on the obverse is equivalent to the Sanskrit "Śikshayati Ankusena" (trains the elephant by a goad)

The close relationship between the obverse type and this legend is reminiscent of the practice on Gupta coins, vide "The coins of India" (Heritage of India series) by C. J. Brown, page 45

The reverse type and legend show very close kinship with two coins described by Vincent Smith—J.A.S.B. Part I. 1897, page 3 Pl. I 6 and I.M.C. page 81 No. 46 pl. XIII. 4.


This remarkable coin, probably dating from early in the third century A.D. is, I believe, of a later date than any other Indian coin with a Kharosthi legend, and at the same time must rank among the earliest of those late Kushan coins which have an inscription in Brahmi

(11) Phraates II (Parthian).

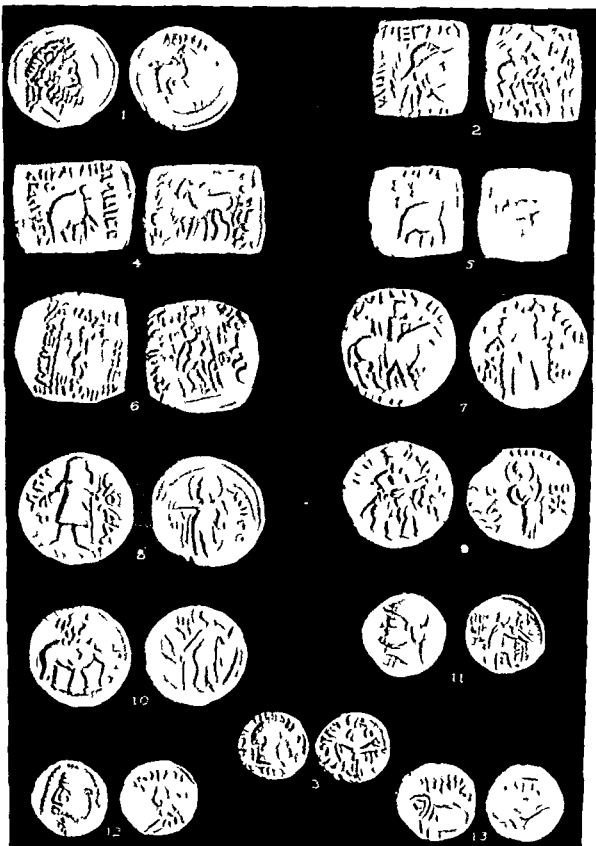
A drachm of the usual type but with an unchronicled variation in the order of the legend on the left which reads

$\frac{\theta\epsilon\omicron\pi\alpha\tau\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma}{\alpha\rho\epsilon\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon}$ instead of $\frac{\alpha\rho\epsilon\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon}{\theta\epsilon\omicron\pi\alpha\tau\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma}$.

(12) (?) Volagases I (Parthian).

A barbarous drachm of doubtful attribution. The treatment of the hair and diadem is very similar to that on a copper coin of Volagases I (B.M.C. XXIX, 10) and the moustache and beard are similar to those on tetradrachms of the same king dating from 55-58 A.D. (B.M.C. XXVIII, 13, 14). The coin shows a countermark of a helmeted head to left on the neck of the king. Both the countermark and the reverse design are very barbarous. The legend is so debased that it is unintelligible. The monogram is .

This coin was obtained from Balkh. Other Parthian drachms with comparable countermarks are also probably from



the same district :—Drachms of Phraates III (B.M.C. XI 4, 5) show the name *OTANNEZ*, and countermarked drachms of Phraates IV (B.M.C. XXI 4, 5 and 6) have been attributed to Sapaleizes. The coin under discussion was probably also struck by one of the early Yueh-chi princes. Warwick Wroth (B.M.C. p. 167 footnote) has drawn attention to the similarity between the coins of Sanabares (another of these obscure rulers) and some barbarous drachms of Gotarzes.

(13) Tāju-d-din Yalduz (General of Muhammad Bim Sām).

A copper coin of the elephant and lion type of the Hindu Shāhis with the usual Sanskrit legend "Sri Samanta Deva" and additional Kufic legends :—*Obverse* :—بلدز on body of the elephant.

Reverse :—الفتم above the lion.

This is the only known coin of the elephant and lion type struck by a Muhammadan invader of India.

M. F. C. MARTIN.

297. SOME RARE GHAZNAVID COINS.

1. Mansūr II bin Nūh (A.H. 387-389) was the last of the Sāmānid princes, and had a short reign, being soon supplanted by Mahmūd of Ghazni.

Very few of his coins are known, the British Museum possessing a single dirhem and a dinār.

The latter unique coin was once in my collection and it is by kind permission of the Keeper of the Coins that I now publish it.

This dinār was struck in 388 A.H. at Herāt, a new mint for Sāmānid coins, but a flourishing city and a popular mint of Mahmūd of Ghazni from 395 A.H. onwards.

It is not improbable that this coin was struck by Maḥmūd, who minted coins in the Sāmānid city of Nisābūr in the same year, but it is strange that he did not show his own name as well as that of his Suzerain Maṇṣūr II. In this course he would have found good precedence in his father's coinage which invariably shows the name of his Sāmānid overlord Nūh bin Maṇṣūr I.

MAṆṢŪR II bin NŪH A.H. 387-389.

A/ Dinār Mint Herāt 388 A.H.

W. 64.3

S. 1.0

see Plate.

Obverse :—area.

Reverse :—area.

ع
لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له

الله
محمد
رسول الله
الطابع لله
منصور بن نوح

Obverse :—area

ornament.

فتح
لا اله الا الله
وحدة لا شريك له
القادر بالله
نصر من ناصر الدين

Reverse :—area

ornament.

محمد رسول الله
يحيى الدولة و
امين الملة ابو
القاسم يميني
Ornament

Margin gives mint *سجستان* and date. Margin almost illegible.

3. Broad base metal dirhems of Mahmūd and of his son Mas'aūd I are not uncommon from Nisābūr mint. I now illustrate a coin of similar fabric struck by Mas'aūd I at Bulandshahr, a mint previously unchronicled for the Ghaznavid series. This unpublished coin is remarkable for the clearness of its minute script and for the large number of titles shown by the ruler.

MASAUD I. A.H 421-432.

R Base, dirhem.

Mint Bulandshahr—Year rubbed.

W. 55 5

S. 95

see Plate.

Obverse :—area.

Reverse :—area.

عدل
لا اله الا الله
سبح الله وحده
لا شريك له
القادر بالله

الله
محمد رسول الله
ناصر دين الله حافظ عباد
الله ظهير خليفة الله امير المومنين
ابو سعيد
مسعود

Obverse margin shows part of mint *بلندش*; this may possibly be merely a prefix to a known mint name which is off the coin.

Reverse margin gives Quran XXX. 3, 4

NOTES:—(a) Characters at either end of obverse line 3 form *بخ* (-good).

(b) Obverse line 6 3 letters rubbed.

(c) Reverse lines 3 and 4 Codrington reads *حافظ غيار الله* on a Ghaznavid coin. Rodgers' reading of *عباد* fits in better with this coin.

(d) Reverse line 5 clearly shows *ابو سعيد* not *ابو سعد*

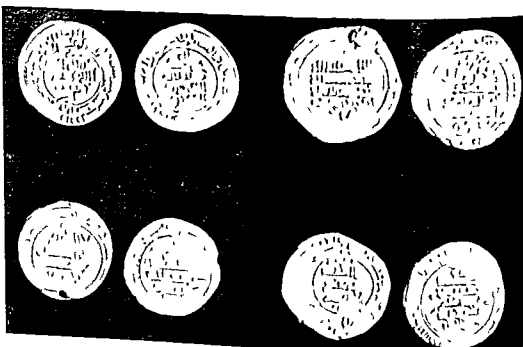
Obverse; inner margin shows usual legend with mint *بمراة* and date 388.

Obverse; outer margin Qorān XXX 3,4.

Reverse; margin Qorān IX. 33.

2 Mr Rodgers in Vol. III of his *Lāhore Museum Catalogue* gives an interesting series of coins struck by Naṣr, brother of Maḥmūd, by Maḥmūd in conjunction with Ṭāhir, and

Obv 1 Rev Obv 2 Rev.



Obv 3 Rev. Obv. 4 Rev.

by the latter's father Walī ud Daulat As these coins are not generally known, and, as I believe no catalogue shows an illustration of any, I take this opportunity to show my coin of Naṣr on the accompanying plate. The Kufic letters are curiously formed even for this period of crabbed and stilted writing.

Naṣr, brother of Maḥmūd.

A Dirhem
Looped

Mint Sijistān [40] 1 A.H.
S 1.1
see Plate.

Obverse :—area

ornament.

فتم
لا اله الا الله
وحده لا شريك له
القادر بالله
نصر من ناصر الدين

Reverse :—area

ornament.

محمد رسول الله
يمين الدولة و
امين الملة ابو
القاسم يمينه

Ornament

Margin gives mint سحمتان and date. Margin almost illegible.

3. Broad base metal dirhems of Maḥmūd and of his son Mas'aūd I are not uncommon from Nisābūr mint. I now illustrate a coin of similar fabric struck by Mas'aūd I at Bulandshahr, a mint previously unchronicled for the Ghaznavid series. This unpublished coin is remarkable for the clearness of its minute script and for the large number of titles shown by the ruler.

MASAUD I. A.H. 421-432.

R Base, dirhem.

Mint Bulandshahr—Year rubbed.

W. 55 5

S. 95

see Plate.

Obverse :—area.

عدل

لا اله الا

سبح الله وحده ح

لا شريك له

القادر بالله

.....

Reverse :—area.

الله

محمد رسول الله

ناصر دين الله حافظ عباد

الله كبير خليفة الله امير المو

صين ابو سعيد

مسعود

Obverse margin shows part of mint سبلندش; this may possibly be merely a prefix to a known mint name which is off the coin.

Reverse margin gives Quran XXX. 3, 4.

NOTES:—(a) Characters at either end of obverse line 3 form بخ (-good).

(b) Obverse line 6.

3 letters rubbed.

(c) Reverse lines 3 and 4. Codrington reads حافظ عباد الله on a Ghaznavid coin. Rodgers' reading of عباد fits in better with this coin.

(d) Reverse line 5 clearly shows ابو سعيد not ابو سعد

4 Gold coins of Farrukh^hzād are of extreme rarity I have been fortunate in obtaining two of them recently The first is identical with British Museum Catalogue No 546, Mint Ghaznīh year 44X, but unfortunately is no clearer in the date The second, which I now illustrate, gives a totally different series of regal titles It is unique and unpublished

FARRUKH^hZĀD A H 444-451

A/ Dinar

Mint Ghaznīh

444 A H.

W 68

S 10

see Plate

Obverse —area

۞

سَلَم

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا

اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ

لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ

الْعَالَمِ بِأَمْرِ اللَّهِ

Reverse —area

لِلَّهِ

مُحَمَّد

رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ
أَبُو شُعَاع

فَرَحْرَاد

مَوْلِدِ أَمِيرِ

Obverse inner margin gives mint بَغْدَاد and date 444

Obverse outer margin Qoran XXX 3, 4

Reverse margin Qoran IX 33

I acknowledge with thanks the help given by R B Ram Prasad Chanda and staff of the Indian Museum in helping to decipher the legends on this coin and to R S Prayag Dayal for preparing the casts

ALLAHABĀD,

28th July, 1929

M F C MARTIN

NUMISMATIC SUPPLEMENT No XLIII

ARTICLES 298 306

*Continued from Journal and Proceedings Vol XXV
New Series No 2*

298 COINS OF DANIJMARDANA DEVA AND MAHENDRA DEVA TWO HINDU KINGS OF BENGAL

The coins I propose to deal with in this article are those issued by two Hindu Kings of Bengal who call themselves Danujmardana Deva and Mahendra Deva and whose coins—those at least with clear dates—cover only 2 years *Saka* 1339 and *Saka* 1340 (=April 1416 to April 1418 A.D. which also corresponds almost exactly to the *Hijra* years 819 and 820). The brief reigns of these kings not only constitute a remarkable break in the otherwise continuous sequence of Muhammadan rulers from early in the 13th century till the beginning of the 19th century A.D. but the mint names found on their coins prove that the Hindus became temporarily dominant all over Bengal.

These coins undoubtedly originate from the family of one Raja Ganes a Hindu who generally appears under the name of Kans in Muhammadan histories (e.g. that of Ferishta and the more modern *Ilyās us Salatin*). To give some idea of the exact period during which Ganes flourished and the coins of these two kings appeared I will begin by some extracts from a précis of a 16th century Persian manuscript given in Major Franklin's Account of a visit to Gaur in 1810-11 as well as by Buchanan Hamilton in his Historical Description of Dinajpur (probably written in 1808). The manuscript in question seems to have been discovered in the possession of some inhabitant of Pandua.

Shamsuddin [Ilyas] governed 12 years and was succeeded by his son Sekandar. The most celebrated person in the reign of Sekandar was a holy man named Mukhdum Alulhuk whose son Azem Khan was commander of the troops. The saint having taken disgust at some part of the king's conduct retired to Sonargang near Dhaka. ————— The good man was however soon induced to return but the king's son Ghiyasuddin having also taken disgust retired to the same place and afterwards made war against his father who after a reign of 37 years fell in battle at a place called Satra near Coalpara (probably Chattera river) which is situated between the Tanggon and Punabhob near a favourite country residence of the king¹

¹ [Elsewhere (*Op. cit.* p. 40) Sikandar Shah's residence is said to have been on the banks of the Tanggon about 8 or 9 miles south of Bamangola now a thana headquarters in the district of Malda.]

Ghiyasuddin on succeeding to the Government put 17 brothers to death. The most holy man at his court was Mukhdum Shah Nūr Kotub Alam son of Alulhuk. Ghiyasuddin governed 16 years and was succeeded by his son Saifuddin who governed 3 years and was succeeded by his slave Saha buddin who also governed 3 years.

Then Ganesh a Hindu and Hakim of Dyanwaj ——— seized the Government. Enraged at Shalh Bador Islam and his son Ivez Islam who refused to give him the compliment due to the rank he had assumed he put them to death. The saint Kotub Shah who was still alive disgusted at this action wrote to a Sultan Ibrahim—who in compliance with the request came from Rajmahal with an army and encamped at Satra. The Raja of Dyanwaj was then terrified and applied in great penitence to Kotub Shah and obtained his forgiveness by making his son Godusen a Muhammadan. This convert assumed the Government under the name of Jalaluddin having been reconciled to the saint and attacked Ibrahim Shah—and, having put him to death seized on his Government. The old man Ganesh then confined his son and seized on the whole kingdom. After having been 4 years in confinement Jalaluddin recovered the Government and compelled the Hindus to become Muhammadans but many of them fled to Kamrup. He governed 7 years and was succeeded by his son Ahmed Shah who reigned 3 years. He was destroyed by two of his nobles Sadi Khan and Nasar Khan the latter of whom was made King and erected many buildings at Gaur to which he seems to have transferred the royal residence. He governed 27 years.

A comparison of this account with that of the *Rajatarangini* the author of which also probably drew, in the second half of the 18th century on local traditions enables us to add the following information regarding Raja Kans (or Kans) and the persons connected with him during his period of influence over mediæval Bengal politics.

(1) *Sultan Ghiyāsu l-lin* was a contemporary and fellow student of Mukhdum Nur Qutbu l Alam and was treacherously killed by the stratagems of Raja Kans a Zemindar of Bhaturia. According to one account his reign lasted 16 years 5 months and 3 days.

(2) *Saifuddin* his son was placed on the throne by the nobles and generals with the title *Sultānus Salātīn*. According to one account he reigned for 3 years 7 months and 5 days.

(3) Saifuddin was followed by Shamsuddin who some say was only an adoptive son of Saifuddin and that his real name was *Shihabuddin*. He reigned for 3 years 4 months and 6 days. Raja Kans (who had by that time become very powerful) attacking him slew him and usurped the throne.

(4) *Raja Kans* then subjugated the whole of Bengal and oppressed the Muhammadans. His aim was to extirpate Islam.

from his dominions. Owing to the murder, by the Raja of Shaikh Bādr al-Islām father of Shaikh Muḥammad 'Abbās Shaikh Nūr Qutb al-Ālam invited Sultān Ibrahim of Jaunpur to invade Bengal and rescue the Musalmans. When the Sultan reached Firuzpur (probably old Maldah), the Raja became alarmed and even at first consented to the demand of Shaikh Nūr that, as the price of his intercession with Sultān Ibrahim the Raja should become a Muḥammadan. This displeased the Raja's wife, whereupon Raja Kans offered his son *Jadu* (whom Ferihta calls Jitmall) for conversion, saying 'I have become old and desire to retire from the world. You may convert to Islam this son of mine and then bestow on him the kingdom of Bengal.' *Jadu* was accordingly proclaimed King of Bengal under the title Jalāluddīn. When however Sultān Ibrahim had retired from Bengal *Raja Kans* dispossessed his son Sultān Jalāluddīn and himself re-ascended the throne. He also endeavoured unsuccessfully to reconvert Jalāluddīn to Hinduism and renewed his persecution of the Muḥammadans. The Raja then died after murdering Shaikh Anwar, the son of Shaikh Nūr Qutb al-Ālam at Sunārgaon. The author of the *Riyāz* adds that according to some accounts Jalāluddīn who was in prison leagued with the Raja's servants and slew him after Raja Kans had reigned for 7 years. *Jalāluddīn* then again ascended the throne and persecuted the Hindus. He continued to live at Pandua but the city of Gaur began to be repopulated in his time and he is even said to have removed the capital back there. He was buried at Pandua after reigning 17 years.

(5) Jalāluddīn was succeeded by his son Ahmad who was a bloodthirsty tyrant. After he had reigned for 16 (or 18) years Shīdī Khān and Nāsir Khān, two of his slaves who held the rank of nobles slew him. The assassins fell out, and Nāsir Khān after slaying Shīdī Khān placed himself on the throne. He was however slain by the nobles of Ahmad Shāh either the same day or after 7 days and one of the (2 great) grandsons of Sultān Shamsuddīn (Iltūṣ) was then raised to the throne with the title of Nāsir Shāh (i.e. Nāsiruddīn Maḥmūd Shāh). The fort at Gaur was erected by this king who reigned for either 27 or 32 years.

I have purposely omitted to mention any of the dates given in the *Puṭi*, for as Blochman was the first to point out in the seventies of the last century, they are all wrong. Those given by Francklin are nearer the mark, but it is better to trust to the evidence of coins as giving the fullest information not only as regards dates but also mint names. It was by this means that Mr. Nalin Kanta Bhattacharya (Curator of the Dhacca Museum who made a preliminary survey of this period when describing in 1922 the Ketun find in his 'Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultāns of Bengal') was able to prove the existence

of a previously unrecorded King of Bengal 'Alāuddīn Firūz and to indicate some of the mistaken readings in the section of the Indian Museum Catalogue that deals with the coinage of Ghiyāsuddīn. I quote below the dates found on coins in my own cabinet supplementing them where necessary by references to coins in the Indian Museum or elsewhere (given in square brackets)

Kings	Hyrā (dates on coins)
1 S kandar	[759 787]
2 Ghiyāsuddīn Azam (son of No 1)	[793 812] 811 812 (?) 813
3 Sa f idd īn Hamzah (son of No 2)	814 and 81
4 Sh habudd īn Bayaz d	816 and 817
5 Alāuddīn Fir z (son of No 4)	817
6 Jalalud īn Muhammad	818 819 821 3 [824 828]
7 Shamsuddīn Ahmad (Probably reigned from 833-846)	831 (?) [834]
8 Nas ruddīn Mahmud	[838]
	[948-869]

I have verified by personal inspection that the date 812 given on I M C No 89 for a coin of Shihabuddīn is probably a mis-reading for 814, while that of 840 (I M S No 104) for a coin of Jalaluddīn is also extremely doubtful so that no discrepancy seems to occur in the coin dates. The only actual gap in the dates between 810 and 824 is in the year 820, and this is completely covered by the coins of the two kings we have taken up for consideration as the coins of Danujmarddāna were struck in *Saka* 1339 and 1340 (819 and 820 A H) while those of Mahendra that have up to now been reported were all struck in *Saka* 1340 except for one in my own cabinet (*vide* No 8 of Plate II) where the unit is certainly not 0 and may be 1.

In dealing with the history of these two Hindu Kings one might expect to find that however short their reigns may have been they would have received considerable attention in Bengali literature composed by Hindus. It is rather surprising to find on the contrary that Mahendra is not mentioned at all while elaborate search has only produced two references to Danujmarddāna. One of these occurs in the autobiography of the poet Krittikās and mentions that his great great grandfather, Narasinha Ojha settled at Phulih (very close to Santipur in the present district of Nadia) and became Minister to a King called Danuj the other quoted from the *Laghutoshini* of Jiva Goswami (nephew of Rūp and Sanatan, the Ministers of Husain Shah in the first quarter of the 16th century) states that Jiva Goswami's great great grandfather Padmabha settled at Naihati and was honoured by King Danujmarddāna. There is a similar silence in Bengali literature even about Raja Ganes—with again very few references—only three all in Vaishnava works. In the *Prem*

Bilas of Nityānanda Das one of the disciples of Chaitanya who lived from 1485-1528 A D—it is stated that one Narasinha Narai came from Sylhet to the presence of Raja Ganes and was honoured by him. The second reference occurs in the *Adwaita Prakas* of Isan Nagar where the important statement is made that it was by the advice of Narasinha Narai of the Brahmin family of Aru Ojha of Laur Sylhet and great great grandfather of Adwaita of Santipur (who was himself born in 1434 A D) that Raja Ganes was able to become King of Gaur. Finally in the *Bahalula Sutra* of Krishnadas (who before he was converted to Vaishnavism was Raja Dibya Sinha of Laur) it is stated that Raja Ganes having invited Narasinha Narai to his court at Dinajpur made him his Minister and that it was by the latter's good counsel that Raja Ganes was victorious over the *Farana* (Muhammadan) King of Gaur and became undisputed monarch of Gaur in 1329 *Saka* (1407 A D). It must be noted however that as the last named book has only recently been printed (from a corrected copy of a defective MS which cannot now be traced) the statements made in it—especially that about the Raja having had his court at Dinajpur—cannot be unhesitatingly accepted.

From the references just given it is evident that little or no light is thrown on the question as to who King Danujmardana was and that though it may be inferred that Danujmardana probably lived at about the same time as Raja Ganes no suggestion even is made that Raja Ganes was identical with King Danujmardana. The only certain information is that Raja Ganes became King of Gaur possibly about 1407 A D by conquering and slaying one or more Muhammadan Badshahs of Gaur. This is exactly what is stated by the author of the *Riyaz* and we are therefore driven to the conclusion that in clearing up this obscure period of Bengali history we have to rely entirely on the statements of Muhammadan authorities (chiefly those already quoted) as well as on any evidence we can gather from the coins of Danujmardana Mahendra and their immediate predecessors and successors.

The only other important point that has not previously been mentioned is that we learn from Muhammadan sources that the Saint Nūr Qutb ul Ālim who was instrumental in inducing Sultan Ibrahim of Jaunpur to retire from Bengal after the conversion of Jadu Raja Ganes's son to Muhammadanism died in 818 A H (= March 13th 1415 to February 28th 1416).

It is hardly credible that Raja Ganes would have acted in the way that he is reported then to have done—imprisoning son and after again seizing the sovereignty of Bengal recommencing to oppress the Muhammadans if the Saint had still been alive. We may therefore infer from the facts (a) that many coins of Jalaluddin are known to have been minted in 818 A H (b) that only a very few coins of Jalaluddin dated

819 A H are known and (c) that there is no further mention of the Saint but only of his son Shāikh Anwar whom Raja Ganes murdered that afterwards probably in consequence of the death of Nur Qutb al Alam in 818 A H Raja Ganes ejected his son from the throne early in 819 A H (say about the summer of 1416 A D) and seized the kingdom of Bengal.

Now it is precisely at this time that the coins of Danujmarddana dated *Saka* 1339 begin. Moreover as Mr N K Bhattasali has pointed out the very title of the King Danujmarddana means Destroyer of the Demons — is in accordance with the behaviour of Raja Ganes if we take the name to be a reference to Muhammadans. The following summary of the dates found on the coins of this period also shows how completely they fit in with the story as given by the Muhammadan historians.

Kings	Date A H (or <i>Saka</i>)	Equivalent date A D
Alāuddīn Firuz	817 (very few coins)	March 23rd 1414—March 19th 141
Jalāluddīn	818 (numerous coins)	March 13th 1415—Feb 28th 1416
Do	819 (very few coins)	March 1st 1416—Feb 17th 1417
Do	[No coins of 820 known]	Feb 18th 1417—Feb 1418
Danujmarddana	<i>Saka</i> 1339	Middle of April 1416 to middle of April 1417
Do	Do 1340	April 1417—April 1418
Mahendra	Do 1340	
Do	Do 1341 (?) 21 coins	April 1418—April 1419
Jalāluddīn	821 (onwards numerous coins of each of the years 821 822 and 823)	Feb 8th 1418—Jan 21 1419

A brief study of the table will show practically conclusively that Mr N K Bhattasali's thesis that Raja Ganes and Danujmarddana were one and the same king is correct and that the title of Danujmarddana was deliberately assumed by Raja Ganes as a visible sign that he had formally renounced his previous obedience to the orders of a Muhammadan Saint.

The extent of the territory controlled by the Kings of Bengal from the beginning of Ghiyasuddin's Azam's reign to the end of that of Jalāluddīn will be seen from the annexed Table A giving the names of their mints from coins chiefly in my own cabinet. From this table the following facts can be gathered.

(1) Ghiyasuddin minted chiefly from Firuzabad (Pandua) but coins belonging to him are also known from Muzzamabad (Eastern Bengal) and Satganw (Western Bengal).

(2) The only mints known up to now as having been active in Saifuddin's reign are Firūzābād and Mu'azzamābād

(3) In addition to these last mentioned mints, Shihabuddin also issued coins from Satgāw, as well as possibly, from Chatgāw (Chittagong)

(4) 'Alāuddīn, and Jalāluddīn (during his first period as King) may only have struck coins from Firūzābād

(5) During the brief reigns of Danujmarddāna and Mahendra the name Firūzābād disappears, being replaced by the Hindu name Pāndūnagar. The existence of coins from both Sunār gāw and Chatigram (Chittagong) shows that the whole of Eastern Bengal was under the control of Danujmarddāna, and this was probably also the case with Mahendra when he succeeded to the throne

(6) On the return of Jalāluddīn to the throne, the name Pāndūnagar was replaced at once by Firūzābād. Coinage also reappeared from Satgāw and Mu'azzamābād. Possibly the Chittagong mint also occasionally struck coins

Summing up all the available facts, it appears therefore that the true history of Bengal during the first quarter of the 9th century A H was as follows. Raja Ganes, who was zemindar of Bhaturia,¹ a tract of country which lay on either side of the Atrai River (i.e., the South East corner of the present Rājshāhi Division) began to acquire considerable influence over the affairs of Bengal during the late years of Sultān Ghiyāsuddīn—say 800-813 A H (1397-1410 A D) and, according to the *Riyāz* he treacherously killed this king. The nobles then placed Ghiyāsuddīn's son Saifuddīn Hamzah on the throne. The coins of this king show that he reigned for at least 2 years (814 and 815 A H) and that he assumed the title *As Sultān wa Salātin Sikandar ath thāni* 'King of Kings, the Second Alexander'. Saifuddīn was succeeded by Shihābuddīn Bāyazīd who was either the slave or adopted son of Saifuddīn. Shihābuddīn remained on the throne for perhaps 2 years (816 and part of 817 A H) and may have been slain by Raja Ganes who then tried to occupy the throne. From the fact however that Shihābuddīn was succeeded by his son 'Alauddīn Firūz and the absence of any coins of Raja Ganes struck in his own name it is clear there was a considerable amount of active resistance to the Raja's plans from the Muhammadan nobles and priests. This finally led to Sultān Ibrāhīm of Jaunpur being requested by the Saint Nūr Qutb al Alam of Pandua to invade Bengal and Raja Ganes was forced to consent to his own son Jadu being converted to Muhammadanism and placed on the throne of Bengal with the title of Jalālud dīn Muhammad early in 818

¹ The correct spelling is probably Bhaturia as Raja Ganes seems to have belonged to the Bhatia family of Varanasi Brachmins.

A H in place of 'Alauddin Firūz who had probably been killed by Raja Ganes soon after his accession to the throne in the previous year Jalaluddin continued as King throughout 818 and for part of 819 A H but owing to the death of Nur Qutbu l

Alam in 818 A H Raja Ganes deposed and imprisoned his son in 819 (1416 A D) after an ineffectual attempt to reconvert him to Hinduism Raja Ganes then ascended the throne taking the title of Danujmardana but died in the next year As already noted he struck coins dated *Saka* 1339 and 1340 (=8½ months of 1416 the whole of 1417 and 3½ months of 1418) from Pandunagar (Firuzabad—the present Pandua) Sunarganj and Chatganj (Chittagong) He was followed in the same *Saka* year 1340 (April 1417 to April 1418) by a King called Mahendra who may also have continued to rule for some portion of the following *Saka* year 1341 but meantime Jalaluddin who may have had some hand in his father's death had escaped from prison and succeeded in 821 A H (=1418 A D) in firmly re-establishing himself on the throne which he continued to occupy until probably 835 A H (i.e. 1431 A H) when he was in turn succeeded on the throne of Bengal by his son Shamsuddin Ahmad Shah The last named king seems to have been a less satisfactory ruler than his father and after reigning for 10 or 11 years he was assassinated A brief period of confusion ensued after which a scion of the family of Ilyas Shah became King with the title of Nasiruddin Mahmud and fully restored the glory of his great great grandfather's times Nasiruddin Mahmud resided at Gaur and it is probably he who built the Fort there

A few words may be said in conclusion regarding the identity of the King Mahendra who followed Danujmardana This King does not mention who his father was on his coins so that he might not even have been connected with Raja Ganes family at all The only clue is given in the history of Ferishta who unlike other Muhammadan historians seems to have gathered that some people at all events considered that Raja Ganes was not so much Muhammadan as the accounts previously quoted try to make out He even states that when Raja Kans died certain Muhammadans claimed the Raja was a Musalman and wished to bury him with Islamic rites Ferishta then goes on to give the following account of Jalaluddin's (second) accession Jitmall after the death of his father summoned the nobles and all the other pillars of the State and said The truth of the Islamic religion is clear to me and I have no alternative but to accept it If you accept me and do not wish to stray away from my sovereignty I will place my feet on this honourable throne otherwise let my younger brother be King and excuse me All the officials unanimously declared We follow the King in worldly affairs and have nothing to do with religion Then Jitmall having summoned the learned men and elite of



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9

Lakhnauti, uttered the *Kalimah*, and having assumed the title of Jalāluddīn, ascended the throne ”.

Failing any definite proof of the identity of Mahendra, it seems reasonable to read between the lines of Ferishta's account and identify Mahendra with the younger brother of Jadu, Jalāluddīn. Mahendra had probably already been placed on the throne in succession to Raja Ganes by the Hindus, while Jalāluddīn would be addressing chiefly a Muhammadan audience who were already prepared to support him. We can easily picture the sequel. pursuit and ultimate death of Mahendra and thereafter undisturbed rule over the whole of Bengal for Jalāluddīn.

H. E. STAPLETON.

In Captain Henderson's Chronological Table published as an Appendix to the Journal of the Asiatic Society in 1836 it is stated that the English established a Mint in Calcutta in 1757 and the first rupee was struck on the 29th August of that year.

The right to establish a Mint was one of the stipulations of the Treaty with Sirāj ud Daula, dated 7th February 1757.

Thurston however gives the date of the Mint as 1759 or 1760, when a 'PARWĀNA' was obtained.

Possibly the right of Minting was in dispute for some time.

There is a reference in a despatch to the Court of Directors in 1753 mentioning the need for the utmost secrecy regarding the proposed Mint and the question of presents totalling two lakhs of rupees necessary to arrange matters is also referred to.

The Reverend Rogers Ruding in Vol IV of his Annals of the Coinage of Britain published in 1819, gives the first mention of a Mint in Calcutta as occurring in June, 1766.

The site of this first Mint is not known. The coins produced were crude specimens struck between dies with a hammer and were really counterfeits of the Moghul coins then in circulation. With such primitive methods no special building would be necessary and possibly none was built.

THE SECOND CALCUTTA MINT

In 1790 machinery was sent out from England and coins of modern type with milled edges were struck. This machinery was erected in buildings on the site of Gillett's ship building establishment.

This site was taken over in 1833 by the Stamp and Stationery Committee. It is probably the land now occupied by the Stationery Office between Strand Road and Church Lane.

MACHINERY OF THE SECOND CALCUTTA MINT

Some details of the machinery used can be gleaned from a report, dated 1819, from the Mint Committee recommending that a new Mint should be built and that new machinery of modern design driven by steam should be obtained from England.

It is stated that the Rolling Mill was then worked by manual labour, forty coolies being employed to turn the Mill. Their wages were Rs. 5 per mensem. Four reliefs were necessary in order to roll the metal required to coin one lakh of rupees in 12 hours. It is not surprising that the working of the Mill was

Another eminent master was Col. Richard Baird Smith, C.B., who was Chief Engineer of the Army of the siege of Delhi.

Among the Assay Masters occur the names of James Prinsep in whose honour Prinsep's Ghat was erected and Dr. Busted, author of "Echoes of Old Calcutta".

THE PRESENT MINT.

The New Mint was opened for coinage on 1st August, 1829.

The façade of the Mint facing Strand Road is supposed to be a copy on a smaller scale of the Temple of Minerva at Athens. This façade conceals the ugly utilitarian buildings lying behind it.

Owing to the treacherous soil the old Mint was in a ruinous condition with roofs cracked and walls leaning over. The Superintending Engineer of the Public Works Department reported that the buildings could not be repaired but would have to be entirely rebuilt if used for the new machinery. Forbes took care to guard against this danger in the New Mint.

Very massive foundations were laid and they go down 26 feet below ground level so that there is nearly as much brickwork below ground as above.

In 1826 an army was being formed for the siege of Bhurtpore. There are in the records several letters from Forbes begging to be allowed to join this Army. He was eventually permitted to do so and was present at the siege and capture of the fortress.

During Forbes' absence on active service someone in authority desired to inspect the progress of the building of the Mint. He was alarmed to find nothing showing above ground. On his return from the siege, Forbes was called upon for an explanation which he no doubt furnished without difficulty.

Besides the very solid foundations for the building and for the heavy machinery, an enormous quantity of masonry was required for the subterranean tunnels for the condensing water of the primitive steam engines and flues for the chimneys. Only recently difficulties have been experienced in laying foundations for new machinery owing to the unsuspected presence of one of these tunnels.

The buildings cost 11 lakhs of rupees and the machinery sufficient to coin two lakhs of silver pieces per diem cost Rs. 13 lakhs.

BOULTON AND WATT'S COINING MACHINERY.

The machinery was similar to that which had recently been installed, after much opposition, at the Royal Mint, London. It had been perfected by Boulton and Watt at Soho, Birmingham.

irregular and great variation occurred in the thickness of the fillets or straps resulting in many rejected coins

It is interesting to compare this Mill with the existing Rolling Mills driven by Electric power with motors of 150 horse power and each capable of rolling metal for 3 lakhs of rupees in seven hours

Melting was done in a large open fire of charcoal in which many small pots containing only 1 000 tolas each were placed There was apparently no chimney

The heat and fumes were so bad that it was impossible to supervise the work of the melters who were thus able to abstract silver and substitute some other metal with impunity Melters were paid Rs 10 per mensem and found a security of Rs 2 000 There is evidence to show that the job of Melter was a lucrative one in those days

Another eminent master was Col Richard Baird Smith C B, who was Chief Engineer of the Army of the siege of Delhi. Among the Assay Masters occur the names of James Prinsep in whose honour Prinsep's Ghat was erected and Dr Busted author of "Echoes of Old Calcutta"

THE PRESENT MINT

The New Mint was opened for coinage on 1st August, 1829

The façade of the Mint facing Strand Road is supposed to be a copy on a smaller scale of the Temple of Minerva at Athens. This façade conceals the ugly utilitarian buildings lying behind it.

Owing to the treacherous soil the old Mint was in a ruinous condition with roofs cracked and walls leaning over. The Superintending Engineer of the Public Works Department reported that the buildings could not be repaired but would have to be entirely rebuilt if used for the new machinery. Forbes took care to guard against this danger in the New Mint.

Very massive foundations were laid and they go down 26 feet below ground level so that there is nearly as much brick work below ground as above.

In 1826 an army was being formed for the siege of Bhurtpore. There are in the records several letters from Forbes begging to be allowed to join this Army. He was eventually permitted to do so and was present at the siege and capture of the fortress.

During Forbes' absence on active service someone in authority desired to inspect the progress of the building of the Mint. He was alarmed to find nothing showing above ground. On his return from the siege, Forbes was called upon for an explanation which he no doubt furnished without difficulty.

Besides the very solid foundations for the building and for the heavy machinery, an enormous quantity of masonry was required for the subterranean tunnels for the condensing water of the primitive steam engines and flues for the chimneys. Only recently difficulties have been experienced in laying foundations for new machinery owing to the unsuspected presence of one of these tunnels.

The buildings cost 11 lakhs of rupees and the machinery sufficient to coin two lakhs of silver pieces per diem cost Rs 13 lakhs.

BOULTON AND WATT'S COINING MACHINERY

The machinery was similar to that which had recently been installed after much opposition at the Royal Mint London. It had been perfected by Boulton and Watt at Soho Birmingham,

prior to 1768 and had been used for copper coin for France and the Colony of Bermuda and in 1794 for coinage for the Madras Presidency

It was not, however, until 1797 that Boulton obtained an order for copper coinage for Great Britain. This coinage was such a success that Boulton was employed to erect the new Mint on Tower Hill and the machinery for it was manufactured at Soho, Birmingham. Thereafter, he supplied similar machinery to the Royal Mints of Russia, Spain, and Denmark and subsequently for Mexico, Calcutta, and Bombay.

The Coining Presses supplied to Calcutta in 1829 and similar ones supplied in 1860 are still in use without material alterations and have given remarkable service. Those supplied to Bombay are also still in use.

Though they occupy much space, make a terrific noise, and consume much power they are still considered the best for turning out large quantities of heavy coin such as the rupee under the conditions obtaining in India.

Several attempts have been made to replace them by modern presses but hitherto without success.

Boulton may be regarded as the father of modern Minting. With the assistance of Watt he first applied steam to the working of coining machinery.

The story of his life, his wonderful mechanical genius, his perseverance in the face of enormous difficulties and the opposition of his contemporaries is of absorbing interest to any one connected with the minting of coin.

There is in the Mint a fine collection of medals and coins struck at Soho, Birmingham, between 1780-1820.

For artistic design, skilful handicraft, and perfection of execution they have rarely been surpassed.

This collection was presented to the Mint in 1855 by Captain Forbes, R.E., believed to have been the son of Major General Forbes.

It is probable that the medals and coins were presented to General Forbes by the firm of Boulton and Watt as samples of what their machinery could produce.

SILVER COINAGE RECORDS.

The records of the silver coinage executed at the Calcutta Mint date from 1801-02, in which year Rs. 30 lakhs Sicca and gold coins valued at nearly one lakh of rupees were struck.

These records show a fairly steady yearly output up to 1835, the largest being in 1819-20 when 263 lakhs Sicca were coined.

There is no marked increase following the completion of the new Mint. This is explained by the fact that it was employed for sometime chiefly on pice. It was not till 1835 when the

William IV coins of English design were ordered that any marked increase of output appears

NEW COPPER MINT

In 1860 a separate Mint intended exclusively for the coinage of copper was built to the north of the Silver Mint. The Silver Mint is now capable of giving an output of Rs 6 lakhs in a working day of 7 hours and in the Copper Mint five lakhs pieces of bronze or cupro nickel can be struck.

The two Mints are self contained each comprising Melting Laminating and Cutting Annealing and Stamping and Packing Departments.

The Silver Mint has in addition an Automatic Weighing Department for weighing of blanks before they are struck.

The Bullion and General Offices Workshops and Stores are common to the two Mints.

RECORD COINAGE

In the year 1918 19 nearly 546 million coins were struck in the Calcutta Mint and on one day alone the output exceeded 18 lakhs rupees besides small coins.

This is nearly double the record annual output of the Royal Mint in London and is believed to exceed that of any Mint in the world.

At the present time though Calcutta is responsible for supplying the whole coinage needs of India the Silver Mint is almost disused but the Copper Mint is fully employed and was recently working on overtime to an output of 7½ lakhs pieces daily.

COINS STRUCK IN THE CALCUTTA MINT

In addition to the Government of India coins which are familiar to all there have been regular issues of coinage up to recent years from the Calcutta Mint for the Straits Settlements and Ceylon and occasionally of British Dollars for Hongkong.

Coins have also been struck in the past for the Indian States of Dewas Bilanir and Dhar Sailana and Puddokota. The latter's coin is the Aman Cash the smallest coin struck in the Mint orders for which are still received periodically. Other coins include the Portuguese India One Rupee ¼ Tanga and ½ Tanga of 1881 1886 Pice for British East Africa in 1888 coins for the Sultan of Lahej near Aden in 1895 and Penny and Half penny pieces for the Australian Government during the Great War.

An interesting recent issue was that of half rupee size coins for Bhutan. The Mint is now engaged on a new series of coins for Udaipur.

MINT RECORDS

The records of the Mint date from 1792. The old records are in copper plate manuscript and the letters are generally in perfect English, but would now perhaps be considered somewhat pedantic.

There is much correspondence regarding escorts for treasure by country boats on the river. There are frequent references to disease and death showing the unhealthiness of Calcutta in the early days.

Petitions for more pay were then, as now, common.

Estimates for the machinery for the Benares and Saugor Mints are to be found in the records of 1820. This machinery was supplied by a well known Engineering firm, still flourishing in Calcutta.

The records for the years 1857-58 do not contain any interesting references to the Mutiny. Two Mint Assistants were given leave to join some unit known as the Yeomanry Cavalry but they were subsequently not permitted to retain a lien on their appointments.

There is a letter dated 31st August, 1853, referring to the transfer of India from the East India Company to the Crown and the necessity for a new device to be stamped on the coins. This must have led up to the issue of the 1862 coins.

In those days the date of coins was not changed yearly as at present. This was probably due to there being no skilled engravers available and if any changes were made, new matrices would have had to be obtained from England.

It was not till 1874 that a yearly change of dates was instituted. Rupees prior to 1874 are dated 1835, 1840, or 1862 only.

Prior to the building of the Copper Mint, large quantities of copper coins were imported from England.

300 tons of pice struck by Ralph Heaton & Sons, Birmingham were sent out in 1857.

54 lakhs of blanks were lost in the wreck of the "Rajah," off Diamond Point in the same year.

There are many references in the records to stores and coin lost in wrecks.

MEDALS AND DECORATIONS

An important duty of the Mint is the manufacture of medals and decorations.

The earliest medal of which the dies are in the Mint is that for Service on the Island of Ceylon 1795-96.

Other early medals are Seringāpatam 1799, Egypt 1801, Isle of France 1809-10, Java 1811, Nepal 1814-16, Coorg 1837 and a series of Afghānistan Medals of 1839-42.

The first India General Service Medal is dated 1854 and a total number of 20 clasps was issued with this. There were

four later designs of this medal and further clasps to date bring the total to 38, the latest being "Waziristān 1925"

In connection with the Great War, the 1914 15 Bronze Star and the British War Medal were struck in the Calcutta Mint in large numbers

The familiar Indian Military and Civil decorations, 18 in number, are struck in the Mint every year

Many other medals are struck for Universities, Colleges, and other institutions

Other interesting medals include one commemorating the opening of the East Indian Railway to Rājmahāl in 1860 and the MacGregor Memorial Medal of the United Service Institution of India dated 1887 and showing types of the British and Indian Armies of that period

The latest medal of interest is that of the Simla Fine Arts Society, the design of which is a copy of the figure of a bull taken from a seal which is the oldest known engraving in India and was found at Mohenjo Daro

The thrones used by Their Majesties the King and Queen at the Delhi Durbar were cast in silver at the Calcutta Mint, 96 000 old rupees being melted for this purpose

Plaques for the Durbar Monument at Delhi and several Memorial Tablets of the Great War were also prepared in the Mint

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

One of the duties of the Mint is the checking for the public of weights and measures There is at present no standard of weights and measures enforced throughout India, as is the case in other countries The reason for this is that there is too wide a variation in standards still in common use

The Railway standard of weights is however, generally accepted and many Municipalities now maintain standard weights for checking weights used in their area

Sets of standard weights are supplied by the Mint to such Municipalities as require them and these are returned periodically to the Mint for check

Many weights are also sent by the public to the Mint for check

The primary standards which are in the custody of the Mint consist of a 30 tola piece, a 100 grammes piece and a troy ounce—all made of Iridio platinum These were obtained from England and are of great accuracy

The Mint also possesses complete sets of Reference and Working Standards for tola and avoirdupois weights which are periodically checked by the Assay Department

The Calcutta Assay Office was closed as a measure of retrenchment in 1923 and since then the Mint is no longer able to adjust weights to the accuracy of the Reference Standards

Working Standards are used and are sufficiently accurate for all general purpose All assay work for the Calcutta Mint is now done at the Bombay Assay Office

COUNTERFEIT COINS

While the Mint is primarily concerned with the minting of genuine coin, it has much work in connection with the prevention of counterfeiting

With a large percentage of illiteracy in the population and with many districts remote from Police or other supervision the counterfeiter finds his nefarious trade a profitable one

There are criminal tribes who have been known as counterfeiters since Moghul days

The Mint is constantly called upon to furnish expert evidence in cases connected with the counterfeiting of coins

There is in the Mint Museum a Show case of counterfeit coins and implements used by counterfeiters It bears the inscription "RADIX ENIM OMNIUM MALORUM EST CUPIDITAS"

H STAGG

300 RARE MUGHAL COINS IN THE STATE MUSEUM (HAIDAR-
ĀBĀD, DECCAN).

Mr. Ghulām Yazdānī, Director of the Archaeological Department, H.E.H. the Nizam's Government, has kindly asked me to arrange and catalogue the coins of the Haidarābād Museum. While examining them, I have come across certain issues which may interest numismatists. I propose to describe some which relate to new mints or throw fresh light on the history of the period. I will first describe a new Bahmani coin and then Mughal coins according to their mints.

BAHMANI COIN.

Mint Fathābād

This coin adds one more to the number of the Bahmani Mints hitherto published.

Obverse.

سلطان
العهد و الرمان
حامي ملة رسول
الرحمن

Reverse.

ابو المظفر
محمد شاه بن
نعمان شاه السلطان (sic)
قرب | حضرت | فتح آباد | ٧٦٤



Ahsanābād (GULBARGAH).

Mr. R. B. Whitehead in his Mint Notes observes: "From 1115 to the end of the reign, the Bahmani name of the town (i.e., Ahsanābād) was revived on both gold and silver coins". The three Rupees, in the Cabinet of the Haidarābād Museum stamped below, prove that the name was revived as early as 1112 A.H. (if not earlier) at least on the silver coins. The following is the reading:—

<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
عالم (گبر)	مانوس
۱۱۱۲	صنعت
اورنگ رب	۴۵
رد چو بدر مندر	سند خلوس
مکه	صوب
در جہاں	[۱] حسن آباد

Mint Bijāpur

I will next take a set of Mughal coins from the Bijapūr Mint In N S XXX Mr C J Brown observes that he has not come across any coins from the Bijapūr mint dating between the 24th and 30th Regnal years of Aurangzeb The undermentioned is one of the 26th Regnal year

It will be interesting to note that the Hijri year 1091 was stamped not only on coins of the 23rd and 24th Regnal years but also on those of 26th Regnal year of which 2 specimens are now in our Cabinet The following is the reading of the coins —

<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
عالم گبر	مانوس
۱۹۱	صنعت
اورنگ رب	۴۶
مکہ	سند خلوس
رد چو بدر مندر	صوب
مکہ	دعابور
در جہاں	

I may here add that the reading *مخلوس* for *خلوس* mentioned in the N S XXX page 265 is not to be found on a coin of the 23rd Regnal year in the Museum of Haiderābād

<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
عالم گبر	مانوس
۱۹۱	صنعت
اورنگ رب	۴۳
مکہ	سند خلوس
رد چو بدر مندر	صوب
مکہ	دعابور
در جہاں	



The earliest coin known with the *Dāru-z-zafar* epithet is said to be of the 31st Regnal year, with the Hijri date missing (N.S. XXX, page 265). The undermentioned is a coin of 1097 A.H. and of the 30th Regnal year.—

Obverse.

عالم گیر
۱۰۹۷
اورنگ زیب
سـ
(ز) د چو بدر منبر
سـ
در جهان

Reverse.

جلوس
میدنت
مانوس دار الظفر
۳۰
بیجاپور سنه
ضر

There is a unique coin of this very mint of the 42nd and 43rd or 44th Regnal year of Aurangzeb which has the word "Nāik" below 'Zarb' and before the epithet *Dāru-z-zafar*. It might have been struck by one of the Nāik feudatories of the Mughal Emperors. The coin reads as follows:—

Obverse.

عالم گیر
اورنگ زیب
سـ
زد چو بدر منبر
سـ
در جهان

Reverse.

مانوس
۴۲
سنه جلوس
ضر
نایک دار الظفر
بیجاپور



Mr. R. B. Whitehead, in his mint notes, has stated that "After Farrukhsiyar the mint Bijāpūr disappears from the Mughal series". The following rupee of Muhammad Shāh from the same mint shows that it was active even after Farrukh-siyar.—

Obverse
 محمد شا
 باد عاری
 ارا

Reverse
 نلو
 میمنت مالو
 سنه ۴
 طه
 سنجابور

*Bareilly*

Mr R B Whitehead observes —

"Coin No 1626 is dated 1100, but a rupee earlier by two years is in the Cabinet of Mr H Nelson Wright (Mint Notes P M C)

The Haidarabad Museum cabinet has a unique rupee of 1097 A H — 29 R Y, one of the R Y 29 and one of 1098 A H 30 R Y

Obverse
 عالم گنر
 اورنگ زیب
 ۱۰۹۷
 باد
 رد چو بندر ملیر
 در حبل

Reverse
 مانوس
 ۲۹
 سنه خلوس
 سر
 نرولی

Weight*Phondā*

A coin of Aurangzeb from the mint Phondā, if my reading is correct, adds one more name to the list of Mughal Mints. On my showing the coin to Mr Yazdāni, he advised me to look for it somewhere in the Deccan. I have been able to find it near Goa.

It is a very old place and had a very strong fort during the time of the 'Ādil Shāhis, Mughals and Marāthās. It is now in the possession of the Portuguese. The following is my reading:—

Obverse.

اورنگ زیب عالم گیر
 —————
 [ز] د چو بدر منیر
 سسکه

Reverse.

سنہ ۴۳
 مانوس
 میمنت
 جلوس بہوندا
 ک



Jitpūr.

A coin of Aḥmad Shāh from Jitpūr, if my reading is correct, adds one more to the list of Mughal Mints. The following is an extract from Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XIV, page 102.

"Fortified town in the State of same name, Kathiāwār, Bombay, situated in 20° 45' N. and 70° 48' E. on the western bank of Bhādar river."

It reads thus:—

Obverse.

احمد شاه بہادر
 —————
 باد شا غاز
 سسکہ مبار

Reverse.

مانوس
 میمنت
 سنہ جلوس
 —————
 حیت نور



Kovilkunda

A coin most probably of 'Ālamgir II adds one more name to the list of Mughal Mints. Kovilkunda is an old place with

Obverse
 محمد شا
 ناد عاری
 ارا

Reverse
 ملو
 میمنت مالو
 سنه ۴
 طه
 سحانور



Bareilly

Mr R B Whitehead observes —

"Coin No 1626 is dated 1100, but a rupee earlier by two years is in the Cabinet of Mr H Nelson Wright (Mint Notes P M C)

The Haidarabad Museum cabinet has a unique rupee of 1097 A H — 29 R Y, one of the R Y 29 and one of 1098 A H 30 R Y

Obverse
 عالم گنر
 اورنگ رب
 ۱۰۹۷
 رد چو بدر منبر
 در جهان

Reverse
 مانوس
 ۲۹
 سنه حلوس
 برلی

Weight



Phonda

A coin of Aurangzeb from the mint Phondā, if my reading is correct, adds one more name to the list of Mughal Mints. On my showing the coin to Mr Yazdani, he advised me to look for it somewhere in the Deccan. I have been able to find it near Goa.

301. RARE MUGHAL COINS IN MY CABINET.

(1) *A mohar of Kām Bakḥsh, 1119—1, Nuṣratābād Mint.*

A rupee of Kām Bakḥsh is known of this mint, but this is the first time that a mohar has come to light. It is also the earliest known gold coin.

Obverse.	Reverse.
کام ش دین	مانوس
سـ	میمنت
ورشد و ماه	۲۱
سـ ۱۹	سند حلوس با
دکن زد	صرب
	ت

As is seen in all coins of this mint نصر is cut off; only ت of Nuṣrat is visible and the alif of ābād is in the loop of the س of Julūs and is followed by با. Again د of ābād is cut off.

Weight 168 grains.

Size 85.

(2) *Nuṣratābād rupee of Shāh 'Ālam II.*

This coin may be either of Shāh 'Ālam II or 'Ālamgir II. It is not possible to say which, as the name is cut and there is no Hijri date. But from the ornamentation of dots on both obverse and reverse and from the style of lettering, it seems to me to be of Shāh 'Ālam II. It is of the seventh Regnal year and is certainly of Nuṣratābād. The two nuqtas below نصر (Nuṣr) are those of the ت which is cut off. The mint name here is written exactly as in the Aurangzeb rupee described by Mr. H. Nevill in Numismatic Supplement XXX, page 260.

Obverse.	Reverse.
بادشاه عازی	مانوس
سکه مبارک	میمنت
	۷
	سند حلوس
	صرب
	نصر آباد
	ت

Weight 173.

Size 95.

(3) *A mohar of 'Ālamgir II. Mint Nuṣratābād (عُرف) alias Dhārīcār.*

The mint is probably Nuṣratābād with the addition (عُرف) (alias) of some name of which two letters are clear viz., (re) and , (vāv) or perhaps د (Dāl). It is quite possibly Dhārīcār.

a fort in the Mahbūbnagar District, of H E H the Nizam's
Dominions

The following is a reading of the coin —

Obverse
عالمگیر نانی
فصل

Reverse
مانوس
صمدیت
خلوس احد
کولکند [۱]



SHWAJA MUHAMMAD AHMAD

301. RARE MUGHAL COINS IN MY CABINET.

(1) *A mohar of Kām Bakḥsh, 1119—1, Nuṣratābād Mint.*

A rupee of Kām Bakḥsh is known of this mint, but this is the first time that a mohar has come to light. It is also the earliest known gold coin.

Obverse.	Reverse.
کام ش دین	مانوس
سـ	میمنت
ورشد و ماء	سنة حلوس
سکه ۱۹	ت
دکن زد	صرب

As is seen in all coins of this mint نصر is cut off, only ت of Nuṣrat is visible and the *alif* of ābād is in the loop of the س of Julūs and is followed by ل. Again د of ābād is cut off.

Weight 168 grains.

Size 85.

(2) *Nuṣratābād rupee of Shāh 'Ālam II.*

This coin may be either of Shāh 'Ālam II or 'Ālamgir II. It is not possible to say which, as the name is cut and there is no Hijri date. But from the ornamentation of dots on both obverse and reverse and from the style of lettering, it seems to me to be of Shāh 'Ālam II. It is of the seventh Regnal year and is certainly of Nuṣratābād. The two nuqtas below نصر (Nuṣr) are those of the ت which is cut off. The mint name here is written exactly as in the Aurangzeb rupee described by Mr. H. Nevill in Numismatic Supplement XXX, page 260

Obverse.	Reverse.
بادشاه عازي	مانوس
سکه مبارک	میمنت
	سنة حلوس
	ت
	صرب
	نصر آباد

Weight 173.

Size 95.

(3) *A mohar of 'Ālamgir II. Mint Nuṣratābād (عرف) alias Dhārucār.*

The mint is probably Nuṣratābād with the addition (عرف) (alias) of some name of which two letters are clear viz., ر (re) and و (vāv) or perhaps د (Dāl). It is quite possibly Dhārwar.

of the Hijri date are not well formed, it being very difficult to engrave such small figures on dies and then to stamp them on gold. There is a slight dent in the units figure of the date which shows that it is not a "one" but probably a "seven". We find in the Lucknow Museum a gold coin No 3441, of the same type of Mailāpūr, issued by Shāh 'Ālam Bahadur only 4 years after this coin. There is a similar coin of Shah 'Ālam of 1121 Hijri in the British Museum, No 860. It is, therefore, quite probable that the mint was started in Aurangzeb's time.

<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
۱۱۱۷	مانوس
اورنگ رب عالم گور	صمیت
شاہ	۵۰
چو بدر صبر	سند خلوس
مکہ	صرب
جہاں	ملا پور

Mr Nelson Wright was good enough to compare this mohar with the British Museum rupee of Shah 'Ālam Bahadur of this mint and he writes to me that both the coins have the same style of lettering.

(6) *Arkāt rupee of Shāh 'Ālam II*

Hijri 1193

Regnal year 19

The mint is certainly Arkāt, being inscribed exactly as on the well known coins of Arkat of the East India Co. See, for example, B M C 103 but it is different in having the name of Shah 'Ālam instead of 'Ālamgīr as in the B M C coin and in not having Shah 'Ālam's couplet as in the Lucknow M C coins Nos 4519 to 4531.

Weight 175

Size 9

<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
شاہ عالم	مانوس
ماشاہ عاری	صمیت
۹۳	۱۹
	سند خلوس
	صرب
	ارکات

(7) *A Cambay rupee of Shāh 'Ālam II*

No coin of Cambay of Shāh 'Ālam II is recorded in any of the published catalogues of the different Museums (B.M.C.,

I M C , P M C , and Luc M C) Mr Whitehead in his mint note on Cambay in the Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum says that "Coins in all three metals are known of Shāh Alam I, but Rupees only of all the succeeding Emperors except Shah 'Ālam II" Dr Taylor in his article on this mint in N S XX, No 119 writes as follows —

'Though Cambay became practically independent of the Imperial Power as early as A D 1730, its coins continued to bear the name of the regnant Mughal Emperor of Delhi, certainly till the time of Ālamgir II and possibly even later" Evidently Dr Taylor had not seen a rupee of Shah 'Ālam II when he wrote the article above referred to in 1912 He was, however, right in advancing the conjecture that possibly even after the reign of 'Ālamgir II, coins of this mint were struck in the name of the reigning Emperor

There is another point in regard to which the coin deserves notice and this is the spelling of the mint name The usual ں (nūn) after the first letter ک (kaf) is not to be seen, and its place is taken by م (mīm) The first Mughal coin bearing this mint name has the spelling with a ه (he) after ک (kaf) and also a ں (nūn)—Khanbayat کھنباٹ In the early part of Aurangzeb's reign this spelling was altered to Kanbayat کنباٹ without the ه (he) and so it continued till 'Ālamgir II This is the first specimen with م (mīm) کمباٹ

VICAJI D B TĀRAPOREVALA



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



302 THE MONETARY SYSTEM OF INDIA AT THE TIME
OF THE MUHAMMADAN CONQUEST

[NOTE—*This Prize Essay is published only in compliance with the wishes of the Numismatic Society of India as expressed by Resolution 4 of its Annual Meeting 1931*—EDITOR]

The conquest of India by the Muhammadans really began only with the invasions of Shihābu d din (Muhammad Ghori). Shortly before the time of Shihābu d din, the following dynasties were prominent in Northern and Central India and to one or other of these dynasties the numerous petty princes of India paid homage and feudal service. Mr Thomas is of opinion that the right to issue a particular species of currency was conventionally confined to the Lord Paramount among the Rajput States for the time being. So it will suffice if we take into consideration the monetary systems of these dynasties alone.

- 1 Tomaras in Delhi
- 2 Chauhāns in Ajmer (afterwards in Ajmer and Delhi)
- 3 Rathors in Kanauj (after the Tomaras)
- 4 Bāghilas in Gujarat
- 5 Chandellas in Bundelkhand
- 6 Rajputs in Narwar

The gold coins of this period were exact copies of the gold coins of Gāngeyadeva of the Kalachuri dynasty of Dāhala.

The device of "the seated bull and horseman" introduced by the Brahman kings of Kabul on their silver coins was copied by almost all the rulers of this period in their billon and copper coins. These "bull and horseman" coins are mentioned by Muhammadan historians as "Dilliwals" and were adopted by the early Muhammadan conquerors, the Sultāns of Delhi. But their particular Hindu name is not known.

So in order to have a correct view of the monetary system of Northern India we must study minutely the systems of Gāngeyadeva and the Brahmana kings of Ohind.

The design of the coinage of Gāngeyadeva which was copied by the above rulers was a very simple one. The king's name occupies the whole surface of the obverse and a rudely executed figure of a seated goddess appears on the reverse. The coins of Gāngeyadeva exist in three metals, Gold, Silver, and Copper and in four denominations, namely, the *dramma* (drachma), half *dramma*, quarter-*dramma* and one eighth *dramma*.

Various kinds of drammās are mentioned in the Siyādomi inscription of the 10th century A.D. Drammās are also

mentioned in the inscriptions at (1) Jaunpur—A D 1216 (*Archl S Reports* VI, 176) (2) Borsani—A D 1207 (*Archl S Reports* XVI 102) (3) Gwalior—A D 875 (Bhojadeva of Kanauj) (4) Pehawa—903 907 A D (*Ip Ind*, Vol I 184) (5) Asni—A D 917 (*Ind Ant* XVI, 174) From these inscriptions we must take it for granted that the *dramma* was the monetary standard in Northern India from the 9th to the 13th century A D The name *dramma* was originally derived from the Attic *drachma* with which it harmonises in the standard of weight the latter being about 67·2 grains

For an illustration let us take up for consideration the *Shadboddika dramma* mentioned in the Jaunpur inscription. The term *Shadboddika* means six (*shad*) *boddikas*. Now the word *Boddika* is accepted by the authorities as the corrupt Hindi pronunciation of the Sanskrit word *palika*. The *palika* (one fourth) was equal to one fourth of the ancient *Karsha*. Cunningham (*C A S* VI 176) is of opinion that as the *Karsha* contained 44·8 grains of pure silver the *palika* was exactly equal to the Greek *Obolus* of 11·2 grains. Hence we see that the *Shadboddika dramma* was equal to $11·2 \times 6$ or 67·2 grains or the same as the Greek *drachma* and the *boddika* represented the *Obolus*.

The *Śrimaladivaraha dramma* is mentioned in the Gwalior inscription of Bhojadeva Gurjjara Pratihara king of Kanauj and Northern India who reigned from about 840 to 890 A D The weight of good specimens of these *drammas* ranging up to 63 grains agrees with that of the Greek *drachma*.

The *Vigrahapala dramma* was also of the same weight as the *Shadboddika drammas*. Fractions of this coin are also mentioned as half and one third of a *Vigrahapala dramma*.

The *Panchayika dramma* appears to have been a piece of 5 *boddikas*. As a *boddika* weighs 11·2 grains a *Panchayika* could weigh only 56 grains. This weight tallies with that of the silver coins of the Brahman kings of Ohind.

Though several other kinds of coins are mentioned in the aforesaid inscriptions it is now impossible to trace their exact values inasmuch as they are not referred to in any literary or mathematical work. So they have been left untouched for further research.

The *Dillials* noticed before were composed of a mixture of silver and copper in intentionally graduated proportions of one fixed weight. The weight of this series seems to have been intended to harmonise with that of the ancient *Purana* or punch marked coin of 32 *Ratis* about 56 grains¹.

Now let us see whether these statements are corroborated or not by the existing coins.

¹ V Smith's Catalogue Indian Museum I p 257

that on the reverse a rampant lion was substituted in place of the seated goddess. The larger pieces are drammās and the smaller pieces are subdivisions of drammās.

Prithvideva (1140-60) *A*—59, 60 grains

Jajalladeva (1160-75) *A*—58, 59, 14 13 *A*—57 5, 14 grains

Ratnadeva (1175-90) *A*—60, 13, *A*—14 grains

From the above accounts of the coinage of the several dynasties we at once see that the coins follow two concurrent denominations, viz (1) the dramma of 67 grains and (2) the dramma of 56 grains. The first of these originated with the Greeks. The usual type which appears to have been imitated by all the princes of Hindustan and Central India from that introduced by Gāṅgeyadeva (1010-1040) of the Kalachuri dynasty of Dihala bears the familiar goddess (Lakshmi) on the obverse with a slight deviation from the Gupta device in that the goddess has four instead of two arms, and on the reverse is an inscription giving the king's name in old Nagari.¹ All the gold coins of the Chandellās, the Tomaras and the Rathors follow the weight standard of their Sassanian originals which represented the Attic drachma and are all drammās or subdivisions of drammās. The second denomination is nothing but the archaic *Purana* of 32 ratīs which perseveringly continued to make itself felt in the monetary systems of India from the post Vedic rulers down to the early Muhammadan conquerors. In this connection E. Thomas says, "proceeding onwards and avoiding any possible complications due to Greek intervention, this same weight re appears in the money of Syala and Sāmanadeva, the Brahmanical sovereigns of the Punjab and Northern India in the 9th century A D. It then runs through the entire issues of their Rajput successors, from whom it passed to Qutbuddin and the Muhammadan conquerors in A D 1191, when it had become so much of a national institution that the representative coins were known by the appropriate name of Delhi wals."² But though the weight remained unaltered, the value of the coin depended upon the proportion of the baser metal in the composition of the coins. During the Rajput administration of Northern India, the device of the 'bull and horseman' is almost invariably found on their copper and billon coins. This device was first introduced by the Brahman kings of Gandhara (c 860-950) the commonest of them being those of Spalapati deva and Samantadeva. It was also adopted by the Tomara and Chauhan dynasties of Delhi the Rathors of Qanauj and the Rajput kings of Narwar but the old standard of weight was retained all along.

¹ C. J. Brown—Coins of India p. 52

² Numismata Orientalia 1874 p. 68

There was another class of coins current during this time. These are called Gadhaiya coins. As regards the origin of the name, Dr G P Taylor in his note (*J A.S.B.*, 1904, p 372) says that the name was derived from the Sanskrit *Gardabhiya*, meaning "Assine", "of the Ass dynasty". He suggests that from his devotion to the chase of the wild ass, the Sassanian king Varahrân V (A.D. 419-438) gained the nick name of Varahrân Gur or Bahrâm the Ass Hunter. "Now when the coins of this king began to circulate amongst his enemies, the Hunas, they, by a very evident *jeu d'esprit*, may have dubbed the thin insignificant looking silver pieces 'Ass money,' a name that would readily 'stick'. Later on when imitations of coins of the same Sassanian type were struck by the Hunas themselves in India, the name would fall to be translated by some Prâkrit form of the Sanskrit equivalent *Gardabhiya* and this designation, by a process of phonetic degeneration proceeding *pari passu* with the more and more degraded workmanship with the coins themselves, finally dwindled down to Gadhaiya, the term in use to day by the common people". Thus these coins were copies of imitations of Sassanian coins issued in Marwar and Rajputana by the White Huna King Toramâna. The first Huna imitations were thin silver pieces rudely executed from the Sassanian type. Later on, the coins became thick and dumpy and so degraded in type that it is not easy to trace their descent. A careful scrutiny, however, can discern on the obverse a rude imitation of Sassanian busts without wings to head-dresses and meaningless lines and curves and on the reverse lines and dots suggesting the Sassanian fire altar. Copper specimens have also been figured by numismatists. Both the silver and copper varieties of this coin are still known by the name of Gadhaiya Paisa in Gujarât. Cunningham¹ identifies them with the Shadboddhika dramma of the Jaunpur inscription. In the Indian Museum collection, the silver coins range in weight from 59.7 to 74.5 grains and the copper coins from 52.2 to 65 grains.

Being secluded by impenetrable rocks, the country of Kâshmir has got to show for a long period a great uniformity of type and constancy in the matter of its currency. The 'Rajatarangini' or the Chronicle of Kâshmir by Kalhana and the *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl are the most important sources from which information regarding the monetary system of the country can be gathered. It is true that there are some other records but they cannot be always relied on.

Though solitary specimens of gold and silver coins of the early kings prove that both these metals were used for the coinage, gold and silver disappear from the middle of the 9th century A.D., most of the known coins being of copper. A

study of the coins from the early times will easily convince any one of the fact that the Kashmirian coin type—Obv King standing Rev Goddess seated—which originated from the standard Kushan type remained unchanged until the Muhammadan conquest of the country in the 13th century A D. But in course of time the type became so degraded that it is now very difficult to see any difference between the obverse and the reverse. This fact is also corroborated by the literature wherein is found very scant notice of these metals as currency and it may be concluded that neither gold nor silver formed in Hindu times an important part of the metallic currency. The copper coins of the period in question range in weight from 71 to 97 grains. Let us quote here the valuable data furnished by Abul Fazl¹

Rop Sasnu is a silver coin of nine Mashis. The *Panchhu* is of copper equal to the fourth of a dam and is called *Kasira*. One fourth of this is the *Barani* of which again one fourth is called *Shakri*.

4 <i>Kasiras</i>	= 1 <i>Hat</i>
40	= 1 <i>Sasnu</i>
1½ <i>Sasnu</i>	= 1 <i>Sikka</i>
100	= 1 <i>Lakh</i>

A comparison of the above account and of the still surviving traditions with the materials supplied by Kalhana and other later writers shows that the currency of Kashmir at this time was based on a decimal system of values. The following table with values actually used in reckoning has been worked out by Dr Stein²

12 Dinnaras	=	1 Dvadasa (twelve) Bahagini
2 Dvadasa	=	24 Dinnaras or 1 Panchavimsatika (twenty five) Puntshu
4 Panchavimsatika	=	100 Dinnaras or 1 Śata (Hundred) Hath
10 Śata	=	1 000 Dinnaras or 1 Sahasra (Thousander) Sasun
100 Sahasra	=	100 000 Dinnaras or 1 Lakṣa (Lakh)
100 Lakṣa	=	10 000 000 Dinnaras or 1 Koṭi (Crore)

In using the designations here indicated it was usual but not necessary to add the word Dinnara in the general sense of money in order to mark their character as monetary terms.

¹ *Ān : Albari* Blochmann's Edition Vol. II p 586

² Stein's *Rajatarangin* Vol. II p 32

The following table shows the coins which can be assumed to have represented the monetary values of the above description —

Value in Din naras	Designation.	Coins	Equivalent Value on Abul Fazl's Estimate
12	Dvadaśa (Bahagani)	40 grains	1/8th dam or 1/300 Rupee
25	Panchavimsatika (Puntshu)	91 grains	1/4 dam
100	Śata (Hath)		1 dam
500			5 dams
1 000	Sahasra (Sasun)	300 grains	10 dams
1 st 500			1 st 50 dams
100 000	Lakṣa (Lakh)	73 grains	90 Rupees
10 000 000	Koti (Crore)		2 500 Rupees

But for the present we are concerned only with the Puntshus of copper the Dvadaśa pieces being not found among the actual coins

The Rajataranginī and other later chronicles uncontestedly show that the above monetary terms and the system of reckoning which can be traced from Akbar's time to the present day were in use even in Kalhana's time and probably centuries earlier

The term *Dinnara* derived from the *Denarius* of the West is explained by Sanskrit Lexicographers as the designation of a gold coin. But the mention of this term in connection with trifling expenses and in amounts which if calculated on such a basis would appear to be extravagant and impossible indicates that it was of very low value. It cannot be positively said whether the *Dinnara* meant a separate monetary token or whether it was simply used as a subdivision of a larger figure convenient for reckoning. If the *Dinnara* was more than a mere abstract unit of account it could not well have been represented by any other token than the *courie*. For the weight of copper which would correspond to the 20th part of a *Panchavimsatika* i. e. 91/20 or 3.64 grains is manifestly too small for a real coin.¹ No copper coin of this small weight is found in Kashmir. The literature also shows that the *courie* was from very early times used as a monetary token.

Muhammadan historians have preserved a record of the fact that on the first conquest of Bengal by the Moslems they found no metallic or other circulating media of exchange except that supplied by *couries*. No coined money of any

¹ Dr Stein's *Rajataranginī* Vol II p 33

description is mentioned even in the 14th century by Ibn Batuta

The coinage of Northern India, at and prior to the invasion of Muhammad bin Sām, consisted of billon money. It may be seen how distinctly the *tanka* was the accepted and recognised term in India by the fact that the great Mahmud of Ghazni while continuing to make use of the ordinary mint designation of Dirham, in the Cufic legend of his new Lāhore coinage of Mahmudpur, admits the corresponding word ṭṭḳ (or ṭḳ) in the Sanskrit legend on the reverse¹. Wilson remarks that the word also meant a weight of silver equal to four māshas (=8 ratis or 14 grains). In Telegu *tankam* is a coin formerly current but now used only in account, equal to four silver fanams.

About the *tanka* Cunningham says 'At first it was perhaps a simple weight and after a stamp was added, it became the name of a coin. But it was applied to the silver *Karsha* and also to the copper *Pana* which was also known as a 'copper *tanka*'². It soon became a general term for money, and it is so used in the 'Rājataranginī' as *tāṅḱaka*. It was in common use during the whole period of Muhammadan rule. Considering the continuous use of the name in India and the simple Indian derivation of the word, Cunningham rightly believed that the name was of Indian origin. The word 'pādika' or 'boddika' meaning one quarter of the silver 'Karshāpana' or 'Purana' or 32 ratis or 57.6 grains must weigh 57.6-4 or 14.4 grains. Therefore the quarter Kārshapana is the well known silver *tankā*. This Indian *tanka* corresponds exactly both in name and weight with the Persian *Ḍavānq* which was one sixth of the 'siglos' of 86.4 grains, i.e., 14.4 grains.

SOUTHERN INDIA

One has to face numerous difficulties in the effort to deal with the monetary system of Southern India. The materials for reconstructing the political history of the country are few. More limited still are the data available to the numismatist. Though there are traditions, they rarely mention the ruler's true name or title. Dates are still more seldom found. Classification depends entirely on the fabric and type of the coins. Symbols and findspots often help scholars to assign the coins to the dynasties to which they belong, but the results so obtained have sometimes led to serious errors. There is still another peculiarity which has led numismatists to wrong

¹ Thomas—Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Delhi. See the illustration 7.

² Cunningham—Coins of Ancient India p. 23.

conclusions and that is the fact of conquerors incorporating on their own issues the emblems of vanquished peoples and imitating well established types

The 'Kanakku Saram', an ancient mathematical treatise, gives the following table of weights for gems, gold, etc —

A nen man (gram of rice in the husk)	= 1	visa tukkam
4 nel (grains of rice in the husk)	= 1	kunri
2 kunri	= 1	mañjādi
2 mañjādis	= 1	panatūkkam
10 panatūkkam	= 1	kalañju ¹

Later on, the value of the Mañjādi was reduced by one half and its place was usurped by its representative the copper pana. The *kunri* was probably introduced from the 'Lalavati', the standard Sanskrit work on Mathematics.

The metric system of Southern India appears to be based on the weights of the two seeds 'Mañjādi' weighing on the average about 5 grains and the 'Kalañju' which was ten times the Mañjādi weighing up to 50 grains.

Gold and copper were the metals used almost exclusively for the coinage, of the former there were two denominations, the Huna, Varaha or Pagoda (50 to 60 grains) and the fanam (5 to 6 grains) based respectively on the weights of the 'Kalañju' and the 'Mañjādi'. So the Huna was ten times the weight of the fanam. Copper coins were called 'āsu' of which the English corruption is 'Cash'. The rare silver coins appear to follow the gold standard.

The ancient gold coins in the shape of spherules with very minute punch marks were designated by the name of *pon* which signifies gold in Tamil. This *pon* became *hon* or *honnu* in Canarese and *hun* in Hindustāni. They weigh about 52 grains and appear to have been derived from the *kalañju*. They were current for a great length of time. They constituted a considerable portion of the plunder carried away by the armies of 'Alāuddin. Some were reminted there. Ziauddin Barni says that they were distributed with such a lavish hand that specimens were still to be seen at Delhi. Again, Tavernier who visited India in the 17th century has figured this and other early types of southern coins².

The derivation of the term 'Pagoda' is very obscure. It seems to be a Portuguese appellation derived from the Pvrāmal temple depicted on one side of it. In Tamil the Pagoda is generally known as Varāha, probably from the fact that these coins had the figure of a Boar (Varāha) on the obverse. The *Honnu* in Canarese meant a half Pagoda. Sir W. Elliot is

¹ Sir W. Elliot's Coins of Southern India p. 47

² See Plate figure 1, edition of 1680, London, published by Edward Everard

of opinion that the normal standard coin was a piece equal to the modern half Pagoda the Pagoda itself being the double *pon*, which ultimately became the *Varāha*. A Pagoda weighed approximately 52 grains and seems to be based on the weight of the Kalañju seeds. Regarding the development of the Pagoda, Mr Smith¹ says, "the Pagoda (Hun or *Varāha*) was developed independently like the early Lydian coins from a globule or spherule of gold. The earliest examples of uncertain date are either quite plain or have a punch mark in the centre. Gradually, as in Greece the globule was flattened and became an ordinary die struck coin."

The curious cup shaped thick pieces with a lotus in the centre which received the name of 'Padma tanka' are heavier than the Pagoda, all the coins catalogued by Smith averaging in weight about 58 grains. Both Elliot and Smith connect their peculiar form with the coinage of the western Chalukya dynasty of Kalyāni. But they cannot determine their date with accuracy. Though both the series agree in shape they do not correspond in the matter of weight. The gold coins of Jagadekamalla described by Smith in the Indian Museum Catalogue (p 313) weigh 67.3 and 68 grains and have the figure of a temple depicted on the obverse. These coins correspond in weight with the gold *kārsha* of 57 or 58 grains. Similar coins of the Kadamba dynasty of Goā whose other coins follow the Greek standard have been called 'Nishkas', the reason for which I am unable to explain, the *nishka* according to Manu being equal to four *Śuvarnas* or 576 grains. The Chālukyan coins are not struck to the southern scale of weights. The gold coins seem to be intended for drachmas of about 67 grains. However, it is quite evident that the influence of the dramma extended even to Southern India. The silver coin of 37.8 grains of Vishnu Chitta Deva of Goa indicates that half drammās were also current and that silver coins followed the gold standard exactly.

Vishnuvardhan of the Hoysīla dynasty of Dvarasamudra struck gold coins ranging in weight from 61.75 to 63 grains. One gold piece of 65 grains of Rāja Rāja (Cholā) has been mentioned by Elliot in his 'Coins of Southern India'. It is thus seen that the above two dynasties adopted the Greek standard and issued drammās and subdivisions of drammās.

But though all the above ruling dynasties adopted the Greek standard, they could not reject the old decimal system inasmuch as we invariably find that the gold fanams are exactly one tenth of the weight of the larger pieces, thus retaining the proportion between the Manjadi or pana and its multiple the Kalañju.

¹ A. Smith—Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum I p 310

Now if the value of the *Kunri* or *Rati* introduced in the southern Tables of weights from the 'Lilāvati', a Sanskrit work on Mathematics of the 12th century, be substituted in the table given on page 13, the values of the *Mañjādi* and the *Kalañju* are found to be nearly seven and 70 grains. Though we have previously said that some dynasties adopted the Greek standard, it was only by introducing the *Rati* of Northern India that they accidentally arrived at these weights which exactly corresponded with those of the Greeks. The gold fanams of the *Chālukya*, *Chola* and *Kakatiya* dynasties are from six to seven grains in weight, i.e., they still retain their metric proportion to the heavier pieces corresponding in weight to the *Kalañju* or 70 grains, the Greek standard being about 67 grains.

The old Arithmetical table¹ furnished by Sir W. Elliot to E. Thomas is as follows —

2 Gunjas	= 1 Dugala (= $\frac{1}{4}$ fanam).
2 Dugalas	= 1 Chavala (= panam or fanam)
2 Chavalas	= 1 Dhāran
2 Dhāranas	= 1 Hona (= pratapa, mada or $\frac{1}{2}$ pagoda)
2 Honas	= 1 Varāha (the Hun or Pagoda)

The *Gunja* or unit (= $\frac{1}{4}$ fanam) is the *rati*.

According to this table, the fanams weigh seven grains and the *Varāha* 56 grains. The *Varāhas* of the *Chālukya* dynasty ranging in weight from 55 to 58 grains, the gold *Pagoda* of 54½ grains of *Vijjala* of the *Kalachuri* dynasty, the gold *Varāha* of 52.2 grains of *Devagiri* all agree in weight with that of the *Varāha* of the above table. The gold fanams mentioned before also follow the above table.

As regards silver coins, it is well worth recording the remarks of Ferishta in connection with the plunder of Southern India by Malik Kāfir. "It is remarkable that silver is not mentioned as having been taken during this expedition to the Carnatic and there is reason to conclude that silver was not used as a coin in that country at all in those days. No person wore bracelets, chains or rings of any other metal than gold, while all the plates in the houses of the great and in the temples were of beaten gold."² Of course we cannot accept this remark as a positive fact, because stray specimens of silver coins have been collected and described by Elliot³ who says that the currency continued to be mainly of gold until the Muhammadans came to be permanently established in the South. Their preference for the rupee led to the introduction of a silver currency, without, however, displacing the gold.

¹ Thomas—Pathan Kings of Delhi p. 224

² Briggs Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 77

³ Sir W. Elliot—Coins of Southern India p. 77

previously in circulation Elliot has described silver coins of the Rāja Raja Chola type struck in the 11th century and some specimens also from Sultanpur

'Kasu', a copper coin, is a purely Dravidian word meaning a coin. Eighty of these constituted a fanam or pana just as eighty cowries made a *pan* in Northern India. So a 'kasu' may be called a copper *course*. The 'Kasu' has been identified by Mr Ellis with the Sanskrit *Kārsha*. He derives both the *Kasu* and the 'Kārsha' from the same source on the ground that the law books call a *kārsha* or eighty ratas of copper a pana of *kārshapana*.

Copper coins of various types are to be met with even now in the bazars but they cannot be classified in any systematic way.

The conclusion to be drawn from the foregoing details' says Sir Walter Elliot, is that the monetary system of Southern India is of indigenous origin based on rude seminal and testaceous exponents of value which have been exchanged for definite metallic counters, regulated by artificial skill their original names and the numerous changes and variations in which exhibit a certain affinity indicative of their common origin" ¹

PARESH NATH BHATTACHARYA

¹ *Ibid* , p 60

303 Bibliography of Indian Coins. (2)

By C R. SINGHAL.

(*Numismatic Supplement*, No. XLI for 1928, Article No 282)

Supplement.

PART I—(NON-MUHAMMADAN COINS).

(1) INDO GREEK.

- 869 Dikshit, K. N. JBBRAS, XXIV, p 382
A note on some rare coins (Greek Kings of Bactria and India)
in the Cabinet of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- 870 Martin, F. C. NS, XL, (274), 1926 27
A find of Indo Greek Hemudrachms in Bajaur
- 871 ————— NS, XLII, (296), 1929
Coins exhibited at the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society
of India at Benares in January, 1929

(2) INDO-PARTHIAN.

- 872 ————— NS, XLII, (296), 1929
Coins exhibited at the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society
of India at Benares in January, 1929

(3) KUSHAN

- 873 ————— NS, XLII, (296), 1929
Coins exhibited at the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society
of India at Benares in January, 1929

(4) GUPTA

- 874 Dikshit, K N. ASR, 1923 24, p 124
An early dated silver coin of Kumāragupta
- 875 Vats, Madho Sarup ASR, 1926 27, p 233
A gold coin of Samudragupta of the "Battle axe type"

(5) NARWAR

- 876 Dayāl, Prayāg. NS, XL, (268), 1926 27
Narwar coins

(6) ĀNDHRA.

- 877 Krishnamāchārīu, C R. ASR, 1924-25, p 158
Some Āndhra coins from the Guntur District

- 878 Kundangar, K G NS XLII, (285), 1929
Andhra coins in the Lord Irwin Agricultural Museum, Kolhapur

(7) MEDIÆVAL INDIA

- 879 Dayāl, Prayāg NS, XLI (278) 1928
Treasure Trove find of 16 448 Electron coins in Banda District of the United Provinces

(8) BURMA

- 880 Temple, R C IA LVI p 205
Notes on currency and coinage among the Burmese
- 881 ————— IA LVII, pp 11 37 90 125 149
Notes on currency and coinage among the Burmese
- 882 ————— IA LX p 70
On certain specimens of Former Currency in Burma

(9) SOUTH INDIAN

- 883 Ayyangar, R S R IA, LVI, p 186
Some South Indian gold coins

(10) CHALUKYAS

- 884 Streenivās, T RADN, 1925 26, p 21
Silver coins of the Western Chalukyas

(11) MISCELLANEOUS

- 885 Barnett, L D IA, LVIII, p 20
Mount Meru on Ancient Indian coins
- 886 Chakravarti, S K IHQ VI, p 529
The State in relation to coinage in Ancient India
- 887 Dayāl, Prayag NS, XLI, (277), 1928
S tarami gold coins or medals
- 888 Master, A NS, XL, (271), 1926 27
The Arthaśāstra on coins and minting
- 889 Rāmaswāmī, P N IA, LI, p 139
The evolution of Indian coinage before the Christian Era
- 890 Sarkār, A K IHQ, VII, p 689
Coins and weights in Ancient India

PART II—(MUHAMMADAN COINS).

(1) SULTĀNS OF DEHLI.

- 891 Antāni, Ratilāl, M NS, XL, (265), 1926 27
 Coins exhibited at the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India held at Āgra on January 2, 1927
- 892 Hodivālā, S H. NS, XLII, (290), 1929
 Shashkāni or Shashgāni ?
- 893 Martin, F. C NS, XLII, (296), 1929
 Coins exhibited at the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India at Benāres in January, 1929
- 894 Prasād, Durgā NS, XLII, (286), 1929
 A silver coin struck in Nepal in the name of 'Alau d dīn Muhammad Shah Khilji
- 895 Stapleton, H. E NS, XLII, (283), 1929
 A find of 182 silver coins of Kings of the Husami and Sūri dynasties from Rāiparā, Dacca District
- 896 Thorburn, P. NS, XLII, (284), 1929
 Notes on a few rare Indian coins

(2) BENGAL

- 897 Stapleton, H E NS, XLII, (283), 1929
 A find of 182 silver coins of Kings of the Husami and Sūri dynasties from Raipārā, Dacca District
- 898 Thorburn, P NS, XLII, (284), 1929
 Notes on a few rare Indian coins

(3) GUJARAT

- 899 Hodivālā, S H. JBBRAS, II, (N S), p 19
 The Unpublished coins of the Gujarat Saltanat
- 900 ——— NS, XL, (276), 1926 27
 The 'Shah-i-Hind' coins
- 901 Master, A. NS, XL, (270), 1926 27
 Sultans of Gujarāt.
- 902 Singhal, C R 1A, LVII, p 215
 New types of copper coins of the Sultāns of Gujarāt.
- 903 ——— NS, XLII, (288), 1929
 Coins of Nasir Shah of Gujarāt.

(4) MISCELLANEOUS (MUHAMMADAN)

- 904 Hodivālā, S H NS XLII, (289), 1929
The Unassigned coins of Jalal Shah Sultan;

- 905 Isma'il, Muhammad IA, LIII, p 264
Some copper coins of Southern India

(5) AKBAR

- 906 Kotwāl, C E NS, XL (272) 1926 27
Copper Dams of Jalalu d din Akbar

(6) JAHANGIR

- 907 Hodivālā, S H NS XLI (281) 1928
The Chronology of the Zodiacal coins

- 908 ————— NS, XLII (292), 1929
The Chronology of the Zodiacal coins A Postscript

- 909 ————— NS, XLII (293) 1929
The coins bearing the name of Nūr Jahan

- 910 Whitehead, R B NC IX, (5th Series), p 1
The Portrait coins of Jahāngir

(7) AURANGZEB

- 911 Tārāporevālā, V D B NS, XLII, (287), 1929
Aurangzeb's Rupee of Daru s surūr : Burhanpūr

(8) AHMAD SHAH

- 912 Hodivālā, S H NS XLII, (294), 1929
The Kashmir coins of Ahmad Shāh

(9) 'ĀLAMGIR II

- 913 Hodivālā, S H NS, XLII, (294), 1929
The Kashmir coins of 'Ālamgir II

- 914 ————— NS, XLII, (295), 1929
The Multān coins of 'Ālamgir II

(10) SHAH 'ĀLAM II

- 915 Dayāl, Prayāg NS, XLI, (280), 1928
Rupees of Shah 'Ālam II, Ujhanu—Aasafābād and 'Abdullanagar-Pihāni

(11) MUGHAL MISCELLANEOUS

- 916 Dayāl, Prayāg NS, XL, (266), 1926 27
Rare Mughal coins acquired for the Provincial Museum,
Lucknow
- 917 Hodivālā, S H NS, XL, (275), 1926 27
A note on Mr S R Ayyangar's article on 'Some Mughal gold
coins'
- 918 Hodivālā, S H NS XLII, (291), 1929
Akbarpūr Tānda and Akbarpūr
- 919 Singhal, C R NS, XLI, (279), 1928
Some more coins of the Post Mughal Period from Ahmadabād
- 920 Thorburn, P NS, XLII, (284), 1929
Notes on a few rare Indian coins
- 921 Whitehead, R B NC, VI (5th Series) p 361
Some notable coins of the Mughal Emperors of India, Part II
- 922 ————— NC, X, (5th Series), p 199
Some notable coins of the Mughal Emperors of India Part III

PART III—(MISCELLANEOUS)

(1) NATIVE STATES

- 923 Antāni, Ratilal, M NS, XL, (265), 1926 27
Coins exhibited at the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic
Society of India held at Agra on January 2 1927
- 924 Ojhā, G H NS, XL, (273), 1926 27
A gold coin of Bappa Rawal
- 925 Thorburn, P. NS, XLII, (284) 1929
Notes on a few rare Indian coins

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BOOKS ON COINS

PART I—(NON MUHAMMADAN COINS)

INDO PORTUGUESE.

*(These references have been kindly supplied
by Mr Braz A Fernandes)*

BOOKS

- 926 Correa, Gaspar
Lendas da Índia Book II
- 927 Barros, João de
Decadas Book V, Chap VI

928 Nunes, Antonio

Livro dos pesos da yndia e assy medidas e doedas.

This book was published in 16th century It was reprinted by the Royal Academy of Lisbon, and contains a portion of "Subsidios para a historia da India Portuguesa" Page 40 deals with the coins of Goa

929 Albuquerque, Braz de

Commentaries of Afonso Dalboquerque Hakluyt Society's Ed
III Chap XXXII

930 Fernandes, Manuel Bernardo Lopes 1856

Memoria das moedas correntes em Portugal desde o tempo dos romanes ate o anno de 1850 Lisbon

931 Bordala, Francisco Maria

Estados sobre a estatisticas das possessões portuguezes no ultramar II Series Book V Part I

932 Aragão, Dr A C Teixeira de 1880

Descripção geral e historia das moedas cunhadas em nome dos Reis Regentes e Governadores de Portugal Vol III, Lisbon 15 plates

933 Xavier, Filippe Nery. 1866

Relatorio dos objectos indianos enviados a Exposição de Paris em 1867 Nova Goa

934 ————— 1866

Memoria sobre as Moedas Cunhadas en Goa Nova Goa

935 Vasconcellos, Jose Leite de 1888-1894

Elencho das lições de numismatica dadas na Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa Lisbon

936 Fernandes, Manuel Bernardo Lopes 1856

Memoria das moedas correntes em Portugal Lisbon

937 Amaral, Jose de 1872-1884

Numismatica Portuguesa Porto

938 Campos, Manuel Joakim de 1901

Numismatica Indo Portuguesa Lisbon

939 ————— 1902

Estudos de Numismatica Colonial Portuguesa Lisbon

940 Cunha, Jerson G Da 1880

Contributions to the study of Indo Portuguese Numismatics Bombay

941 Felner, R J. de L 1868

Subsidios para a Historia da India Portuguesa Lisbon

942 Nazareth, José Maria da Carmo 1890
Numismatica da India Portuguesa Nova Goa

943 Souza, Antonio Caitano de
Historia genealogica da casa real Portuguesa

In books 4th and 5th, will be found "Relação das moedas da Asia que correm no India Portuguesa", by Francisco da Costa Solano

944 Moniz, Antonio Francisco 1917
Noticias e Documentos Para a Historia de Damão Vol I
 Bastora

945 ————— 1910
Noticias e Documentos Para a Historia de Damão Vol II
 Bastora

946 ————— 1904
Noticias e Documentos Para a Historia de Damão Vol III
 Bastora

947 ————— 1923
Noticias e Documentos Para a Historia de Damão Vol IV
 Bastora

JOURNALS

948 Grogan, H T
Portuguese Ceylon Coins Numismatic Circular Vol XIX

949 —————
The Silver Issues of Goa. Do Do Vol XX

950 —————
The Gold Issues of Goa. Do Do Vol XXI

951 —————
The issues of the Diu Mint Do Do Vol XX

952 —————
The Silver Issues of Goa. Do Do Vol XXI.

953 Cunha, J G Da
Contributions to the study of Indo Portuguese Numismatics.
 Part I JBBRAS XIV, 267

954 —————
Contributions to the study of Indo Portuguese Numismatics
 Part II JBBRAS, XIV, 402

955 —————
Contributions to the study of Indo Portuguese Numismatics
 Part III JBBRAS XV, 169

- 970 Schulman, J 1896
Catalogue d'un collection remarquable de monnaies Brésil, de
Gos et Du, de Madame la Vicomtesse de C Amsterdam
- 971 ————— 1896
Catalogue d'un collection fort intéressante de monnaies des Indes
portugaises et britanniques, formé par un amateur à Bombay Am
sterdam
- 972 ————— 1914
Catalogue de la Collection Importante H. T Grogan Amster
dam.
- 973 ————— 1929
Monnaies Romaines et Byzantines en or Monnaies et Médailles en
or Europe, Asie, Afrique et Amérique Amsterdam
- 974 ————— 1929
Monnaies des Indes Néerlandaises Monnaies Musulmanes, Indiennes
et Coloniales Amsterdam
- 975 Biblioteca Nacional de Nova Goa. 1910
Catalogo das Moedas do Gabinete Numismatico Nova Goa
- 976 ————— 1923
Catalogo das Moedas da India Portuguesa Nova Goa
- 977 Thurston, E 1894
Catalogue of Coins in the Government Central Museum No 2
Roman, Indo Portuguese and Ceylon Madras

REFERENCE

- 978 I do Amaral F de Toro 1886
Diccionario de Numismatica Portuguesa Oporto



304 A RARE KUSHAN COIN

N Wt 220 6 Size 7

Coin of Vasu (? Vasu leva Kushan) a King in North West
ern India (? and Sistan) about (?) 200 A D

Type Kushan King at altar and throned goddess Name
Vasu in Brahmi characters vertically under left arm of King

The degraded Greek legend (PA) ONANO in left margin
of obv before the king is a new feature in this specimen
(Pl 4 1)

P S TARAPORE

305 A RARE BAHMANI RUPEE

Chivusuddin Abul Muzaffar Chivusud dunva wad lin
Tehamtan Shah Sultan

AR Wt 147 Size 100

Mint Ahsanabad Date 799 A H

Obverse

Reverse in square area

المستأثري بالله
[1] لحنان أبو المظفر
عناك الدنيا والدين

بسم شاه
السلطان
السلطان

Right Margin احسانا
Lower Margin ٧٩٩

No description of any coin of this King has been published
Chivusuddin is one of the four Bahmani Kings whose coins
have not been discovered I may here bring to the notice of
readers that the reverse in square area reads بسم شاه السلطان
Tehamtan Shah seems to me to be quite clear There is
no doubt regarding its legitimacy It cannot be Balaman Shah
as the Nuqtas on the 1st and 2nd ب are distinct Tehamtan in
Persian means Hercules Rustam was also known as Tehamtan
i.e. the Persian Hercules It will not be surprising if in
future the genealogy of the Bahmani Kings is traced back to
Sassanian Kings The originator of the House of Bahmani
Hasan is said to have been a descendant of Bahman Shah

Tehamtan and Bahman Shah are both Persian names and
this also supports the view of Colonel Haig rejecting the old
theory of Ferishta concerning the assumption of the sobriquet
of Gangu Bahamani by Hasan (Pl 4 2) No XXXX
article 261) (Pl 4 2)

P S TARAPORE


306 SOME RARE MU^{GH}AL COINS(1) *Jalāluddīn Akbar*

AR Wt 172 Size 11

Mint Gwalhar dated 966 A H

Obverse


Within square

Kalima and Mint Mark 
(Swastika) and in the margin
names of four Khalifs*Reverse*

اکبر بادشاہ عالی

محمد

حلال الدین

Margin left  و لمظفر

Upper السلطان

Right العادل

Lower صرب گوار

Silver coins of Sūrī Kings from this Mint are known
Copper coins of Akbar also have been published but no silver
coins have hitherto been discovered It is interesting to learn
that Akbar conquered the fortress of Gwalhar in 966 A H and
this coin is of the same year (Pl 4 3)

(2) *Shāh Jehan 1*

AE Wt 318 Size 9

Mint Lakhnau Date 1041 A H (Pl 4 4)

Obverse on Floral background *Reverse on Floral background*


عارف
بادشاہ
خجرات
ساز 8



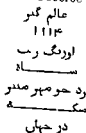
۱۴۱
ساز
لکھنؤ
صرب

There is one copper coin of Shah Jehan of Lakhnau Mint
in the Indian Museum without date and of a different variety

(3) *Aurangzeb Ālangir* (Pl 4 5)

AV Wt 173 Size 8

Mint Chinapatan Date 1114 A H 47 R

Obverse


عالم گنر
۱۱۱۴
اورنگ رب
ساز
رد حو صبر صندر
مک
در خپان

Reverse


مانوس
صندر
سند ۴۷ خلوس
صرب
حنانین

This is an unpublished Mohar of Aurangzeb of this Mint

(4) AR Wt 177 Size 85 (Pl 4 6)

Mint Poonamali? (Tamil Poovirundamali or
Pundamali) Date 1112 A H 44 R*Obverse*

عالم گدو

۱۱۱۲

دنگ دس

س

چو بدو بدو

(sic) س

Reverse

مانوس

منوب

منه ۴۴ حلوس

صرب

دو بدو

If the reading of the Mint is correct this coin adds one more to the list of Mughal Mints

Poonamali or Punamali is a place about thirteen miles from Madras and has an old Fort now in ruins. The style of the coin also resembles South Indian Coins of Aurangzeb

(5) *Jehāndar Shāh*

AE Wt 105 Size 75

Mint Farkhunda Bunyad (Hardarabad), Date

(11) 24 Ahd R (Pl 4 7)

Obverse

جهاندار

س

۲۴

فلس (۱۱)

Reverse

بنیاد احد

س

رحده

(6) *Farrukhsiyar*

AR Wt 175 Size 9

Mint Bidrur? Date 1130 A H 7 R (Pl 4 8)

Obverse

فرخ شير

۱۱۳

س

فصل حق ناد

Reverse

مانوس

منوب

منه ۷ حلوس

صرب

بدو بدو

This is a new Mint and similar to that of No 8

(7) AL. Wt 106; Size 7.
Mint Farkhunda Bunyād (Haiderābād; Date
1125. (Pl. 5. 9)

Obverse.

فرج صفر

—————

۲۴

طوس ۱۱

Reverse.

شاد (حد)

—————

فر فرخنده

(8) Muhammad Shāh.

AR Wt 175 Size 9.
Mint Farkhunda Bunyād (Haiderābād; Date 4 R. (Pl. 5. 10.)

Obverse.

محمد شاه

شاد عار

—————

منار

Reverse.

مانوس

صنعت

منار ۴ حلوس

صرب

بید (۱۰)

This is a new Mughal Mint. Mukhtal is in Maḥbūbnagar District, H.E.H. the Nizām's Dominions.

(11) AR. Wt. 176; Size .9.

Mint Naṣratābād; Date 11XX A.H. 7 R.

Obverse.

۱۱ عالم گبر
 بادشاہ غار
 سکہ مبار

Reverse.

مانوس
 میمنت
 سنہ ۷ خلوس
 ضرب
 نصرانا (د)
 (ت)

This is an unpublished Mint of this king. (Pl. 5. 13.)

(12) SHĀH 'ĀLAM II.

AV. Wt 165; Size .8.

Mint Muṣṭafābād; Date 1185 A.H. 12 R.

Obverse.

شاہ عالم
 بادشاہ غار
 سکہ مبار ۱۱۸۵

Reverse.

مصطفیٰ آباد
 ضرب
 خلوس میمنت مانوس
 سنہ ۱۲

No gold coin of this Mint has been published. (Pl. 5. 14.)

(13) AR. Wt. 172; Size .85.

Mint Dalīpnagar? Date 6 R. (Pl. 5. 15.)

Obverse.

فضل الہ حامی
 سکہ رد بر
 محفت

Reverse.

سنہ ۶ خلوس
 ضرب
 دلپ نگر

If the reading of the Mint is correct, this is a new Mint.

(14) Æ. Wt. 239; Size .95.

Mint. Ravishnagar Sagar? (Pl. 5. 16)

Obverse.

شاہ عالم باد
 حامی دس

Reverse.

مانوس
 میمنت
 سنہ ۵۵ خلوس

(7) AF Wt 106 Size 7

Mint Farkhunda Bunyād (Haidarābād, Date
1125 (Pl 5 9))*Obverse*فَرَح سَنَر
—

۲۵

فلوس ۱۱

Reverse

سَنَاد (حد)

—

صِر فَرَحْدَه

(8) *Mulammad Shāh*

AR Wt 175 Size 9

Mint Bidrur ? Date 4 R (Pl 5 10)

*Obverse*مُحَمَّد شَاه
—
شَاه عَار
—
مَنَار*Reverse*

مَانُوس

م مَب

سَنَد ۴ حَلُوس

صِر

دَد (ر)

This is a new Mint same as that of No 6

(9) *Ahmad Shah*

AR Wt 40, Size 55

Mint Katak Date missing

*Obverse*شَاهَا (در)
—
شَاه*Reverse*

مَمَب

حَلُوس

Quarter Rupee of Katak Mint The Mint name is cut but
the coin bears the Katak mint mark ر (Pl 5 11)(10) *‘Ālamgīr II*

AR Wt 172 Size 85

Mint Mukhtal Date 1169 A H (Pl 5 12)

*Obverse*عَالَم گِوَر ثَانِي
بَرْد سَكَة صَاحِب
قَوَانِي*Reverse*

مَانُوس

مَمَب

حَلُوس صِر

مَكْمَل ۱۱۶۹

This is a new Mughal Mint. Mukhtal is in Maḥbūbnagar District, H.E.H the Nizām's Dominions.

(11) AR. Wt. 176; Size '9.

Mint Naṣratābad, Date 11XX A.H. 7 R.

Obverse.

۱۱ عالم گبر
 بادشاہ غاز
 مکه مدار

Reverse.

مانوس
 مہمت
 سنہ ۷ حلوس
 ضرب
 نصرانا (د)
 (ت)

This is an unpublished Mint of this king. (Pl. 5. 13.)

(12) SHĀH 'ĀLAM II.

AV. Wt 165; Size '8.

Mint Mustafābād; Date 1185 A.H. 12 R.

Obverse.

شاہ عالم
 بادشاہ عار
 مکه مدار ۱۱۸۵

Reverse.

مصطفیٰ آباد
 ضرب
 حلوس مہمت مانوس
 سنہ ۱۲

No gold coin of this Mint has been published. (Pl. 5. 14.)

(13) AR. Wt. 172, Size 85

Mint Dalipnagar? Date 6 R. (Pl. 5. 15.)

Obverse.

فضل اللہ حامی
 مکه رد نو
 مہمت

Reverse.

سنہ ۶ حلوس
 ضرب
 دلپ نگر

If the reading of the Mint is correct, this is a new Mint.

(14) Æ. Wt. 239; Size 95.

Mint. Ravishnagar Sagar? (Pl. 5. 16)

Obverse.

شاہ عالم باد
 حامی دس

Reverse.

مانوس
 مہمت
 سنہ ۵۵ حلوس

I am very much indebted to Prof S H Hodivala Rai Sahib R R Chanda of Indian Museum Calcutta and also to Messrs G Yazdani, T Streenivas and Khwaja Ahmad of the Hyderabad Museum for their valuable assistance in describing and identifying some of the above coins

P S FARAPORE





1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8





9



10



11



12



13



14



15



16





9



10



11



12



13



14



15



16



*Continued from ' Journal and Proceedings, ' Vol XXVI,
New Series No 2*

307 MUHAMMAD TUGHLUQ'S FORCED COINAGE

Thomas has misread the obverse of coin No 198 in his *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*. He transcribes the legend as —

لا نولا السلطان
كل الناس
نعصم بعضا
تغلى

and translates it as follows —

'Sovereignty is not conferred upon every man, (but) some (are placed over) others'

Kunwar Muhammad Ashrafi, a student at the School of Oriental Studies, London, called my attention to the fact that this reading though it was followed in the British Museum Catalogue (Nos 311 2) and in the Indian Museum Catalogue (No 388) is incorrect. The coin really reads

لولا السلطان
لاكل الناس
نعصم بعضا
تغلى

and the meaning is 'If there were no Sultān one section of the people would devour the other'. Mr Ashrafi has also referred to *Tarīkh-i-Fakhr ud dīn Mubārak Shāh*, edited by Sir E. Denison Ross 1927, p 13 to show that this was a popular saying. It is certainly not contained in Sura IV, verse 62, of the Qoran to which Thomas referred it.

The misreading was due to taking the first two letters of the second line as the beginning of the first, and reading *ي* instead of *ل* as the first letter of the first line. Dr Ramsay Wright has also informed me that *ولا لا* would not be correct Arabic as the imperfect tense of the root *ولى* is *ولا* not *ولا لا*.

There is also one other slight error in Thomas' reading of the reverse, which was corrected in the two Museum Catalogues. In the second line we should read اطعموا for اطعم. The word منكم comes at the beginning of the fourth line not at the end of the third, on most specimens I have seen, though one coin in the British Museum has it as shown by Thomas.

R BURN

The object of this paper is to publish two previously unknown gold coins and to draw attention to a superb specimen of a third very rare coin which has been incorrectly described heretofore from a defective specimen

The first of the three coins is an unpublished stater of Vima Kadphises showing on the obverse a figure of the King seated side saddle on an elephant walking left. The coin is unfortunately rubbed and one cannot see details of the howdah. You can however see two uprights and a horizontal cross piece supporting the King's shoulders. The general design of this is similar to the throne of Zeus on the reverse of the silver



1



2



3



coins of Hermaios and on the obverse of the very rare copper coins of Kanishka showing the King enthroned. This gold coin of Kadphises II is also unique in its obverse legend which is written in full as on the copper coins —

*BACIAEYC BACIAEWN CWTHP MEGAC
OOHMO KAAΦICEC*

All other gold coins published have the shorter legend

BACIAEYC OOHMO KAAΦICEC

The reverse is normal showing Shiva and his Bull and the normal Kharoshthi legend found on both gold and copper coins —

*Viharaajasa Rajadiraajasa Sarvaloga Isvarasa
Mahisvarasa Vima Kathphusasa Tradara*

feet of the goddess in an identical manner. On other Gupta coins (e.g. I.M.C, XV, 6), Vincent Smith says the feet of the goddess rest on a lotus. I am however inclined to believe it is not a lotus but merely folds of drapery.

M F C MARTIN.

The second coin described is an extremely rare stater of Huvishka showing on the obverse the King riding an elephant to the right and on the reverse a standing figure of the goddess Ardochsho. It is interesting to compare the obverse of this coin with that of the Hadphuses stater just described. The latter is a far more spirited composition showing the elephant plying along ponderously and the King sitting with nose up turned in a truly royal manner. On the Huvishka coin the King appears to be far too afraid of slipping off backwards and the elephant in addition to losing all its imposing dignity has been given a tail that looks ridiculously like a pipe cleaner.

The reverse of this Huvishka coin shows the goddess Ardochsho dressed in a very ornate manner with a richly embroidered inset down the front of her robe and an equally rich hem round the bottom. This figure is identical with the very rare Ardochsho staters of Kanishka. The only comparable figure among the many gold types of Huvishka is one of Nana whose robe is equally ornate on a stater with the King seated cross legged on clouds (B M C XXVIII 10).

These two coins with Ardochsho and Nana reverses are closely connected by the obverse legend

PAONANOPAO OOHPAO KOPANO P 10

which differs from all other coins of Huvishka both in the termination of the name *OOHPAO* for *OOHPAI* and in the final *PAO* in the legend meaning Of the King of Kings. Huvishka King of the Kushan instead of Of the King of Kings Huvishka the Kushan. There is another specimen of this Elephant rider coin in the British Museum but on it the final *PAO* is not so clearly apparent and was not noticed by Professor Gardner. Mr C J Brown or Professor Herzfeld all of whom have omitted it in their descriptions of the coin.

The third coin I wish to publish is a unique stater of the late Kushan King Kaneshko.

The coin is broad and slightly cupshaped the obverse shows the usual type of the King standing at an altar and the reverse shows the figure of a goddess with a lunar crescent behind her shoulders seated full face on a lion which crouches left. The goddess holds noose and sceptre and has folds of drapery flowing over her feet. Unfortunately her name in debased Greek characters appears illegible. It probably commences with the characters *NWN* and immediately reminds one of the Huvishka coin (P M C XX No X) which shows the goddess Nana riding a lion to right. The reverse is however far more reminiscent of the coin of Chandragupta and Kumaradevi which shows a goddess with cornucopiae seated on a lion crouching right the drapery flowing over the

feet of the goddess in an identical manner. On other Gupta coins (e.g. I.M.C., XV, 6), Vincent Smith says the feet of the goddess rest on a lotus. I am however inclined to believe it is not a lotus but merely folds of drapery.

M. F. C. MARTIN.

309. NOTE ON A GOLD TOKEN OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I
(A.D. 414-55).

While re-arranging certain gold coins in the cabinet of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, I came across five thin pieces having the reverse side blank and two holes pierced at top probably intended for suspending them.

On close inspection, one appeared to bear a fine inscription, the other a standing figure of a king with a Garuda standard and the rest three a standing figure of some goddess by the side of a bull.

I exhibited them at the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India, held at Patna in December, 1930, and read a short descriptive note. I propose to publish it with a view to bring them to the notice of other numismatists who may be able to throw more light on them.



1



2



3



4



5

No 1 is a thin circular piece of the size of .8 inches, cut out from a thin sheet of gold weighing 19 grains and represents a token of Kumāragupta I. Inside a beaded circle and in the upper half of the coin we see Garuda in the usual attitude with his wings spread out. To his right are a crescent and

an oval object encircled by dots which perhaps stands for the Sun

Below, separated by a distinct line, is an inscription in fine Brāhmī characters which reads 'Śrī Mahendrādityah' Below is a cluster of seven dots and the letter *ru* which is not met with so far Coins of Kumāragupta I bearing titles Śrī Mahendrah, Śrī Kumāraguptah, Śrī Aśvamedha Mahendrah, Ajit Mahendrah, Śrī Mahendra Sinha, Sinha Mahendrah Mahendra Kumārah, and Śrī Pratāpīh are known in gold Kumāragupta's name as Mahendrādityah appears on his silver and silver plated coins but these are smaller in size and proportionately heavier in weight Our specimen is larger in size (8 inches) and lighter in weight (19 grains) Besides, the entire surface including the inscription seems to have been beaten out

No 2 is a thin circular piece stamped with a device showing inside a beaded circle, a figure of the style of King Samudragupta as shown on his coins of standard type The king stands facing to left and holds a bow in the left hand The Garuda standard is to his right On his left appears the letter—which probably stands for the initial of the ruler Weight 12 grams, size 9 inches

Nos 3-5 These three tokens show some goddess (perhaps Pārvatī) standing by the side of a bull inside a beaded circle The idea seems to have been borrowed from the coins of Vāsu deva, Śiva and bull type These might have been worn as charms to ward off the evil eye They weigh 12-14 grains and measure 8-85 inches

PRAYĀG DAYAL

The commonest coins in the gold series of Chandragupta II are those of the Archer Type, Lotus Reverse. But no representation of this type in copper is known, all the known specimens, with the exception of some very small coins, having on the reverse Garuda standing facing. It seemed strange indeed that such a popular type should be entirely absent in the copper series. However, this missing link has now been established by the discovery of a copper coin of the Archer Type of Chandragupta II now in my possession. It exactly follows the gold Archer Type of Chandragupta II, Class II Var b, as described by Mr. Allan in the British Museum Catalogue of Gupta Coins. The find spot was Rājgr.

A detailed description is given below —



Size $\text{Æ } 8''$

Wt 5.46 grammes or 84.3 grains

Obv King l, nimbate, holding bow in l hand and arrow in r hand. Garuda standard bound with fillet on l. 'Chandra' on r under l arm between his body and bow string.

Legend, ' ja sri cha ' only legible

Rev Goddess (Lakṣmī) nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding fillet in outstretched r hand and lotus in l hand which rests on knee, no border.

Symbol to l. Legend, 'Sri Vikramah' to r.

This is a hitherto unrecorded sub variety of the Lion-Slayer type of Chandragupta II.

While the obverse die is quite distinct from other coins, the chief peculiarity is on the reverse, as the goddess holds the lotus and fillet but there is no symbol.

Size $\text{A } 8''$

Wt 119.2 grains

Obv King standing to r, wearing waistcloth with sash which floats behind him, ornamental head dress and jewellery, in the attitude to shoot an arrow into the mouth of the lion which falls backwards.

and trampling on it with l foot his r foot placed
in front of the legs of the lion

Traces of the legend are visible which is perhaps
similar to Class I of the B M C

Rev Goddess nimbate facing to l, astride of lion cou-
chant to l holding fillet in outstretched r hand
and lotus with long stalk in l hand which rests
on hip border of dots

No symbol Legend, 'Sinhavikramah' to r

P S NAHAR

It is now some years since I picked up in the old city of Haidarābād (Deccan) an old Āndhra coin, which I describe below, as it has turned out on enquiry to possess certain marks or characteristics which have not been observed in this class of numismatic records.



Metal : Potin

Size : 0·7 inch.

Weight : 100 grs.

Obv. : Swastika 卐 in high relief with an inscription in low relief over it ✕ L १८७

Rev. : Thunderbolt 卐 in a circle of dots. No inscription.

The coin has a cracked edge and the impression of the edge of the die is clearly visible just above the inscription. This indicates that the coin was struck and not cast.

As I was unable to read the legend and could not trace in the Catalogues available to me any coin bearing an exact resemblance to my find, I sent a description and casts for publication in the *Indian Antiquary* to its Joint Editor, Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, C.S.I., who advised me to refer the matter to the Honorary Secretary of the Numismatic Society of India. Prof. Hodivālā has now sent me an interesting note on the subject which has been written by Mr. G. V. Āchārya, Curator of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Mr. Āchārya observes that the coin is in some respects new and that he does not remember to have seen any specimen exactly like it. A Swastika in high relief is found on the cast coins of Ujjain and Eran (Cunningham, C.A.I., Pl. X. 11, and XI. 20), but then there is no thunderbolt, either on obverse or reverse. A thunderbolt is stamped on the coins of the Kshāharāta Bhumaka and Nahapāna (Rapson's Catalogue, Pl. IX, 237-250), but the Swastika is there conspicuous by its absence. Mr. Āchārya reads the legend thus :

Mā ra [or Nā ra] Chuṭuka.

The coins of Chuṭukulānanda have been described by Rapson (*op. cit.*, Pl. VIII, 235). They were found in Kārwār,

North Kanara District The fragmentary legend on this coin shows that it is a new variety of the monetary issues of the Andhra King Chutukulananda

HURMUZ

While going through Karnāṭaka one often comes across small gold coins of the size of the Vijayanagara *varāhas*. They bear an elephant walking to the right on the obverse; and on the reverse a floral scroll.

Among the people of the country they are known as Gajapati or Anegondī coins. The first denomination is only given on account of the *gaja* represented on the coins; on no account because they are coins of the Gajapati kings of Orissa, as a non-expert might be inclined to think.¹ The fact that these coins are always found in Karnāṭaka and never in Orissa seems to be quite a sufficient proof to attribute them only to kings that ruled over the former country.

As regards the denomination of Anegondī, the question does not seem so clear. Anegondī lies to the north of Karnāṭaka, and I have found such coins in the country round Anegondī, for instance at Gadag and Bellary. Some Kanarese MSS. discovered by Mr. M. H. Rāma Sharma a few years ago;² and at the same time other Telugu MSS. unearthed from the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras, by Dr. N. Venkata Ramanayya³ seem to give some foundation to this theory of Anegondī coins, for there were at least two kings at Anegondī, Kampilā and Rāmanātha, whose main fort was at Kummata.⁴ Yet I am inclined to believe that the denomination of Anegondī coins is a popular denomination no less than that of Gajapati coins. *Ane* also means elephant in Kannada. Hence the coins seem to have received this denomination on account of the elephant struck on their obverse.

Elliot and Rapson and other numismatists attribute such coins to the Cēra Kings of Kongudēśa. Their main reason seems to be that the *lānchana* of the Cēra dynasty is the elephant.⁵ In order to confirm his statement Elliot publishes a cast of a seal of a Cēra copperplate where an elephant *passant* to the right is carved.⁶

Granting that the elephant was the *lānchana* of the Cēras, it does not follow that any coin bearing an elephant *passant*

¹ Wilson, *Description of Select Coins*, referred to by Bidie, *The Pagoda or Varaha Coins*, J.A.S.B., 1883, pt. 1, p. 40.

² Rama Sharma, *The Kingdom of Kampilā*, J.B.H.S., II, pp. 201-208.

³ Venkata Ramanayya, *Kampilā and Vijayanagara*, pp. 1-19.

⁴ Rama Sharma, *Vestiges of Kummata*, Q.J.M.S., XX, pp. 261-270.

⁵ Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, p. 116, pl. III, Nos. 118 and 119; Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 36, pl. V, No. 12; Bidie, *The Pagoda or Varaha Coins*, J.A.S.B., 1883, pt. 1, p. 40.

⁶ Elliot, *op cit*, pl. III, No. 120.

North Kanara District The fragmentary legend on this coin shows that it is a new variety of the monetary issues of the Āndhra King Chutukulānanda

HURMUZ.

in the Hoysala and Vijayanagara periods, for instance in the Madhukēśvara temple at Banavāsi or in the Viṭthalaswāmī temple at Vijayanagara.

Finally the abundance of such coins also suggests a relatively late period. Very few coins of the early Kadambas, Chalukyas, Gangas and even of the Hoysalas are found when touring Karnāṭaka, while the so called Gajapati coins are as common as those of Vijayanagara.

This latter circumstance makes one think that these coins belong to the Vijayanagara period.

The coins of the Vijayanagara Emperors show a great variety of designs, greater perhaps than that of any other Indian Dynasty excepting the Guptas. From the time of Bukka I, who struck the first Vijayanagara *pagodas*,¹ down to the time of Ranga III, an interesting series of deities, animals, and mythological beings is seen in their coins. Śiva and Pārvatī, Lakṣmī Narayana, Venkaṭēśa, Kāhya Krishna, Viṣṇu and his two consorts, Rāma and Sītā, Durgā, Hanuman, Ganda-bherunda (walking and rampant), a boar, a bull, a deer, form a varied galaxy of numismatic emblems. It is my opinion, founded on the above reasons, that these Gajapati coins also belong to the Vijayanagara period. The question that now remains is this. To what emperor must these coins be attributed?

There is a Vijayanagara Emperor of the first Dynasty, Emperor Mallikārjuna, who seems to have had a special predilection for elephants. He is said to have been 'pleased to institute the elephant hunt',² to have 'witnessed the elephant hunt',³ and to have been 'pleased to witness the elephant hunt'.⁴ Moreover the previous and subsequent kings have a boar engraved on the seal attached to their copperplates. Mallikārjuna placed an elephant on his signet. In the Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute there is a set of copperplates of this Emperor having the elephant signet.

I suggest that these Gajapati or Anegondi coins should be attributed to Emperor Mallikārjuna. The reasons may be summarized as follows —

- 1st Similarity in shape with the coins of the Vijayanagara Emperors
- 2nd Elaborate design and decorations of the elephant, that may be compared only with the elephants carved in the Hoysala or Vijayanagara temples
- 3rd These coins are as abundant as the coins of Vijayanagara

¹ Cf Heras, *Beginnings of Vijayanagara History*, p 47

² Rangacharya, *Inscriptions*, II, p 1261

³ *Ibid*, I, p 81, No 398, p 174, No 383, II, p 1188, No 211.

⁴ *Ibid*, III, p 1595, No 710

is a coin of the Ceras, for other dynasties like the Gangas of Mysore had also a walking elephant as their *lānchana*. More over Rapson himself admits that the Cera emblem is a bow,¹ and accordingly he and also Elliot classify as Cera coins a number of copper coins showing a bow and an arrow.² Such symbols are not seen at all on the so called Gajapati coins.

Moreover in connection with the attribution of these coins two things must especially be considered viz the internal technique and perfection of the coin and the place where the coin was found.

As regards the first the coins called Gajapati or Anegondi show a technique evidently posterior to the 12th century. Before this date all the gold coins of the different dynasties in Southern India were thin pieces of metal first struck on one side and cup shaped then struck on both sides. Such are the coins of the Pallavas Chalukyas Kadambas and other dynasties that ruled over South India. The first thick stumpy gold coins appear in Karnāṭaka in the 12th century. Such are the coins of Vishnuvardhana of the Hoysala Dynasty (1104-1141) and also some coins of Jayakēśi II, of the Goa Kadambas. Two coins of the former are described by Elliot as coins of the Yadavas of Dvarasamudra.³ In the Coin Cabinet of the Indian Historical Research Institute there is another coin of Vishnuvardhana different from those of Elliot. The stumpy coins of Jayakēśi II were first described by Prof. George M. Moraes in his book on *The Kadamba Kula*.⁴ The coins of these two kings may be, as Moraes says considered as the forerunners of the Vijayanagara *varāḥas*. Now the Ceras were defeated by the Cholas in about 878 A.D.⁵ and were totally extinguished by the military power of Vishnuvardhana Hoysala.⁶ Their period therefore was much too early for this late type of coins.

Moreover the country ruled by the Ceras in Karnāṭaka was the present Salem and Coimbatore Districts and part of the western side of the Mysore State. But these *tanḥas* with the elephant are found all over Karnāṭaka, and especially in the Dharwar and Bellary Districts.

About the perfection of these coins a simple comparison with the coins of the Mysore Gangas that also bear an elephant, will show the difference in the execution of the figure of this animal. The elephant of the Gajapati coins fully resembles the elephants placed at the entrance of temples and mandapās.

¹ Rapson, *op cit* p. 36

² Elliot *op cit* pl. III Nos. 121-128. In the Coin Cabinet of the Indian Historical Research Institute we have a number of these copper coins also.

³ Elliot *op cit* pl. III Nos. 90 and 91

⁴ Moraes *The Kadamba Kula* p. 383

⁵ Foulkes *Manual of the Salem Collectorate* I, p. 37

⁶ Coelho *The Hoysala Vamśa* pp. 76-78

in the Hoysala and Vijayanagara periods, for instance in the Madhukēśvara temple at Banavāsi or in the Viṭṭhalaswāmī temple at Vijayanagara

Finally the abundance of such coins also suggests a relatively late period. Very few coins of the early Kadambas, Chalukyas, Gangas and even of the Hoysalas are found when touring Karnāṭaka, while the so called Gajapati coins are as common as those of Vijayanagara

This latter circumstance makes one think that these coins belong to the Vijayanagara period

The coins of the Vijayanagara Emperors show a great variety of designs, greater perhaps than that of any other Indian Dynasty excepting the Guptas. From the time of Bukka I, who struck the first Vijayanagara *pagodas*,¹ down to the time of Ranga III, an interesting series of deities, animals, and mythological beings is seen in their coins. Śiva and Pārvati, Lakṣmī Narayana, Venkaṭēśa, Kālīya Krishna, Viṣṇu and his two consorts, Rāma and Sitā, Durgā, Hanumān, Ganda bherunda (walking and rampant), a boar, a bull, a deer, form a varied galaxy of numismatic emblems. It is my opinion, founded on the above reasons, that these Gajapati coins also belong to the Vijayanagara period. The question that now remains is this: To what emperor must these coins be attributed?

There is a Vijayanagara Emperor of the first Dynasty, Emperor Mallikārjuna, who seems to have had a special predilection for elephants. He is said to have been 'pleased to institute the elephant hunt',² to have 'witnessed the elephant hunt',³ and to have been 'pleased to witness the elephant hunt'.⁴ Moreover the previous and subsequent kings have a boar engraved on the seal attached to their copperplates. Mallikārjuna placed an elephant on his signet. In the Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute there is a set of copperplates of this Emperor having the elephant signet.

I suggest that these Gajapati or Anegondi coins should be attributed to Emperor Mallikārjuna. The reasons may be summarized as follows —

- 1st Similarity in shape with the coins of the Vijayanagara Emperors
- 2nd Elaborate design and decorations of the elephant, that may be compared only with the elephants carved in the Hoysala or Vijayanagara temples
- 3rd These coins are as abundant as the coins of Vijayanagara

¹ Cf Heras, *Beginnings of Vijayanagara History*, p 47

² Rangacharya, *Inscriptions*, II, p 1261

³ *Ibid*, I, p 81, No 398, p 174, No 383. II, p 1188, No 211

⁴ *Ibid*, III, p 1595, No 710

4th They are found all over Karnāṭaka, and specially in the districts of Bellary and Dhārwar, that is round the ancient capital of the Empire

These reasons suggest that the coins under study belong to the Vijayanagara Empire. The fact that an elephant is represented on their obverse seems to point to Emperor Mallikarjuna as explained above.

There are several types of these coins. Studying the specimens existing in the Coin Cabinet of the Research Institute, as well as the plates in different catalogues and works on numismatics, a series of different types may be formed. The main characteristic that differentiates these coins are the garlands that adorn the elephant. These garlands are different in number and in form. The number varies from three to six. The form of the garlands is double: some are represented as a continuous line, while others are shown as a dotted line. Sometimes with the same number of lines different combinations are made resulting in the existence of some varieties under the same type. Thus the following chart has been prepared —

Types	Descriptions	Varieties	Specimen	References
1	3 garlands		— .. —	Elliot <i>Coins of South India</i> , pl III, No 118
2	4 garlands	Variety A	— — —	I H R I Coin Cabinet, Rapson, <i>Indian Coins</i> , pl V, No 12
		Variety B	— — —	Brown <i>Coins of India</i> , pl VII, No 5
		Variety C	— — —	I H R I Coin Cabinet, Elliot, <i>op cit.</i> , pl III, No 19, J A S B, 1893, pt 1, pl I, No 7
3	5 garlands		— — —	I H R I Coin Cabinet
4	6 garlands		— — —	I H R I Coin Cabinet, <i>Indian Museum Catalogue</i> , I, pl XXX, No 18

On the reverse of all these coins there is a floral scroll which by some authors is said to be perhaps the tail of a peacock. It is true that on many occasions the tail of a peacock is represented in this way in South Indian sculpture. But one never sees the tail of a peacock separated from the bird. Hence it seems evident that this pattern merely represents a floral design. About this design Elliot says the following —

The earliest design on the reverse (of South Indian coins) is that of an elegant floral or arabesque pattern whence perhaps the name of *phulihun* = flowery pagoda was derived. It appears to have been very generally adopted for it is found on the coin of Chalukya Ganga etc. The oldest example of this device with which I am acquainted is that figure in the Madras Journal Vol III N S pl VIII fig 30 from an example in the Madras Government Museum.¹

Among the specimens bearing scrolls with which I am acquainted the earliest seem to be two Banavasi Kadamba coins. One—probably the earliest of the two—clearly shows the flowers and leaves in the scroll.² The other shows no flowers and leaves, only the curved and complicated lines of the scroll are seen.³ After this we must mention the scroll of a coin which is classified as early Chalukya by Elliot⁴ but it is evidently a coin of the later Chalukyas considering the size and thickness of the coin. Strange to say the scroll is once more showing the flowers and leaves of the old Kadamba coins. This nevertheless seems to be the last time these flowers appear in such a design. After this the two coins of the Hangal Kadambas that bear it are purely line scrolls similar to that of our coins of Mallikarjuna.⁵ There is moreover a strange not yet identified coin published by Elliot that bears this pattern.⁶ A specimen of it is also in our Coin Cabinet. It also seems to belong to a later period, probably to the period of the Vijayanagara Emperors.

Elliot speaks of *fanams* bearing an elephant corresponding to these elephant pagodas, and he affirms that they are as common as these pagodas.⁷ Nevertheless from his description it seems that he confused these *fanams* with the Ganga *fanams* and the coins of Mysore all of which bear an elephant walking. In point of fact the *fanams* corresponding to these *varuhas* under study are very rare. I have not seen such *fanams* in any collection of coins nor have I found them described in

¹ Elliot op cit p 55

² Ibid pl I No 13

³ Ibid No 14

⁴ Ibid No 21

⁵ Ibid pl II Nos 6 and 7. The Coin Cabinet of our Indian Historical Research Institute possesses a coin similar to the latter

⁶ Ibid pl I No 18

⁷ Elliot op cit p 116

any work on numismatics. Fortunately I could obtain one such *fanam* at Gadag for the Coin Cabinet of the Indian Historical Research Institute. The elephant of the obverse is totally similar to the elephant of the *varāhas*, but the garlands and other ornamentations are thoroughly worn out. The reverse has the ordinary scroll not as big as the coin is, but much smaller, occupying only the centre of the coin. The scroll itself seems to be a little different. One of the curved lines ends in a big leaf, which practically covers the whole of the scroll.

The weights of the five coins of the Indian Historical Research Institute described above are as follows —

Type 2, Variety A	60 grains
Type 2, Variety C	59½ grains
Type 3	59½ grains
Type 4	57 grains
Fanam	5½ grains

H HERAS S J



1



5



2



6



3



7



4



8



313 SOME RARE COINS IN MY CABINET

1(a) *Muhammad Shah I Bahmani*

AR Mint, Ahsanabad, Date 761 A H

No silver coin of this Dynasty weighing 112 grains is known and this evidently is a half Tanka. Considering that the highest known weight of silver coins is 170 grains, the average weight of a half Tanka should be about 85 grains, but this coin is above that probable average. Again, there is a silver coin which weighs 54 grains and if this is taken to be a quarter Tanka, the coin under review, which is about double the weight of that, may be considered as a half Tanka. (For weights of Bahmani coins, *vide* NS XXXIX, Article 261)

The legend on the coin also differs slightly from that found on full Tankas of Muhammad Shah I

(b) *Muhammad Shah II*

AR Mint, Ahsanabad, Date 784 A H

This is an interesting coin of Muhammad Shah II, dated 784 A H, as no coin of this king, dated earlier than A.H. 791, has as yet been discovered (*vide* foot note on No 27 of NS XXXVII, Article 234)

2 *Islam Shah Suri*

A/ Wt (looped), Size 95

Mint less type, Date 957 A H

Obverse

In square the Kalima

Margins—

Lower (اناکر) الصدائق

Reverse

اسلام شاه اس

شیر شاه سلطان

جلد الله ملکہ ۹۵۷

Below श्रीरामनामदाहि

Margins—

Left السلطان العادل

Upper ۱۴۷۷ M ❖

3 *Jalaluddin Akbar*

AR Wt 173, Size 95

Mint, Anwala (Aonla), Date 982 A.H

(23 N.)

1(a) *Muhammad Shah I Bahmani*

AR Mint, Ahsanabad, Date 761 A H.

No silver coin of this Dynasty weighing 112 grains is known and this evidently is a half Tanka. Considering that the highest known weight of silver coins is 170 grains, the average weight of a half Tanka should be about 85 grains, but this coin is above that probable average. Again, there is a silver coin which weighs 54 grains and if this is taken to be a quarter Tanka, the coin under review, which is about double the weight of that, may be considered as a half Tanka. (For weights of Bahmani coins, *vide* N S XXXIX, Article 261.)

The legend on the coin also differs slightly from that found on full Tankas of Muhammad Shah I.

(b) *Muhammad Shah II*

AR Mint, Ahsanabad, Date 784 A H.

This is an interesting coin of Muhammad Shah II, dated 784 A H, as no coin of this king, dated earlier than A H 791, has as yet been discovered (*vide* foot note on No 27 of N S. XXXVII, Article 234).

2 *Islam Shah Suri*

4 Wt (looped), Size 95

Mint less type, Date 957 A H

Obverse

In square the Kalima

Margins—

Lower (الانكر) الصدائق

Reverse

اسلام شاه اس

شهر شاه سلطان

جلد الله ملكه ٩٥٧

Below श्रीसलामवादि

Margins—

Left السلطان العادل

Upper १५७ M. ☆

3 *Jalaluddin Akbar*

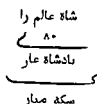
AR Wt 173, Size 95

Mint, Anwar (Aonla), Date 982 A H

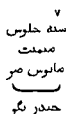
(23 N.)

Obverse

Within triple circle, middle
one of dots and on dotted
field

*Reverse*

On dotted field same as
obverse



Bednur known also as Nagar is a town in the Nagar Taluk of Shimoga District Mysore situated $13^{\circ} 49' N$ and $75^{\circ} 2' E$ about 55 miles west of Shimoga town. It was at one time called Haidarnagar after Haidar Ali who intended to make it his capital after his capture of the place in 1176 A.H. He had given orders for the erection of a Royal Palace (Shahi Mahal) a naval Arsenal (Silah Khana) and a mint (Daruz Zarb) and had also ordered the construction of an harbour to open the port for trade. The whole project however, was abandoned on account of certain rebellions, and Haidar's court was transferred to Seringapatam, which afterwards became the capital (*vide, Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1908 Vol XVIII, page 181, and also 'The Tarikh e Bijapur' by Bishruddin Ahmad, page 299*).

There are two gold Muhrs in my cabinet having the mint name Bahadur Pattan (119x—15 and 11xx—17), and one silver coin of Arcot (1195—17) which have Haidar's initial ح on the reverse. There can be no doubt that these coins were issued by Haidar Ali as they resemble in style those issued by the French and English East India Companies in the name of Shah Alam II but the coin under review has no similar initial of Haidar. The initial was probably omitted on early issues.

It is very surprising to learn that Haidar Ali ever issued coins in the name of the Mughal Emperor, as he and his son Tipu Sultan never acknowledged the supremacy of those Emperors. The fact however, is borne out by the coins of Bahadur Pattan Mint mentioned above. Two similar coins are also in the British Museum, but so far no such coin of Tipu Sultan has been discovered.

P S TARAPORE



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



In accordance with a resolution of the Numismatic Society of India passed in 1910 Dr G P Taylor contributed a learned article on Baroda coins two decades ago to the *Numismatic Supplement No XVIII of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. No further light was thrown after this scholarly treatise on these coins until the publication of Vol IV of the *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta* in the year 1928 when some other types were brought to our notice. In Part III of this Catalogue of Native States in his introductory remarks Mr W H Valentine made mention of a few more types of Sayajirao II unrepresented in the above named collection.

While examining Prof S H Hodivala's collection of coins purchased last year for the Prince of Wales Museum Bombay I came across some new types of the Gaikwars of Baroda besides many other rarities. While arranging them along with those already in the Cabinet of the said museum I found many more. All these coins form the subject matter of this paper.

To see if any other interesting specimens could be found I examined the large collection of coins in the Indian Historical Research Institute of Bombay and picked out all Baroda coins from the lot of which some proved useful in determining doubtful readings. Mr R H Gadgil also kindly placed at my disposal the estampages of coins of Baroda State which were in his possession. These also helped me a good deal in my study. With expressions of gratitude to the owners of the above collections I now proceed to describe the coins along with my observations.

All copper coins described in this paper belong to the Coin Cabinet of the Prince of Wales Museum unless otherwise mentioned.

ANANDRAO

NO 1215 1230

A D 1800-1819

- 1 Obv. Legend in double striking upside down in two halves of this coin is only fragmentary but from what can be made out it appears to be Shah Alam's legend as follows —

شاه عالم
 یا شاه عالم
 سکھ ملک

4. Mr. Gadgil has a similar coin which slightly differs on its obverse. We see:—

Rev. : $\frac{\text{اکبر شاہ}}{\text{۱۲۴۳ بادشاہ}}$
 مہینت
 सा M 2
 २३

5. Obv. : عارے •

Rev : सा ।
 ۲۷ حد
 M 3
 منہ

6. Obv. : $\frac{\text{کدر شاہ}}{\text{باد}}$

Rev : सा । M 4
 ॲ
 منہ

7. Obv. : $\frac{\text{شاہ}}{\text{شا}}$

Rev. : مہینت
 सा । M 5
 ॳ

8. Mr. Gadgil has a similar coin with year 1251 A.H. on the obverse.

9. Obv. : (Traces of Akbar II's legend with the year 1253.)

$\frac{\text{ن}}{\text{برے}}$
 ۱۲۵۳
 Rev. : مہینت
 M 5
 सा ।
 M 6

10. Obv. : $\frac{\text{اکبر شاہ}}{\text{باد}}$

Rev

خلوس مہمند

ॐ

The letter ॐ and a portion of the Gaikwar's scimitar is an indication of its being a coin struck by Anandrao. The crudeness of letters and Shah Alam's legend show that it was struck by Anandrao in his earlier years (before 1820) when he was contemporary with Shah Alam II. Here the letter ॐ is also written in a different way. The scribbling below the line is too crude to be read.

SAYAJIRAO II

A H 1235-1264

A D 1819-1847

Of all the Gaikwars Sayajirao II seems to have issued a very large number of varieties of coins.

Almost every second or third year there is to be found a change in the mint marks or symbols¹ which perhaps suggests the frequent change of mint masters who are generally responsible for such changes.

His coins can be roughly divided into two kinds —

- (i) Coins issued from Baroda mint with the legend of Akbar II
- (ii) Coins issued from Amreli fort with various symbols and marks

(i) BARODA COINS

- 2 Obv Fragmentary legend representing

اکبر شاہ
بادشاہ

Rev

مہمند

ॐ M I

سنہ ۲۰

صرب

- 3 A similar coin in the collection of the Indian Historical Research Institute bears the Hijri date 1240 above ۛ of بادشاہ on its obverse which is quite in agreement with regnal year 20 on the reverse in coin No 2

¹ Drawings of these marks or symbols are appended at the end and in the body of the paper I shall only refer to their serial numbers

4. Mr. Gadgil has a similar coin which slightly differs on its obverse. We see:—

Rev. : $\frac{\text{اکبر شاہ}}{\text{۱۲۴۳ بادشاہ}}$
 مہمنت
 مٹ M 2
 ۲۳

5. Obv : ہ عارے
 Rev. : مٹ ۱
 حد ۲۷
 مٹ M 3

6. Obv. : $\frac{\text{کبر شاہ}}{\text{باد}}$

Rev. : مٹ ۱ M 4
 ۲۸
 سنہ

7. Obv : $\frac{\text{شاہ}}{\text{شاہ}}$

Rev. : مہمنت
 مٹ ۱ M 5
 ۳۰

8. Mr. Gadgil has a similar coin with year 1251 A.H. on the obverse.

9. Obr : (Traces of Akbar II's legend with the year 1253)

$\frac{\text{ن}}{\text{ن}}$
 $\frac{\text{ن}}{\text{ن}}$
 ۱۲۵۳
 Rev. : مہمنت
 M 5
 مٹ ۱
 M 6

10. Obr. : $\frac{\text{اکبر شاہ}}{\text{ن}}$

Rev. :

M 7

४१

M 8

(ii) AMRELI COINS.

Dr. Taylor in the paper, referred to above, dealt with only the coins minted at Baroda which bear, as he has correctly observed, Akbar's legend on the obverse of the coins issued before the mutiny and the titles of the Gaikwar, viz. Sena-khaskhel Shamsheer Bahadur of those issued after the mutiny. But this does not hold good in case of the coins issued from the mint at Amreli. The caligraphy of these coins is poorer and cruder than that of the Baroda coins. Before proceeding with the description of these coins let us refer to the location and history of the place.

At page 318 of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. V (1908), we find the following passage regarding Amreli town: 'Amreli is the headquarters of the Amreli Prant, Baroda State, situated in 21° 36' N. and 71° 15' E., 139 miles South-West of Baroda, 132 miles South-West of Ahmadabad, and about 10 miles from Chital, a station on the Bhavnagar Porbunder Railway. Population (1901) 17,977. The town is situated on a small river called Thebi, and is fortified by a wall at present in a ruinous condition. It is an ancient place, the former name of which was Amarvalli. The "juna kot" or old fort is now used for a jail.....'

On page 316 of the same volume we are told that the Maratha incursions in this part of the country were first made by Senapati Khanderao Dhabade and his lieutenant Damaji Gaikwar I, but it was not until the time of Damaji Gaikwar II (1732-68) that the greater part of this country was either laid under contribution or subdued. These conquests were, however, shared by the Peshwa by treaty in 1752-3. After Walker's settlement in 1807, the next significant event was that the Gaikwar's farm of the Peshwa's share terminated in 1814, and the Peshwa sent his own officers to collect tribute. This double government lasted for about four years. But after the downfall of the Peshwa's power in 1818, British Government became the paramount authority in Kathiawar, while the Gaikwar's administration was confined to his own possessions.

Thus we see that from the year 1818, that is to say the beginning of the rule of Sayajirao II, the Gaikwar had an undisputed claim over Amreli, and there is no wonder if he started another mint at Amreli for the issue of coins for circulation in this part of his dominions.

- 11 *Obt* स ग above the elephant, etc (i e M 10)

Rev

صمیت

۱۲۵۷

سنه

صر امر

- 12 *Obt* Same as above

Rev

۱۲

سنه

صر لی

- 13 *Obt*

श्री

M 27

सा ग

M 12

Rev

۱۲

سنه

M 11

Coins Nos 14 to 21 are without dates and mints but all of them bear the initial letter स of Sayajī Gaikwar. Some of them unlike the other coins described above are thin and large pieces.

- 14 *Obt*

M 36

M 26

सा. ग

M 31

Below the scimitar (M 31) there is some crude scribbling which may possibly be a mint name. I doubt if it is Baroda.

Rev

مانوس

نوس

۲۰

- 15 *Obt*

श्री

सा. ग

M 27

M 28

Rev

عارے
حلو

}

The arrangement is not
readable but it may be

حلوس بادشاہ عاری

This is a thin and big piece

16 *Obv* The same as No 15 but M 29 is to be seen to
the left of म*Rev* The arrangement on this coin also is like No 15
but it presents some more letters which can
not be satisfactorily read

This too is a thin piece

17 *Obv* I have not been able to read it There is some
crude lettering meant probably to represent
the name of Sayajirao and a scimitar like
Mark No 28*Rev* As crude as the obverse It is probably an
attempt at the Kalima above the line and
the words Khas Khel below the line18 *Obv* Same as No 15 above but this is a dumpy
coin*Rev* Too fragmentary and crude to be read19 *Obv*

M 33

म. म

M 32

Rev Illegible20 *Obv*

म. म

M 31

Rev Too bad an arrangement to be read21 *Obv* } Same as above but there is difference in thick
and }
Rev } ness and size

GANPATRAO

A.H 1264-1273

A.D 1847-1856

22 *Obv* M 14 मी M 21

M 15

म म

Rev

۱۲۶۶

عالموس

۳

سنه

صوب

مدينت

قلعه امرتلى خلوس

Out of the whole lot this is the only perfect coin which gives three clear marks of a lotus representing Lakshmi—the Goddess of Wealth, No 15—A Sun—the emblem of Predominance, a sword, as Dr Taylor suggested for the title of Gaikwars Shamsheer Bahadur, thus combining the emblems of Finance, Administration and Army, with the letters यौ, न, and ग standing for the full name of the ruler Ganpatrao Gaikwar. The reverse gives us the third regnal year of the ruler himself and not the Mughal Emperor's (as in case of his coins of Baroda) with the corresponding Hijri date 1266. It also gives us the location of the mint in that town, the old fort (Qila Amreli).

23 *Obv*

यौ

M 17

ग

M 21

(but point to the right)

Rev

M 18

سنه

This too is a thin piece

KHANDERAO

A.H. 1273-1287

A.D. 1856-1870

24 *Obv*

यौ

M 20

ख. ग

Rev

خلوس

۱۲۷۷

سنه

Rev

صمدت
 ۱۳۱۲ خورش

The dates on these coins are puzzling for the Hijri year to be seen in inverse is 1312 which falls within the regime of Sayajirao III and hence irrespective of its crude legend like older coins and in spite of much better coins being issued by this ruler we have to attribute this coin to him. But the figure 88 does not agree either with the continuous regnal year of Alvar II or his own. Nor can it be a part of the Christian Era or the Samvat. The figure therefore leads us nowhere, and hence the figure (88) has to remain unexplained for the present.



1



3



4



6

8_a

9



11



12



13



14



15



17



Rev

منصب
حلوس ۱۳۱۲

The dates on these coins are puzzling for the Hijri year to be seen in inverse is 1312 which falls within the regime of Sayyirao III and hence irrespective of its crude legend like older coins and in spite of much better coins being issued by this ruler we have to attribute this coin to him. But the figure 88 does not agree either with the continuous regnal year of Akbar II or his own. Nor can it be a part of the Christian Era or the Samvat. The figure therefore leads us nowhere and hence the figure (88) has to remain unexplained for the present.

Now I shall close after referring to a few coins which might well be called reappropriated ones for originally they were struck by some one else and later on they were re-struck by the Gaikwars of Baroda. It was the practice of the last 2 or 3 Gaikwars says the *Bombay Gazetteer* at page 130 of Vol VII to recall on his accession all the copper coinage of his predecessor and to coin his own coppers. Here are some instances not only of the above but also of the reappropriation of coins of other States —

33 This is a coin of Ganpatrao restruck by Khanderao

34 This is an Indo Portuguese coin restruck by Khanderao

35 Brauswara coin restruck by Khanderao

36 Bhavnagar coin (with बहादुर) restruck by Malharrao

37 Coin of the East India Company restruck by Malharrao

R G GIANI



1



3



4



6

8_a

9



11



12



13



14



15



17





19



21



22



23



24



25



26



27



29



31







































32







































37



					
1	2	3	4	5	6
					
7	8	9	10	11	12
					
13	14	15	16	17	18
					
19	20	21	22	23	24
					
25	26	27	28	29	30
					
31	32	33	34	35	36

List of marks noticed on the coins described in the paper 'Some Unpublished Coins of the Gaikwars', by R. G. Gyfni.

					
1	2	3	4	5	6
					
7	8	9	10	11	12
					
13	14	15	16	17	18
					
19	20	21	22	23	24
					
25	26	27	28	29	30
					
31	32	33	34	35	36

List of marks noticed on the coins described in the paper 'Some Unpublished Coins of the Gakwats', by R G Gyfti

315 AURANGZEB'S SILVER COIN OF SANGAMNER

While arranging Aurangzeb's coins in the Cabinet of the Prince of Wales Museum Bombay I found a silver coin of his 48th regnal year. The mint name though not complete is in all probability Sangamner which so far as I am aware is a mint unpublished hitherto.

On the obverse of the coin the usual couplet of Aurangzeb's silver coins viz

سندہ در چہل چو بدر مصر شاہ اورنگ رب عالم گیر

is to be seen

The legend on its reverse is as under —

مانوس
صمد
۴۸
سندہ حلوس
مصر
سنگمند (و)

It measures 85" in diameter and is 176 grains in weight.

The following extract from page 50 of Vol 22 of the *Imperial Gazetteer* explains its location —

'Sangamner town is the headquarters of the Taluka of the same name in Ahmadnagar district Bombay, situated in 19° 34' North and 74° 13' East 49 miles North West of Ahmadnagar city.'

The Mughal occupation of this district lasted from 1636-1759. During this rule as it appears from the revenue settlements of about 1790 (*vide Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol VII, page 738) Sangamner was the head of a Sarkar of eleven parganas and hence must have been important enough to possess a local mint. Aurangzeb might have struck coins at this mint towards the latter part of his rule when he had his headquarters mostly in this part of the country.

R G GANI

The beautiful portrait medals which were struck by the Emperor Jahangir in defiance of the law and custom of Islam have been hunted for high and low throughout the Indian sub continent for nearly a century and many a coin collector has coveted a specimen in vain. The rarity of these pieces is indeed so great that fancy prices have been sometimes paid for indifferently artistic imitations of dubious authenticity. It is also worthy of note that though the strenuous and ardent search of scores of enthusiasts in our own times has been rewarded by the discovery of many varieties and sub varieties of the monetary issues of the Emperors of Delhi, not a piece has been found in any metal exhibiting either on obverse or reverse the effigy of any other of the Timurid Emperors of Hindustan. In other words no other descendant of Babur is known to have dared to stamp his own image either on gold or silver and imitated the example of the brechanalian and free thinking successor of Al bar. It may be therefore permissible to announce that a portrait medal of another Mughal Padishah has been found.

This exceedingly interesting numismatic record was brought to me in October last by a Lucknow jeweller who was anxious to have the somewhat unusual legend in the obverse margin deciphered and elucidated.



AR

Size 18 m

Weight 360 grs

Obverse Bust of the Emperor Shah Ālam II to left radi
ate wearing turban with *tora* or jewelled orna
ment

own armies as well as those of his allies were repeatedly routed by those strangers and after a struggle which lasted for nearly six years, he was under the necessity of retiring to Allahābād and residing there as a pensioner of the all powerful English Company. Here, says the historian Dow, 'he kept up the poor resemblance of a Court with a few ruined Omrahs, the ragged pensioners of his poverty, who still followed him in hopes of better days and burdened his gratitude with their presence' (History of Hindostan Ed 1812 II 355). It might have been well for him to have remained satisfied with the dependent but secure position of a pageant Emperor. But he was all the while suffering like others of his kind in a similar situation from a discontent which is not always 'divine'. He never ceased to long for the fleshpots of his old Egypt, and when any opportunity appeared to present itself of gratifying those desires and cherished wishes, there were never wanting in his entourage persons who for their own purposes were only too willing to encourage them.

Meanwhile, Dehli and the restricted territory in its proximity was virtually governed by Najib u d daula, who had manfully held his own for a time against the Jat marauders under Suraj Mal. But the Mahrattas again made their presence felt in Northern India in 1769 A C, eight years after their defeat at Panipat. They soon made themselves masters of the Central Duāb and occupied Dehli itself in the winter of 1770-1771 A C. Najib u d daula was now dead and had been succeeded by his son Zābitā Khān, who offered little or no resistance to the invaders and secured his own safety by retiring to his stronghold of Patthargarh in the Bawani Mahāl. His flight made it easy for the Southrons to negotiate directly with the *fainéant* who was only too anxious to be restored to the throne of his fathers. And as they were only too ready to acquire under the cover of his name a legitimate right or authority to domineer as the paramount power in Hindustan, the terms were soon arranged. The negotiations were covertly encouraged by Shuja' u d daula who had his own ends to gain by the Emperor's withdrawal from his territories. The English authorities when consulted, did their best to dissuade him from taking the inconsiderate step but left him to his own devices when they found that their warnings were unwelcome. The result was that he left Allahābad at some time in the month of May, 1771 A C = Muharram-Safar 1185 A H. As the rainy season came on soon afterwards, he had to go into cantonments when he reached Farrukhābād. In his camp near that town, he was visited by Mahadji Sindia, the terms and conditions of his restoration were finally settled and a treaty signed and sealed by the contracting parties. On the cessation of the rains, he resumed his journey and the slowness of his progress was such that he was able to set foot in Dehli only on Christmas Day, 1771 A C = 18th Rāmazān 1185.

Legend in margin

- ولادت در سنه ۱۱۴۰ حلوس در سنه ۱۱۷۳ بحال شد ملطقت ۱۲
 'Birth in the year 1140 [H]
 Accession to the throne in the year 1173 [H],
 The Empire was confirmed in the 12[th year]'

Reverse

سکه زر در وقت کشور ساز فصل اله حامی دس محمد شاه عالم نادشاه

It is perhaps necessary to make a few remarks in connection with the three events which were in the eyes of this Emperor, so auspicious and important that he thought it advisable or necessary to strike an extraordinary Medal with his own Portrait to commemorate them. It will be observed that these three events—his birth, his accession *de jure*, and his restoration *de facto* to the throne—are recorded upon it in true historical sequence and correct chronological order.

We are first told that the Emperor was born in the year 1140 A H. It may be therefore pertinent to point out that this statement is borne out by the Mughal chronicles. According to the *Miftahu'l-tawārikh* the Prince 'Alī Gauhar was born on the 17th of Zi q 'ad 1140 H, and his mother was the Begam Zinat Mahal, better known as Lāl Kunwar (Lucknow Litho graph 1284 H, p 343, l 15) *Vide* also Ghulām 'Alī Khan Shah 'Ālamnāma.

During the latter part of the reign of 'Ālamgir II, the Vazīr Ghaziu'd-din had kept the Prince 'Alī Gauhar in a sort of open arrest in the *haveli* of 'Alī Mardan Khān and had even talked of immuring him in the fortress or State prison of Salimgarh. At last, he was able to escape and cut his way through the cordon of soldiers posted round his residence with a few faithful followers. At first he found refuge with Shuja'u'd-daula the Nawab of Oudh, and afterwards with Muhammad Qulī Khan the Governor of Allahabād. 'Ālamgir II was murdered on Thursday, the 8th of Rabī II, 1173 H = 29th November 1759 A C (Historical Studies, p 287). It was nearly a month before the news reached the Prince at his camp in Bihār and he was crowned at the village of Kanauti on Monday, 4th Jumad I 1173 H (24th December, 1759 A C). He afterwards issued orders that the initial date of his own reign should be reckoned from the day following that of his father's 'martyrdom', but the difference between the actual and official dates is really slight and immaterial for the purposes of this article.

It is common knowledge that his object in going to the Eastern Provinces was to secure a new footing for himself in those parts by wresting Bihār and Bengal from the hands of the English who had recently become, by a strange turn of fortune, the virtual masters of those territories. But his hopes and aspirations in that quarter were doomed to failure. His

own armies as well as those of his allies were repeatedly routed by those strangers and after a struggle which lasted for nearly six years he was under the necessity of retiring to Allahabad and residing there as a pensioner of the all powerful English Company Here says the historian Dow he kept up the poor resemblance of a Court with a few ruined Omrahs the ragged pensioners of his poverty who still followed him in hopes of better days and burdened his gratitude with their presence (History of Hindostan Ed 1812 II 355) It might have been well for him to have remained satisfied with the dependent but secure position of a pageant Emperor But he was all the while suffering like others of his kind in a similar situation from a discontent which is not always divine He never ceased to long for the fleshpots of his old Egypt and when any opportunity appeared to present itself of gratifying those desires and cherished wishes there were never wanting in his entourage persons who for their own purposes were only too willing to encourage them

Meanwhile Dehli and the restricted territory in its proximity was virtually governed by Najibu d daula who had manfully held his own for a time against the Jat marauders under Suraj Mal But the Mahrattas again made their presence felt in Northern India in 1769 A C eight years after their defeat at Panipat They soon made themselves masters of the Central Durb and occupied Dehli itself in the winter of 1770 1771 A C Najibu d daula was now dead and had been succeeded by his son Zabitu Khan who offered little or no resistance to the invaders and secured his own safety by retiring to his stronghold of Patthargarh in the Bawani Mahal His flight made it easy for the Southrons to negotiate directly with the *faintant* who was only too anxious to be restored to the throne of his fathers And as they were only too ready to require under the cover of his name a legitimate right or authority to domineer as the paramount power in Hindustan the terms were soon arranged The negotiations were covertly encouraged by Shuja u d daula who had his own ends to gain by the Emperor's withdrawal from his territories The English authorities when consulted did their best to dissuade him from taking the inconsiderate step but left him to his own devices when they found that their warnings were unwelcome The result was that he left Allahabad at some time in the month of May 1771 A C = Muharram Safar 1185 A H As the rainy season came on soon afterwards he had to go into cantonments when he reached Farrukhabad In his camp near that town he was visited by Mahadji Sindia the terms and conditions of his restoration were finally settled and a treaty signed and sealed by the contracting parties On the cessation of the rains he resumed his journey and the slowness of his progress was such that he was able to set foot in Dehli only on Christmas Day 1771 A C = 18th Purnima 1185

A H This was the final consummation of his hopes and it was thus that after an exile of more than twelve years he returned to the palace of his fathers and took his seat for the first time on the throne in the Diwan-i-Khas.

The words *بحال شد سلطان* leave no room for doubt that the medal was struck to commemorate this most auspicious and glorious event of his restoration. But we have also to note that the event is said to have taken place in the 12th year of the reign. Now the 12th year began *actually* on 4th Jumad I 1184 A H (26th August 1770 A C) and terminated on 3rd Jumad I 1185 A H (14th August 1771 A C) or *officially* on 9th Rab i II 1184 H (2nd August 1770) and 8th Rab i II 1185 H (22nd July 1771 A C). It follows that the medal was probably struck either on the day in May 1771—Muharram Safar 1185 H on which he held his last court in Allahabad or on the day some two or three months later on which the treaty was signed and sealed in the Imperial Camp near Farrukhabad. I think I ought to say that this historical note is mainly based on Keene's *Fall of the Mughal Empire* and Grant Duff's *History of the Marhattas*.

As there,

S H HODIVALA

111 January 1933

NUMISMATIC SUPPLEMENT No. XLV

ARTICLES 317-327

*Continued from 'Journal and Proceedings', Vol XXIX,
New Series No 3*

317 CLASSIFICATION AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SYMBOLS ON THE SILVER PUNCH MARKED COINS OF ANCIENT INDIA

Introduction

It is not a matter of satisfaction from the numismatic point of view, that comparatively little attention has been paid to the silver punch marked coins of India, the DHARANA or PURANA,¹ also designated as PANA² which are available in large numbers throughout the country including Afghanistan.

A brief survey of the contributions on the subject by various scholars would not be out of place here. The numismatists who paid attention to the punch marked coins were Mr Thomas Sir A Cunningham, Prof Wilson Mr Rodgers Mr W Theobald Mr W Elliot, Dr V Smith Dr Spooner, Dr Bhāndarkar and Mr Walsh.

Sir A Cunningham was the first to establish them as the indigenous ancient coins of this country. In his *Coins of Ancient India* he has clearly shown that the ancient Hindus had their own coining system dislodging the previous incorrect belief of some numismatists and scholars that the Indians borrowed the art of coining from the ancient Greeks who a century after Alexander the Great came to India and established their rule over the N W parts of the country in the 2nd century B C. Though Cunningham has very carefully determined their standard weight in Raktikas (Rattis) and grains and identified the silver punch marked coins (the *signati argenti* of the Greek historian Quintus Curtius) with the ancient Dharana or Purāna, the silver Karshāpana, or Kāhapana of the Sanskrit and Pali texts and classics (to which should now be added the silver 'PANA' of Kautilya as well) and noticed that the symbols were stamped by separate punches on the coins yet he did not classify them according to the grouping of figures punched on them. But he could roughly fix the limit of the period of minting and currency of these silver punch marked coins, between 600 and 200 B C. He also noticed that some worn out punch marked coins were found mixed along with the silver

¹ Manu :

² Kautilya

coins of the Indo Greeks of the 2nd century B C which were fresh in appearance and came to the safe conclusion that the said punch marked coins must have been manufactured at least about a century before the Indo Greek coins in other words in the 3rd century B C. He also discovered a few much worn silver coins¹ from the deposit at the foot of Vajrasana or throne of Buddha in the temple of Mahabodhi at Buddha Gaya which was made about 150 A D during the reign of Huvishka thus limiting the period of their circulation as late as the middle of the 2nd century A D. In another place (C A I p 43) he has mentioned that they were current in the time of Buddha in the 6th century B C and further stated that *I see no difficulty in thinking that they might mount as high as 1000 B C. They certainly belong to the very infancy of coinage the only money that could have preceded them would have been blank pieces of weighed silver.* But Dr Vincent Smith did not agree with him on this point about the very early age of the silver punch marked coins but accepted their age of 300 B C on the data then available. Data now available prove that Sir Alexander Cunningham was not far of the mark.

It may be pointed out that so far no distinction was noted between the different types of silver punch marked coins of different periods. The coins which were found mixed with the Indo Greek coins were of the period of about the 3rd century B C. It should be noted that there have been discovered different types of silver punch marked coins which are actually of a much earlier period as they have a distinct archaic appearance and are of a crude thin broad and unshapely fabric with bold simple symbols which undoubtedly led Sir Cunningham to think of their very ancient age. So far only three different types of silver punch marked coins have been published and described by several scholars. The writer of this article has had the fortune of acquiring and studying seven different types of silver coins four of which have not been published as yet but in this thesis he has described with illustrations the other four types which remained unpublished. A set of them is in the Lucknow Museum and the remaining 3 are in his own cabinet on the grounds described elsewhere in this thesis the punch marked coins could be ascribed to three different periods and have been tentatively described as coins of the Early the Middle and the Later periods none being later than the end of the 3rd or the beginning of the 2nd century B C the earliest may be as old as 8th century B C.

The scholar who specially paid attention to the symbols found on the Indian punch marked coins collected and illustrated them with an attempt to interpret and describe them was

¹ One of the coins is illustrated in C A I Pl I No 15 described on page 5.

Mr W Theobald, undoubtedly the pioneer in this work. But with due appreciation of his elaborate work, and contribution to this particular branch of Indian numismatics, it would not be too much to say that he failed in many places to make out the actual symbols correctly, as is evident from his own revised articles published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1901, Vol LXX, Part I and Vol LIX of 1890, Part I. In this first article he included the symbols of the copper punch-marked coins of Eran, of later dates, in several cases he could not find the complete symbol but incorrectly described different parts of the same figure as different figures, and counted them as separate symbols, even in his revised second article he could not eliminate all the inaccuracies, but added a number of new symbols by mere description without illustrating them. He did not attempt any classification of the coins according to their symbol groups, fabric, and weight, which is the clue to differentiate one type from another. His discovery about the similarity of symbols found on the punch marked coins of Ancient India to some of the ancient symbols found on the early stones of Europe is really remarkable and important from the historical point of view.

The next scholar who attempted to fix the period of currency of the punch marked coins was Dr Bhandarkar,¹ but his conclusions were all based on the study of the copper punch marked coins of Besnagar of later period, and are not wholly applicable to the coins of very early periods.

Dr Spooner² also described and published with illustrations some of the silver punch marked coins which he obtained from the vicinity of Taxila the ancient Taksha Śilā of the Hindus, undoubtedly he was the first to notice the grouping arrangement of symbols on the coins, but was led to believe wrongly that the symbols were all Buddhistic, which I showed to be erroneous in my previous thesis on the silver punch marked coins of ancient India,³ a paper read at the All India Numismatic Society's meeting held at Delhi in 1931. Professor R. D. Banerji, the discoverer of Mohenjodaro also described a hoard which was presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by the Ameer of Afghanistan. His description⁴ did not enlighten us on the subject, he could not make out the symbols accurately, and naturally so, as the coins were of smaller size and much obliterated, almost all the symbols were found superimposed, a mere jumble of figures most difficult to decipher.

Dr V. Smith, who very ably prepared the catalogue of Indian coins in the Calcutta Museum, assigning them their proper eras and periods also described the symbols of the

¹ Carmichael Lectures 1921 pp 76 ff

² A. S. R. 1905-06, p 130

³ A booklet published privately by the author

⁴ NS XIII, (76) 1910

coins of the Indo Greeks of the 2nd century B C which were fresh in appearance and came to the safe conclusion, that the said punch marked coins must have been manufactured at least about a century before the Indo Greek coins in other words in the 3rd century B C. He also discovered a few much worn silver coins¹ from the deposit at the foot of Vajrasana or throne of Buddha in the temple of Mahabodhi, at Buddha Gaya which was made about 150 A D during the reign of Huvishka thus limiting the period of their circulation as late as the middle of the 2nd century A D. In another place (C A I p 43) he has mentioned that they were current in the time of Buddha in the 6th century B C and further stated that '*I see no difficulty in thinking that they might mount as high as 1000 B C. They certainly belong to the very infancy of coinage the only money that could have preceded them would have been blank pieces of weighed silver*'. But Dr Vincent Smith did not agree with him on this point about the very early age of the silver punch marked coins but accepted their age of 300 B C on the data then available. Data now available prove that Sir Alexander Cunningham was not far of the mark.

It may be pointed out that so far no distinction was noted between the different types of silver punch marked coins of different periods. The coins which were found mixed with the Indo Greek coins were of the period of about the 3rd century B C. It should be noted that there have been discovered different types of silver punch marked coins which are actually of a much earlier period as they have a distinct archaic appearance and are of a crude thin broad and unshapely fabric with bold simple symbols which undoubtedly led Sir Cunningham to think of their very ancient age. So far only three different types of silver punch marked coins have been published and described by several scholars. The writer of this article has had the fortune of acquiring and studying seven different types of silver coins four of which have not been published as yet but in this thesis he has described with illustrations the other four types which remained unpublished. A set of them is in the Lucknow Museum, and the remaining 3 are in his own cabinet, on the grounds described elsewhere in this thesis the punch marked coins could be ascribed to three different periods and have been tentatively described as coins of the Early, the Middle and the Later periods, none being later than the end of the 3rd or the beginning of the 2nd century B C, the earliest may be as old as 8th century B C.

The scholar who specially paid attention to the symbols found on the Indian punch marked coins collected and illustrated them with an attempt to interpret and describe them

¹ One of the coins is illustrated in C A I Pl I No 15 d on page 55

silver punch marked coins in a separate chapter, but from the brief description of the symbols it appears that he did not pay much attention to them and could not throw any light on the subject Mr Walsh President of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society (1919) was the last scholar who contributed something substantial towards the subject He elaborately described two different hoards of silver punch marked coins of two different types found in the city of Patna and Bhagalpur District in the province of Bihar His observations were published in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* 1919 Vol V, Part I (the Golakhpur and Ghoroghat hoards) He noticed that generally there were 5 symbols on the obverse side of the coins grouped methodically which he classified scientifically he also found that the Golakhpur hoard coins were quite different from those previously published and considered the coins to be of an early period but he could not fix their exact time

In this thesis attempt has been made to collect illustrate, and describe as far as practicable all the symbols which were seen complete on well preserved silver coins which could be ascertained by a comparative study of over 4 000 silver punch marked coins from a dozen different hoards kept in different Indian Museums private collections of Mr Srinath Sah of Benares who obtained them from Ahraura District Mirzapur, and Captain M F C Martin R F President of the Numismatic Society of India 1929 who obtained them from Swat Hasanab dal Kosam Mathura, and other places to all of whom my thanks are due and the author's own collection Attempt has also been made to revise the list of symbols found on the silver punch marked coins illustrated and described by Mr W Theobald in the *J A S B* in Vol LIX 1890 and Vol LXX of 1901 by carefully copying the figures from well preserved coins for the sake of accurate and scientific classification of the coins according to the symbol groups punched on them which would be actually helpful in differentiating the various types of different periods and localities thus providing a key to ascertain the period in which they were minted for currency The author did not leave the work of drawing of symbols to other hands but undertook to do himself with great care as it needed definite accuracy The drawings of the symbols are made black as they would appear if the raised parts of the punched coins be coated with blacking the figures are almost all drawn to the size seen on the coins Out of 564 illustrated figures some of which are really variations of the same symbols only half a dozen figures are doubtful On comparison of shapes weights and symbol groups of the coins as studied by the author, they are found to be of six different types there may be more but they are not yet published nor seen by the author up to the time of writing of this thesis As stated before only 3 different types

silver punch marked coins in a separate chapter, but from the brief description of the symbols it appears that he did not pay much attention to them and could not throw any light on the subject. Mr Walsh President of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society (1919) was the last scholar who contributed something substantial towards the subject. He elaborately described two different hoards of silver punch marked coins of two different types found in the city of Patna and Bhagalpur District in the province of Bihar. His observations were published in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* 1919 Vol V Part I (the Golakhpur and Ghoroghat hoards). He noticed that generally there were 5 symbols on the obverse side of the coins grouped methodically which he classified scientifically. He also found that the Golakhpur hoard coins were quite different from those previously published and considered the coins to be of an early period but he could not fix their exact time.

In this thesis attempt has been made to collect illustrate and describe as far as practicable all the symbols which were seen complete on well preserved silver coins which could be ascertained by a comparative study of over 4 000 silver punch marked coins from a dozen different hoards kept in different Indian Museums private collections of Mr Srinath Sah of Benares who obtained them from Ahraur District Mirzapur and Captain M F C Martin R E President of the Numismatic Society of India 1929 who obtained them from Swat Hasanab dal Kosam Mathura and other places to all of whom my thanks are due and the author's own collection. Attempt has also been made to revise the list of symbols found on the silver punch marked coins illustrated and described by Mr W Theobald in the *J A S B* in Vol LIX 1890 and Vol LXX of 1901 by carefully copying the figures from well preserved coins for the sake of accurate and scientific classification of the coins according to the symbol groups punched on them which would be actually helpful in differentiating the various types of different periods and localities thus providing a key to ascertain the period in which they were minted for currency. The author did not leave the work of drawing of symbols to other hands but undertook to do himself with great care as it needed definite accuracy. The drawings of the symbols are made black as they would appear if the raised parts of the punched coins be coated with blacking. The figures are almost all drawn to the size seen on the coins. Out of 564 illustrated figures some of which are really variations of the same symbols only half a dozen figures are doubtful. On comparison of shapes weights and symbol groups of the coins as studied by the author they are found to be of six different types there may be more but they are not yet published nor seen by the author up to the time of writing of this thesis. As stated before only 3 different types

are contradictory if he places MANU, before Alexander in the last quarter of the 4th century B.C. his explanation of the name PURANA as used by Manu after the Greek occupation of the Punjab in comparison of their coinage falls short. The author thinks that the word PURANA was used by Manu as he knew the earlier coins of his time which were of a different fabrication and type—thin and broad or of a lighter standard weight just as we do now a days call the later Moghal coins as *Purana Rupia*.

It may be pointed out here that these are not the only coins of lighter standard weight of 24 Rattis there are 20 other silver punch marked coins in my cabinet of a different type and archaic appearance of 24 Rattis standard weight (see Pl VI).

Another noticeable feature of these early coins is that they all bear only 4 bold and big symbols on their obverse side rather crudely designed quite unlike the ordinary silver punch marked coins which bear 5 symbols of finer execution. On their reverse side they have smaller symbols of a simpler design from 3 to 14 in number (see Pls I II III and the Supplementary Pl XXXI). Some of them are so thickly punched on their reverse side that they have assumed a saucer shape the concavity is towards the side on which the smaller symbols were punched this being done as usual with the punch marked coins after the bigger symbols were impressed and hence the bigger symbols on the obverse side are very much flattened and distorted. The term Obverse is used here in its literal sense it is the side on which its chief figures are punched. The bigger symbols are punched in groups of four forming a *methodical series*—a conspicuous feature of all the punch marked coins of different types indicating a systematically evolved stage of the coinage of the early Hindu period. As stated before almost all the symbols on these coins are of a simple nature on both sides, and may be called elementary symbols formed by simple curves and lines or a combination of 2 3 or 4 simple figures of the same kind arranged artistically. The symbols found on the obverse side of the later thicker square and circular silver punch marked coins which are found in abundance throughout India are generally of a more complicated nature composed of two three or more different simple symbols as will be evident on looking at the Pls IX to XXI for example the figures of the groups in the third column throughout are composed of three different simple or elementary symbols found on the early coins illustrated on Pls I, II and III in the fourth column. But on the reverse side of these later coins the symbols are of simple form like those on the said early coins but they are smaller in size of finer and better execution. As stated before these 13 coins are very thin and broad a fact which was also noted by Cunningham in his *Coins of Ancient India* where he has stated that coins of thin and broad fabrication are of early

appearance and looked dirty grey, but on cleaning they were found to be beautifully preserved coins, as if very little used bearing no signs of wear and tear. All the coins are thin broad pieces of round or elliptical shape the biggest being $1\frac{1}{2} \times 9$ the smallest $9 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ with an average weight of 42 grains the heaviest being 43.8 and the lightest 40 grains hence it can be inferred that their actual weight was 24 Raktikās of early days. As the coins looked fresh without any sign of much use it can not be said that they have lost as much as 14 or 17 grains the standard weight of silver punch marked coins being 32 Raktikās according to MANU¹ or over 57.6 grains according to Cunningham. It may be inferred that the coins are $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Purāṇa or Dharana but as there is no mention of $\frac{3}{4}$ fraction except a half a fourth and an eighth² by Manu or Kautilya they seem to be Purāṇas of 24 Raktika standard weight of about 44 grains thus theory of a lighter standard weight of 24 Raktikās silver coins is supported by early Sanskrit astronomical texts. COLEBROOK in his article on *Indian Weights and Measures* published in the *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1801 page 95 has said that GOPALA BHATTAN an early author mentions that from the ancient astronomical books it is found that a Dharana was of 24 Raktikās and he has given a table of weight as follows —

2 Yavas (barleys) = 1 Guṇja 3 Guṇjās = 1 Balla 8 Ballas = 1 Dharana. As 2 barleys are equal to 1 Guṇja or Raktikās 1 Dharana contains 24 Raktikās or Rattis. It is clear from this that either at some period or locality silver coins of 24 Raktikās standard weight were current. It may be that at some period before MANU the Dharanas were of 24 Raktikās though in his time they were of 32 Rattis. The term Purāṇa used by MANU may refer to these lighter coins of earlier period, Sir A. Cunningham in his *Coins of Ancient India* on page 47, writes 'The Karshapana was also called DHARANA probably meaning a handful of 16 copper Panas from DHRĪ 'to hold'. But a more common name was PURANA or 'the old' which could only have been imposed upon it after the Greek occupation of the Punjab which is about the middle of the 2nd century B.C. but on page 20 he said. In the Hindu books they are called PURANA or OLD a title which vouches for their antiquity. They are mentioned by MANU and PANINI, both anterior to Alexander. The above two different statements of Cunningham

¹ Manusmṛiti Chapter 8 Śloka 135 and 136—

दे कण्ठो समष्टे विज्ञेयो रौप्यमायकः ।

ते पादस्य स्याद्वर्य पुराणस्यैव राजतः ।

² Kautilya's Arthaśāstra Book II Chapter 12 Śloka 27—

सप्तधाध्यक्षतुर्भागताम्रं दण्डस्य सौवर्ण्यपुष्पीसाध्वनामन्यतमं माषबीजयुक्तं
कारयत् पञ्चमर्धपणं पादमष्टभागमिति ॥

are contradictory, if he places MANU, before Alexander in the last quarter of the 4th century B.C., his explanation of the name PURANA as used by Manu after the Greek occupation of the Punjab in comparison of their coinage falls short. The author thinks that the word PURANA was used by Manu as he knew the earlier coins of his time which were of a different fabrication and type—thin and broad or of a lighter standard weight just as we do now a days call the later Moghal coins as *Purana Rupia*.

It may be pointed out here that these are not the only coins of lighter standard weight of 24 Rattis there are 20 other silver punch marked coins in my cabinet of a different type and archaic appearance of 24 Rattis standard weight (see Pl VI)

Another noticeable feature of these early coins is that they all bear only 4 bold and big symbols on their obverse side, rather crudely designed, quite unlike the ordinary silver punch marked coins which bear 5 symbols of finer execution. On their reverse side they have smaller symbols of a simpler design from 3 to 14 in number (see Pls I II III and the Supplementary Pl XXXI). Some of them are so thickly punched on their reverse side that they have assumed a saucer shape the concavity is towards the side on which the smaller symbols were punched this being done as usual with the punch marked coins after the bigger symbols were impressed and hence the bigger symbols on the obverse side are very much flattened and distorted. The term Obverse is used here in its literal sense it is the side on which its chief figures are punched. The bigger symbols are punched in groups of four forming a *methodical series*—a conspicuous feature of all the punch marked coins of different types indicating a systematically *evolved stage* of the coinage of the early Hindu period. As stated before almost all the symbols on these coins are of a simple nature on both sides, and may be called elementary symbols formed by simple curves and lines or a combination of 2 3 or 4 simple figures of the *same kind* arranged artistically. The symbols found on the obverse side of the later thicker square and circular silver punch marked coins which are found in abundance throughout India are generally of a more complicated nature composed of two three or more *different* simple symbols as will be evident on looking at the Pls IX to XXI for example the figures of the groups in the third columns throughout are composed of three different *simple* or *elementary* symbols found on the early coins illustrated on Pls I, II and III in the fourth columns. But on the reverse side of these later coins the symbols are of simple form like those on the said early coins but they are smaller in size of finer and better execution. As stated before these 13 coins are very thin and broad a fact which was also noted by Cunningham in his *Coins of Ancient India* where he has stated that coins of thin and broad fabrication are of early

period, he also mentioned that silver was imported in large quantities in thin beaten plates from Tarshish, and gold was taken in exchange from Ophir, the Saberia of Ptolemy, the SINDHU SAUVIRA of ancient India. The coins are all of alloyed silver, which on analysis is found to contain, silver 75 per cent, copper 24.6 per cent with trace of iron and lead 4 per cent.

A notable fact about these early symbols is, that a large number of them can be reconciled with the later MUDRAS or VIJA symbols mentioned in the Sanskrit texts of early and medieval periods which the author has dealt with in the second chapter of this thesis with illustrations.

A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF TWENTY UNPUBLISHED SILVER PUNCH MARKED COINS OF ARCHAIC TYPE IN THE AUTHOR'S CABINET

Some 20 crudely formed silver coins (see Pl VI) were obtained from Lucknow about 5 years ago. They are irregularly formed rectangular and round in shape of dirty grey colour (before cleaning), their find spot could not be traced, as they were purchased from a dealer. On chemical analysis they were found to contain 75 parts of silver, and about 25 parts of copper, with traces of other impurities. The coins appear somewhat worn, their average weight being 40.3 grams or 21.3 Rattis, the heaviest is 42, and the lightest 37 grams or 20 Rattis, only 6 of them are round but the rest are rectangular or square, crudely shaped, with one or two corners cut to regulate their weight, of sizes varying from $87'' \times 56''$ to $81'' \times 5''$. The coins are also of the same average weight rather a little less than the coins of Lucknow Museum described before, there is no reason to believe that these coins have lost more than 16 grains in weight, if they were of 32 Ratti standard weight, as all the symbols are very clearly visible, without an indication of much use. They seem to be Dharanas or Purānas of 24 Rattis weight. These coins have also four bold and crude symbols on their obverse, but on their reverse side they bear from 1 to 4 smaller simple symbols, only a few are blank on their reverse, with anvil marks. The symbols are all punched in a methodical group, forming a series, five of which could be recognized in such a small lot, as will be evident from Pl VI. The first two figures in column 3, a triskelis and the so called Taurine symbol placed in a shield like frame, are conspicuously common on all the 20 coins, but the third and the fourth figures are changed, thus forming a series of two sub classes with five different groups of 4 symbols. These coins having only four symbols on their obverse of a crude and bold design, and being of 24 Rattis standard weight come under the category of early punch marked coins. All the symbols found on these coins, as well as of the Lucknow Museum

coins, together with the symbols seen on the Golakhpur coins are illustrated on Pls. XXII, XXIII, and XXIV, and are described in the second chapter of the thesis. The symbols on the Obverse side of the coins are marked with asterisks to differentiate them from those seen on the Reverse side, as both of them are illustrated together on the same three plates.

A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF A THIRD VARIETY OF UNPUBLISHED SILVER COINS WHICH ARE IN THE AUTHOR'S CABINET.

Another type of coins quite different in size and fabrication are the half Dharanas or Purāṇas, of two different kinds, thin and thick pieces of small size. They are 10 in number, all halves of 32 Ratti Purāṇas. They bear only one bold symbol on one side, owing to their very small size; on the other side there are from 2 to 11 small symbols, which being punched afterwards caused the flattening of the obverse symbols; the coins are Ardha Kārshāpanas weighing on average, 14 Rattis or 23·2 grains, having lost 3·4 grains by wear and tear; they seem to be of two different types, the thinner broad pieces bear more symbols of a different design than the thicker coins of smaller size on their reverse, as they have single symbols on their obverse side, they cannot be classified on group system.

There is also a *Dvi-pana*, or DOUBLE PURĀṆA of silver in the cabinet, of 32 Rattis standard-weight, a rare piece. It is a thick rectangular coin bearing 13 symbols on one side only, the other side bearing anvil marks, and though the coin is a thicker piece, it has assumed a saucer shape owing to as much as 13 punching of figures, its weight is 58·75 Rattis or 105·75 grains, having lost 5·25 Rattis or 7·45 grains by usage. The symbols on it resemble those found on the Lucknow Museum coins. It is illustrated on Pl. VII.¹

A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE GOLAKHPUR HOARD COINS OF THE PATNA MUSEUM.

Another set of early coins, really a connecting link between the early and the middle period coins, are known as the Golakhpur hoard, described and published by Mr. Walsh in the *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society* of 1919, Vol. I, Part I. These coins were found from 15 feet below the surface in an earthen *ghārā* in the city of Patna buried in the sandy bank of the Ganges in the Mohalla of Golakhpur, whence the name of the hoard. Mr. Walsh could classify these coins according to the grouping of symbols but he did not illustrate the group-figures which the author has done in this thesis, see Pls. IV and V.

¹ The 3 plates VI, VII, and VIII, are printed together on the same page.

It will be seen from the illustrations that there are generally five symbols on the obverse side of the coins which are 107 in number and though 16 of them bear 6 or 7 symbols on their obverse, they do not interfere with their grouping arrangement of five symbols. These extra symbols which are also illustrated in column 4 of the plates seem to be smaller reverse symbols punched by mistake on the obverse side, the symbols on reverse side are also shown in the 5th column. It may be seen from the illustrations that the first 2 figures are found on all the coins but the 3rd 4th, and 5th symbols are changed, thus forming different groups of five symbols in a series. In all there are 34 groups of 5 symbols each, out of one hundred and seven coins as illustrated in the said journal. The system adopted by the author for the classification of coins on the scientific basis of group symbols in this thesis is described in the 3rd Chapter. On analysis the coin was found to contain Silver 82 per cent Copper 15 per cent and Iron Lead and other impurities 3 per cent. The coins are very brittle thin and broad.

II DESCRIPTION OF SYMBOLS FOUND ON THE DHARANAS OR PURANAS OF ANCIENT HINDU INDIA

This chapter has been divided into two parts the first one deals with the symbols seen on the silver punch marked coins which in the opinion of the author are of an early period, which have been collected and illustrated by copying the symbols directly from the best preserved coins. These symbols are simple and elementary, of crude delineation numbering over 238 illustrated on Pls XXII XXIII, and XXIV.

Undoubtedly some of them are different variations of the same symbols, in form and size and they should not be counted as different ones, although they are numbered on the plates in the serial order, actually the number of different symbols on the 3 plates is one hundred and seventy six. The figures on the plates are drawn entirely black, as they would appear if the raised parts of the coins were coated with blacking, this was done to give a clearer impression to the eyes and they are drawn to the size as are seen on the coins. This illustrated list of symbols would not only be helpful to the collectors of such coins for prosecuting their studies, but would open a new field for their correct interpretation, which is expected to reveal many new facts bearing on the ancient history of Hindu India. The second part deals with the symbols found on the coins which are available throughout India, and are of a better and finer execution, and in the opinion of the author are of the later period.

The number of symbols so far collected by the author from such coins and illustrated is one hundred and eighty two, on Pls XXVI and XXVII, out of which 15 are duplicate

variations, thus the number is reduced to 167. The symbols found on the reverse side of these coins which are generally very small are shown separately on Pl XXV. These small symbols are most difficult to decipher, as they are punched very lightly on the back which is generally worn out making these reverse symbols nearly invisible. One hundred and seventy four small symbols have been collected most of which are similar to the symbols found on the early coins illustrated on Pls XXII, XXIII, and XXIV, and out of these 174 symbols only 64 are such as are not illustrated on the other plates. In this way the actual total number of different symbols seen on both the sides of the later period coins which could be collected comes to two hundred and thirty-one thus giving the grand total of FOUR HUNDRED AND SEVEN different symbols, found on six different types of silver punch marked coins.¹ Undoubtedly many more are expected to be added to the list.

The chief notable feature of the symbols found on the obverse side of the middle and later period coins is their complex design. Most of the symbols are composed of two or three *different simple symbols* generally seen on the early coins artistically arranged, for example in Fig 28 of Pl XXVI, it will be seen that the symbol is formed by the symmetrical combination of three various simple symbols found on the early coins viz., Figs 4 and 16 of Pl XXII, and the Fig 107 of Pl XXIII. In this way a large number of symbols will be found on analysis to be composed of two, three or four various simple symbols, all known to exist on earlier punch marked coins. The later symbols evolved out of the early simple ones and there came into existence a sort of *Mudrā* ² *Lipi*, as called in later times.

Another special feature which differentiates and separates the coins of the Middle and Later periods from those of the early period is that out of 155 symbols illustrated on Pls XXVI and XXVII, there are less than a dozen symbols which may be said to be similar to those found on the early coins except the complex symbols in which the simple symbols are their component parts. The only symbols found on the obverse of the middle and later period coins which may be said to be similar to the symbols of the early period coins are Figs 1, 2, 20, 32, 55 of Pl XXVI, and Figs 74, 76, 88, 97, 115 and 118 of Pl XXVII, which are similar to the Fig 19 of Pl XXII, Figs 89, 128, 124, 137, 155 and 153 of Pl XXIII, Fig 7 of Pl XXII,

¹ Early punch marked coin symbols found on their *Obverse* and *Reverse* sides are all illustrated together on Pls XXII, XXIII and XXIV, but the *Obverse* symbols are marked with asterisks.

² There were 5 kinds of *Lipi* as mentioned in *Śāldakalpadrūma* — 'Mudra lipi Śūpa lipi lipi lekhaṇi sambhavaḥ Gundika ghṛṇa-sambhuta lipi pañchadhā smṛtāḥ ||' See Dr. Hirananda Sastri's Presidential Address, 6th Oriental Conference, 1930, Archaeological Section.

Fig 108 of Pl XXIII, Fig 51 of Pl XXII, and Fig 92 of Pl XXIII, respectively

PART I THE MUDRAS (SYMBOLS) DESCRIBED IN THE SANSKRIT
TEXTS OF THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD RECONCILABLE WITH
THE SIMPLE SYMBOLS ON THE EARLY SILVER
PUNCH MARKED COINS

It is a curious fact, that in the Sanskrit texts of the periods of ŚAṆKARA and earlier, such as NRISIMHATAPANI UPANISHAT and KALIVILASA TANTRA, mentions are made of *Mantra Bya* symbols (a sort of Mudra Lipi) which if depicted in black and white according to the descriptions given in the texts resemble in form the symbols found on the early silver punch marked coins of ancient Hindu India. A large number of such Mudras as well as ornamental and artistic combinations of the very Mudrās (Mysterious Symbols) can be reconciled with the symbols seen on the reverse side of the said coins.

Another noticeable and startling feature about the coin symbols is their resemblance to the Mohenjodaro pictographs, three dozen of them appear exactly similar to the figures, and the pictographs seen on the seals or matrices found in the excavations of Mohenjodaro and Harappa in the Indus valley, whose age has been estimated between 3000 and 3500 B.C. (See Pls XXVIII and XXIX.)

An early image of ŚIVA (see Pl XXX) with three heads, sitting squat on a Chauki or four footed low stool in Yoga sana with his arms stretched and palms resting on knees, head adored with a big *Jatā* and a pair of horns (probably of a buffalo) sitting naked, with a girdle round his waist and some sort of covering on his breast and arms, surrounded by four big animals, an elephant, a rhinoceros, a buffalo, all standing facing towards the image, and a tiger springing towards it, as well as a pair of deer, one of which is clearly seen below the Chauki is noteworthy. The image is found befitting some of the different titles or poetical names given to ŚIVA come down in Sanskrit texts of later dates. The sitting posture of Yogasana reminds us of his title of Yogaraja. the three faces in the image brings the idea of TRISIRAS, a special triad aspect of ŚIVA. The idea of JATADHARIN and SRINGIN is also there, from the peculiar hair tuft and horns the two forming the shape of a TRISOLA a trident. The huge animals shown around the image, convey the idea of PAŚUPATI the lord of animals, another title of ŚIVA. This finding of a very early image of ŚIVA, along with other figures such as the SVASTIKA and a cross shaped VEDI or KUNDA which are well known to every Hindu, as shown on Pl XXX, Nos 502, 512 513, and 528 after over 5,000 years, is one of the wonders of the modern archæological discoveries in India. What wonder if a large number of symbols found

on the early punch marked coins of ancient Hindu India which might have been most probably better known in the early Medieval period to the author of the 'Nṛsiṃhatāpani Upaniṣhit (commented by Śaṅkarācārya), the Kālvilāsa Tantra and the like texts, were adopted for their particular purpose are found described in the Sanskrit texts. Of course it is difficult in the present circumstance to say with certainty about the actual sense in which the symbols were used by the early Hindus of Bhāratavarsha. In other words it is recapitulated that some present day tradition may be unimaginably ancient, as has been proved by the discovery of the Siva plaque at Mohenjodaro. There should be no wonder if some of the symbols on the punch marked coins should prove to be pre historic in origin. And when they are described in the Nṛsiṃhatāpani Upaniṣhat and other later books by special names, it is possible that those names are ancient, for example the word SHADARA CHAKRA (षट्पद्म); at the same time it is also likely that those names and mystic meanings were given to them later. But in the absence of other earlier data, we are bound to take note of the technical names to be found in these later works, as both the above mentioned facts cannot be easily ignored.

The author has attempted to describe in this thesis what he found about the similarity of coin symbols to the pictographs of the Mohenjodaro seal, as well as about the similarity of Mudrās,² the mysterious symbols described in the books of the medieval period which if drawn on paper resemble a large number of symbols seen on the early coins, and also pointed out the combination of such symbols, which he has collected and copied directly from the coins as illustrated on Pls XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXVI, and XXVII.

The symbols shown in Figs 1 to 11 on Pl XXII, and Figs 202 and 203 on Pl XXIV, are all different variations of the one and the same symbol formed by a small curve, a crescent put over a dot joined together. It is one of the most conspicuously common figures found on the obverse and reverse sides of the early coins, and only on the reverse of the middle and later period coins and is also seen as a component part of other complex symbols most commonly found on the obverse of the later period coins. Theobald (Figs 107, 128, 135, and 188) in his article recognized it as a Taurine symbol of the zodiacal sign of Taurus, he further described it from the Indian point of view, to be composed of the figure of the moon joined with the figure of the sun (J A S B, Vol LIX, 1890, pages 199-246). But it looks like the Brāhmī letter ऋ (M)

¹ The author is indebted to Dr Pran Nath of the Benares Hindu University, who gave some quotations from these Tantric texts, which have been referred to in this article.

² In Sanskrit the word Mudra also means mystery hence Mudra Lipi is a mysterious writing or symbol not intelligible to every one.

Professor RAPSON, has stated that this symbol, like Figs 3, 4, and 10, Pl XVII of this article, is found punched on silver sigloi of the Achæmenid dynasty of Persia of 6th and 7th century B C, which got their way into India, and were punched as a mark of recognition in this country. These silver sigloi were current between the 6th and 7th century B C (*J R A S*, 1895 page 865). This implies that this particular symbol was used for punching the coins in the 7th or 6th century B C.

In the Sanskrit Text of the *Kālvilāsa Tantra* edited under the name of ARTHUR AVAŁON in Vol VI, of the Tantric Text series published by Luzac & Co London, 1917 in the 24th Paṭala (chapter) the author of the book has described some of the *Bya Mudras* symbols with their Sanskrit names for meditation with Mantras.

Fig 1 Plate XXII, is a bigger, and bolder form of the above mentioned symbol. It is seen on the obverse side of early coins, vide Pl II, 3rd figures of the coins 1 and 2 of Lucknow Museum.

Fig 2 is found on the obverse of the Golakhpur Coin No 105, Pl V.

Figs 3 and 4 are the same symbols of smaller size, see *Re* of coins 3 and 5 of Pls I and II, on the *Re* of coins Nos 2 and 5, Pl VI, on the *Dvīpana* Pl VII, and on the *Rev* of coins 2 and 4, Pl VIII.

Fig 5 is also the same symbol, and is found on the *Ob* side of coins, Nos 70-89, where it is a conspicuous figure amongst the group symbols of twenty coins of the Golakhpur hoard. Mr Walsh has described this as the figure of a bull's head, but the figure is oval, quite unlike the elongated tapering (hanging) head of a bull, the two prominent ears are not shown although it is surrounded by dots, which is known as Bindumandala in Tantrika terminology.

It would not be out of place here, to say a few words about the BINDUMANDALA which means 'a garland of dots'. It was not used only as a decoration to the symbols, but also, according to later Tantra theory, as a sign of reverence, and counted as a sacred sign, and putting it round any symbol was considered blissful which brought blessing, as is evident from the *Kālvilāsa Tantra*, Ch XXV, page 62, Śloka 27, 28, and 29, where the sacredness of Bindumandala is clearly described —

यश्चात्वा साधको याति अव्ययं विन्दुमण्डलम् ॥ २७ ॥

मण्डलं परमं मोक्षं पूर्णानन्दस्वरूपिणीम् ।

परस्य ब्रह्मण पुत्र तदन्त गृहमीरितम् ॥ २८ ॥

शब्दरूपमयं विन्दु-मण्डलं मातृकाक्षरम् ।

इति ते कथितः पुत्र सर्वबीजस्य निगद्य ॥

'by knowing the undiminishing Bindumandala the performer attains salvation, the eternal peace The wreath of dots (Bindu mandala) the giver of eternal peace, O you the son of Brāhmana, I have told you the significance of its sense' The Bindumandala is the Śabda mayā Matra which is indestructible

It is important to note that as many as 30 other symbols found on the early coins are seen surrounded by the Bindu mandala, which can be seen on Pl XXII Figs 5, 6, 7, 8, 14, 17, 23, 32, 45, 48 and 66, Figs 111 113, 114, 116, 118, 119, 135, and 138 on Pl XXIII, Figs 170, 172 187, 191, 194 203, 218, 224, 225, 226, and 236 on Pl XXIV It is also noticeable that symbols surrounded by dots are seen only on the early punch marked coins and not on the coins of the later period The author has adopted this name in the absence of any other nomenclature

Fig 6 is the same symbol with Bindumandala but smaller in size It is seen on *Re* of coin, No 2 Pl I, Fig 4

Fig 7 is also the same with an extra dot within the crescent, found on coins, Nos 5 and 6 Pl II reverse side, Figs 1 and 3 respectively

Fig 8 is another modification of the same symbol two of them are seen together, with Bindumandala, see coin No 2, Pl I 8th Figure

Fig 9 is the same with 3 dots round it, see coins 2 and 3 *Re*, Pl VI

Fig 10 has 2 dots only, see coins 4 and 5, *Re*, Pl VI

Fig 11 is the same, enclosed in a Mandapa or a shield, it is seen on the *Ob* of coins 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, Pl VI

Fig 12 is an ancient symbol which is also known in the West as the wizard's symbol, a pentagram described by Theobald In Sanskrit and in modern times it is known as the 'PAŒCHAKONA' In the Kāhvilāsa Tantra Ch 33, Sloka 13, this Pañchakona Mudra is described as an annihilator of sins —

पञ्चकोणात्मकं बीजं प्रणवं पापनाशनम् ।

'The PAŒCHAKONAATMAKA Bija is the killer of all sins'

This symbol is seen on the *Ob* of coin 1, Pl VI

It appears that this symbol was used as an auspicious symbol to annihilate sins, and was also known to the people of the medieval period and was adopted also for their Tantric purpose

Fig 13 is the well known Hexagram formed by two equilateral triangles so placed one over the other that their apexes are opposite to each other. Its Sanskrit name is SHATKONA¹ and was also considered as a sacred Mudra (symbol) as is evident from the note quoted below. This symbol is also found amongst the ancient Cretan figures. It is also a conspicuous symbol on the coins of Nepal and Tibet up to this day. It is used to day in many Hindu homes. This symbol is conspicuously seen on the obverse of the early coins of the Lucknow Museum see coins 3 and 4 Pl I also on Pl III coins 11 and 12. Other figures such as Octagram and Decagram are also mentioned in the text as sacred symbols but the author has not come across them on any silver punch marked coins as yet.

The Octagram (ASHTAKONA) formed by two squares one placed over the other diagonally has survived up to the present day and is well known to the present day Hindu.

Fig 14 is the same SHATKONA but is surrounded with Bindumandala see coins 4 to 59 Pl IV 4th Fig.

Fig 15 is similar to the previous figure but it has a dot (Nabhi) in the centre instead of a small circle as its nucleus see coin 105 Pl V 5th Column.

Fig 16² is a small circle with a dot in its centre (Theobald Fig 126) resembles a figure or MUDRA described in the Kalvilasa Tantra Sloka 34 (Ch XXVI) —

ज्येष्ठा बिन्दुर्गतानित्या सुस्थिरा चारुणप्रभा ।

सुस्थिरान्तर्गतो बिन्दुर्विन्दुमध्ये च मोहिनी ॥

अस्त्रविद्यात्मिकानित्या परमाबीजमौरितम् ।

The stable Jveshtha in the form of a dot and permanent with beautiful rays resides fixed within the BINDU (zero) and is charming. This is called the PARAMA BIJA MUDRĀ and is the soul and the deity of Astra Vidya the science of arms and warfare. This symbol is very conspicuous and is seen in 7 or 8 variations. It is also found in combination with other symbols on the coins it is used probably as a symbol to attain victory. In its simplest form it is

¹ Shatkona is also mentioned in the Kalvilasa Tantra Chap 33 Sloka 13 पटकोणं वदन्ति बीजं दशकोणात्मकं नमः ।

² Similar symbol ○ is seen on the palm of the right hand of the early images of Vishnu.

seen on coin No 4, Pl VI, as a reverse symbol, also on coin 53, Pl IV, and on *Re* of coins 6 and 12, Pls II and III, respectively

Fig 17 is the same symbol surrounded by Bindumandala, see *Re* of coin, No 8, Pl II

Fig 18 is another variation of the same, here the figure is surrounded by rays (PRABHĀ) indicated by 8 radial lines (Theobald Figs 145 and 146), see coin, No 12, *Re*, Pl III, 7th Fig

Fig 19 is the same figure with 12 rays, Pls IV and V, *Ob* of coins 4 to 105, also on *Re* of coin 4, Pl IV

Fig 20 is a smaller form of the same

Fig 21, this symbol consisting of a conspicuous dot within a small circle with 16 radiating rays is one of the most conspicuous symbols seen on the early coins as well as on 99 per cent of later coins

Almost all the previous scholars have described it as the figure of the sun, but the author has reasons to disagree with the view held so far. The question arises about the circular dot inside the circle around which the radial lines are drawn to indicate the rays there should be some sense in it. What is the meaning of this double representation? Which of the two, the outer circle, or the central round and considerably big dot represents the orb of the sun? We have never seen the figure of the sun so drawn anywhere. The simplest way of drawing the figure of the sun, is to draw a small circle and add radial lines for rays or it can be done by drawing a small circular dot big enough to show the disc and putting straight lines around it for indicating rays, but never in the way as is seen on the coins. It can not be said to be the mistake of the artist who executed the engraving of the punch, as this type of the figure is seen on a very large number of coins some big and some small, but all of the same design. For the said reasons the author is reluctant to take the symbol as the figure of the sun. It rather resembles the symbol described in the Kūhvilāsa Tantra, Ch XXVIII Śloka 19 and 20 —

विन्दुमध्यगतं शून्यं कोटिचन्द्रप्रदीपकम् ।

परं ब्रह्म शून्यरूपं शिव परमकारणम् ॥ १९ ॥

शिवस्य कारणं विन्दु ब्रह्माक्षरनिरूपणम् ।

परमं ब्रह्मण्यङ्गं पञ्चाशन्मातृकाक्षरम् ॥ २० ॥

It is clear from the above Śloka, that Bindu, zero or cipher, represents Śiva and Sūnya the dot represents the Para-Brahma the supreme being. One is put inside the other, thus forming a figure resembling the symbol seen on the coins, and the adjective 'KOTICHANDRA-PRADIPAKAŚ' is depicted by putting rays round it, making a complete figure like that of the sun. Figs 206, 207, and 208, Pl XXIV, look like the actual figures of the sun, in Fig 206 there is a single small circle, without any dot in it, and the Figs 207 and 208 have big dots with rays, with no extra circle round them they can be safely counted as the symbol representing the Sun.

Fig 22 is just like the above mentioned symbol but it has 6 thicker lines for its rays see Pl V, *Re* of coin 89, and Pl IV, *Re* of 43

Fig 23 seems to be another variation of the same having only 4 rays, and is surrounded by a Bindumandala, see Pl III, *Re* of coin 12, 14th Fig

Fig 24 is another variation of the same, it has 16 curved rays all bent to right side, see Pl VII, coin 1 *Re* Fig 12

Fig 25 has only 8 curved rays, see Pl V, *Re* of coin 70; and Pl III, *Re* of 10, 6th Fig

Fig 26 is a simple representation of the crescent, Theobald, Fig 127, has described it as the symbol of Istar the celestial mother. But in the Kalivilāsa Tantra, Ch. XXVI, Śloka 36, there is a description of a Bija Mudrā which if drawn resembles a crescent symbol, and is named Mohini Bija Mudrā —

तत्तत्सु मोहिनी बीजमर्द्धचन्द्रं ततः परम् ।

It may be noted here that the term ARDHACHANDI signifies a crescent, and not a semicircle. The symbol is seen on *Re* of coin 100, Pl V.

Fig 27 is the same symbol with rays (PRADIPA) around it, see Pl I, *Re* of coin, No 2, Fig 10

THE FOLLOWING TWELVE SYMBOLS ARE COMBINATIONS OF THREE TO NINE CRESCENTS ARTISTICALLY ARRANGED, but it cannot be definitely said whether they are symbols of different names, or merely the ornamental forms of the symbol of the crescent moon, like the Mohini Bija Mudrā. They are briefly described below —

Fig 28 is the artistic arrangement of 3 crescents placed equiangularly with their convex sides facing each other, see Pl II, *Re* of coin 5, Fig 4

Fig 29 is the same but smaller in size, but it has a smaller

circle in the middle with 3 dots between their cusps, see coin 28, Pl IV (extra figure)

- Fig 30 is another combination of 3 crescents placed in three compartments formed by 3 right lines joined together at an angle of 120 degrees to each other see Pl I, *Re* of coin 2 and Pl III, coin 9, Fig 1
- Fig 31 is the combination of 4 crescents, placed round a small central circle, and 4 dots between their cusps, see Pl VIII, *Re* of coin, No 4, Fig 2
- Fig 32 is a modification of the previous symbol, there is a dot in the centre instead of a small circle, surrounded by a Bindumandala, see Pl I, *Re* of coin 2, Fig 7
- Fig 33 is another artistic combination of 4 crescents so placed round a central dot as to produce a floral design, see Pl VI, *Re* of coin 4
- Fig 34 appears to be a combination of 4 crescents placed round a small circle and joined to it with 4 lines, the convex sides being towards the circle, see Pl III, *Ob* of coins 11 and 12
- Fig 35 is a modified form of the previous symbol, the 4 crescents have their concave sides turned towards the central circle, see Pls I and II *Ob* of coins 1 to 10
- Fig 36 is a combination of 5 crescents placed round a dot, with their cusps facing outwards, see Pl III, *Re* of coin 10, Fig 5
- Fig 37 is another peculiar combination of 6 crescents, of which 3 are bigger, placed round a central dot, and the smaller 3 crescents are placed one in the arm of each bigger one, see Pl I, coin 1, *Ob* 4th Fig
- Fig 38 is a complex combination of as many as 9 crescents, three of them are bigger, and placed symmetrically like the Fig 28 with their cusps facing outwards, the remaining 6 crescents have their cusps all facing inwards placed one each over the 6 cusps of the 3 bigger ones forming a beautiful and ornamental design nowhere seen now a days, see Pl VIII, *Ob* of coin 1
- Fig 39, this symbol consists of a crescent with a dot placed in the arm of it, is clearly the well known 'CHANDLA BRU' in the Sanskrit script. It is a representation of the beautiful celestial phenomenon the conjunction of the planet VENUS with the MOON when it is seen as a crescent a few days before the new moon in the early morning. It is clearly seen after the rainy season. Another symbol Mudra, described in the Kāthavilāsa Tantra Ch XXIV, Śloka 28 resembles the figure —

The term CHANDRARDRA BINDU in the above Śloka indicates a crescent and a dot placed together and is termed the 'Māyā bija' symbol, see Pl VI, *Re* of coin 4 This symbol is not illustrated by Theobald

- Fig 40 is the combination of 2 crescents and 2 dots, placed back to back, and 2 other dots between their cusps (Theobald, Fig 218, but without dots), see Pl VI, *Re* of coin 2
- Fig 41 is the combination of 3 CHANDRA-BINDUS, see Pl VI *Re* of coin 5
- Fig 42 is a variation of the symbol, the crescents are placed round a dot with 2 dots in the arms of each crescent, see Pl V, coin No 98
- Fig 43 is a combination of 4 crescents with dots round a central dot, see Pl III, *Re* of coin 9 *Re* of coin 4, Pl VI and on the Dvīpana, Pl VII 7th Fig
- Fig 44 is a similar combination of 5 Chandra Bindus, placed round a small circle, see Pl I, *Ob* of coins 2, 3, and 4 and Pl II, *Ob* of coin 5, 3rd Fig
- Fig 45 is a variation of the above, it is surrounded by a Bindumandala There is a dot instead of a circle in the middle, see Pl III, *Re* of No 11, 5th Fig
- Fig 46 is a symbol composed of a crescent with 3 dots, within its arm, 2 above and the 3rd below, see Pl III, *Re* of coins 10 and 11, and Pl IV, *Ob* of coin 58
- Fig 47 is a smaller size of the same
- Fig 48 is the same symbol as above, but has a Bindumandala round it, see Pl III, *Re* of coin 12, and Pl V, *Ob* of coin 19
- Fig 49 is a variation of the same symbol, it has a line between the 2 upper dots, see Pl I, *Re* of coin 4
- Fig 50 is another variation of the above-described symbol It has 3 extra dots above the figure, see Pl V, *Ob* of coin 90, 4th Fig
- Fig 51 is a square with 4 compartments, a CHATUSHKONA is described in the Kāhvilāsa Tantra, Ch XXVI, Ślokas 29 and 31

ऊर्द्धरेखाद्वये पुत्र चतुष्कोणे मनः स्थिति ॥ २९ ॥

चतुष्कोणात्मके चैव आत्मनः स्थितिनिर्णयः ।

अधोभागे चतुष्कोणे परमात्मा वसेद्भवम् ॥ ३० ॥

दक्षभागे चतुष्कोणे निवासश्चान्तरात्मनः ।

अधोभागे चतुष्कोणे ज्ञानात्मापि वसेद्भवम् ॥ ३१ ॥

It says 'O, my son, fix your mind on the two vertical lines of the square which are shining like lightning, they are the giver of salvation. It has been ascertained that the soul exists in the square, as the Supreme being Himself resides in the lower part of the square; the Antar-Ātman, the inner soul, resides in the right part of the square, the Jnānātman, the conscience, resides in the lower part.'

The author of the text here describes the form of a square for meditation, and mentions the right, the left, as well as the upper and the lower parts of the square, thus dividing the square into four parts. And if the drawing of the square be made as mentioned part by part, a square of 4 compartments would be formed exactly similar to the symbol referred to, see Pl IV, *Re* of coin 4; Pl V, *Ob.* of coin 102; and Pl VII, coin 1. Theobald has described this figure as a combination of a cross in a square (Fig. 126) This symbol is also found on the Mohenjodaro seals, see Pl XXVIII, 1st figure of the 1st column

Fig 52 is a smaller form of Fig 51

Fig. 53, may be taken as a variation of the above symbol, there are 4 separate smaller squares so placed together as to form a bigger square of 4 compartments, see Pl IV, *Re.* of coin 26.

Fig 54 is a smaller square with an ellipse put inside it, the square represents the abode of a deity, and probably the whole figure may designate Śiva, see Pl. II, *Ob* of coin 5, 4th Fig

Fig. 55 is an equilateral triangle, the TRIKONA-KUNDAI as described in the Kālivilāsa Tantra, Ch XXII, Slokas 33, 34, and 35 the 3 sides of which represent Brāhmā, Viṣṇu, and Rudra, resembles the figure:—

...त्रिकोणं कुण्डलीमात्रा नित्या श्री प्रकृतिः परा ॥ ३३ ॥

...वामरेखा भवेद् ब्रह्मा तरुणाक्षिममन्विता ॥ ३४ ॥

दक्षरेखा विष्णुरूपा शरच्चन्द्रशतप्रभा ॥

अधोरेखा रुद्ररूपा दलितान्नसन्निभा ॥ ३५ ॥

'The 3 sides of the triangle represent Eternity, Victory, and the Supernature. The left side stands for BRAHMĀ with beautiful big eyes, the right side is in the form of VIṢṆU, shining like a 100 autumn moons, the base line represents RUDRA, who is dark and reflecting like collyrium'

In the Tripura tāpini Upanishad, a triangle is called TRIPURA, the city of three Gods, see Pl IV, *Ob* of coin 59, Pl V, *Ob* of coin 83, and Pl V, *Re* of coin 80

Fig 56 is a variation of the same figure, it is surrounded by rays त्रि, see Pl III, *Re* of coin 11, the 4th figure

Fig 57 is an equilateral triangle with a dot placed in it, a similar symbol is described as Paramakundali in the Kāhvilāsa, Ch XXII, Sloka 37 त्रिकोणाभ्यन्तरो
शून्यो बिन्दु परमकुण्डली

‘A dot placed within the empty space of a triangle forms the Paramakundali. It is ascertained that the Bindu, dot represents the BRAMHA. Theobald has described this symbol (Fig 187), he counted the dot as the solar or male energy of nature, and the triangle as a female symbol. This figure is also found on old stones of Stonehaven vide S S S, Vol I, Pl XLI

Fig 58 is a variation of the above symbol. It is surrounded with 9 rays, see Pl III, *Re* of coin 10, Fig 11

Fig 59 is a simple dot, and is said to represent the Supreme-being the BRAMHA in the simplest form. It is also mentioned in the Kāhvilāsa Tantra, Ch XXIV, Sloka 18 — ‘Īśvarah susamāsino Bindu bramha prapūjyate’

In the Siva Sūtra (Indian thought series) by P T Iyenger, published at Allahabad, on page 365, it is said that the Bindu indicates the knowledge of Oneness of the universe down to the physical world

Theobald, Fig 126, has described this symbol as representing the Godhead of the old religion of Assyria and India. He was correct in recognizing this symbol as representing the BRAMHĀ of the ancient Hindus see Pls VI and VIII, *Re* of coins 2 and 4 respectively, and Pl IV, *Re* of coin No 53

Fig 60 consists of two dots, the Visarga, indicates the simultaneous inner and outer manifestation of the universe, vide Śiva Sūtra, page 365, see Pl III, *Re* of coin 9, and Pl IV, *Re* of coin 39

Fig 61 consists of 3 dots, so placed pyramidally that each one is adjacent to the other. A similar symbol is also described in the Kāhvilāsa Tantra, Ch XXVI, Slokas 22, 23, and 24, and is termed Rāmābhiṣa Mudra for meditation of 3 deities, RAMA, JYĒSHṬHA, and RAUDRI, consorts of Vishnu and Rudra, and the goddess Jyeshṭha, this symbol is called ‘BHRAMARI’ when surrounded by a Bindumandala —

अधुना षड्गु हे पुत्र रमाबीजं सुदुर्लभम् ॥ २२ ॥

रमा ज्येष्ठा तथा रौद्ररौ विन्दुत्रय-विनिर्मिता ।

रमा सुसङ्गता ज्येष्ठा रौद्रौ ज्येष्ठा सुसङ्गता ॥ २३ ॥

भ्रामरौ कथ्यते तेन विन्दुमण्डलसङ्गता ।

रमासु संस्थिता ब्रह्मा विष्णु ज्येष्ठा सुसंस्थिता ॥ २४ ॥

In the 'Māyātatva' by Arthur Avalon, 1918 edition, on page 16, it is said that the 3 Bindus represent the Śiva aspect and the Śakti aspect of the one consciousness Theobald (Figs 153, 267, and 268) described this as a symbol of natural worship, and thought it for the male triad of Hindu religion This symbol is also found on the terra cotta whorls found at Troy, *vide J A S B*, 1891, page 207 For the figure, see Pl X, *Re* of coin 17

Fig 62 is a variation of the above symbol, it is represented by three small circles instead of 3 dots (as a Bindu can be depicted by a dot or small circular zero), see Pl IV, *Re* of coin 39

Fig 63 is another variation of the same, with 3 small dots placed between each other, see Pl VIII, *Re* of coin 4, 4th Fig

Fig 64 is the same but has a dot between the 3 see Pl VIII, *Re* of No 4 9th Fig

Fig 65 is a different variation of the same it has an extra small circle between the 3, and 3 dots between them, see Pl VIII *Re* of coins 2 and 4

Fig 66 is just as figure 62, but it is surrounded by a Bindumandala, it is described in Śloka 24 quoted above as BHARAMARI, see Pl III, *Re* of coin 7, the 4th figure

In the 'Māyātatva' by Arthur Avalon, Part III, reprinted from *Vedānta Kesari* on page 16, the author says — The Purusha Prakṛiti Tatva is a bifurcation in consciousness on the differentiation of the Para Bindu into three Bindus'

Fig 67, there are 3 dots in a triangle It appears to be the above symbol of 3 dots placed inside a triangle, the Trikoṇa kundala described before, see Pl V, *Ob* of 90, the 5th figure

Fig 68 is the same symbol enclosed in a tetragon, see Pl IV, *Ob* of 39 5th Fig

Fig 69 is a group of four dots arranged in a square form, see Pl XIX, *Re* of coin 109 Theobald (Fig 171) has described it as 4 balls

Fig 70 in this symbol the 4 dots are placed in a square of four compartments see Pl II *Re* of coin 6 and Pl V *Ob* of 101

Theobald (Figs 111 and 163) has described this figure to be a very ancient symbol found also on terra cotta whorls at Troy. He thought it to represent the Assyrian four fold conception of Deity and the Hindu three fold doctrine of divinity. This symbol is also found on the seals excavated at Mohenjodaro see Pl XXXVIII second figures of the first and second columns (CCCI seal 444)

Fig 71 is a group of 5 dots one in the middle and 4 around it arranged in a square form. The figure of Pancha Sunya called the Gramani Bija Mudra of the Kalivilasa Tantra Ch XXXVI Slokas 32 and 33 resembles it —

एकादशेन्द्रियाणाञ्च पञ्च शून्येषु सस्थितिः ।

पञ्चशून्ये च भूतानां स्थितिश्चैव न सशयः ॥ ३२ ॥

इति ते ग्रामणी बीजं रजः सत्त्वतमात्मकम् ।

कथितं कृष्ण हे पुत्र स्मरणान्मोक्षद भवेत् ॥ ३३ ॥

The eleven Indriyas are residing in the 5 dots the 5 elements and the 3 Gunas Rajas Satv and Tamas are represented by the 5 dots which is called the Gramani Bija Mudra. O dear son of Krishna by meditating on which Moksha is attained see Pl V *Re* of coin 100

Fig 72 is the same symbol enclosed in a square see Pl IV *Ob* of coin 43 and Pl V *Ob* of coin 101 5th Fig

Fig 73 is the same figure but smaller in size see Pl IV *Re* of coin 19

Figs 74 and 75 seem to be variations of the same symbol the dots are separated by 4 lines see Pl I *Re* of coins 3 and 4 and Pl III *Re* of coin No 10 2nd Fig

Fig 76 is another variation of the above figure the 4 dots are separated by double lines the 5th dot being in the middle see Pl V *Ob* of coin 88 5th Fig

Fig 77 is a group of dots round a central one it seems to be a Chakra of 5 points see Pl VIII *Re* of coin 4 3rd Fig

Fig 78 is a variation of the figure it has 5 small circles instead of dots see Pl III *Re* of coin 9

Figs 79 and 80 of Pl XXII and Figs 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 and 89 of Pl XXIII though

somewhat different in appearance, seem to be variations of one and the same figure, a Chakra of 6 points. There is a description of CHAKRAS in the NARASIṂHA TĀPAṆI UPANIṢHAD (edited by Jivānanda Vidyāsagar Bhattacharya, B.A., Calcutta, Narayan Press) on page 83, under the heading ŚADARACHAKRA DARŚANAM —

सर्वकामिक मोक्षद्वारं यद्योगिन उपदिशन्ति ।

सहीवाच प्रजापतिः षडरं वा एतत्

सुदर्शनं महाचक्रं तस्मात् षडरं भवति षट्पत्रं भवति षड्वा ऋतवः
ऋतुभिः संमितं भवति, मध्ये नाभिर्भवति, नाभ्यां वा एते अक्षयः प्रतिष्ठिता
भवन्ति

Chakras of 6 spokes, or 'Patras', leaves, with a nucleus are clearly described. If figures be drawn, according to the description, of 6 spokes or straight lines round a point Nābhi, or of 6 leaves, spoon shaped, round or curved lines like leaves, they will resemble the symbols noted above.

It is evident that these 6 pointed Chakras and the like were counted auspicious in the early days of Hindu India like the well known Svastika symbol which has survived up to this day after over 5,000 years. That the ŚADARACHAKRA was the predecessor of the Sudarśana Chakra in the medieval period is evident from the above quotation.

Similar Chakras of 5 spokes, 8 spokes AHTARA CHAKRA, 12 spokes DVĀDAŚARACHAKRA, 16 spokes SHODAŚAPACHAKRA are also described in the above-mentioned text on pages 85 and 86, which all resemble the symbols found on the punch marked coins, described further on.

- Fig 79 is a combination of 6 dots round a central one, see Pl II, *Re* of No 5, and Pl III, *Re* of No 9.
Fig 80 is another form of the same, it has 6 small circles round a nucleus a dot, see Pl III, *Re* of No 12, 6th Fig. Theobald (Fig 155) described it as a planetary symbol of 7 dots.
Fig 81 is a figure composed of 6 concentric radial right lines with dots at their ends, see Pl IV, *Re* of No 19.
Fig 82 is another similar figure like a 6 pointed star, see Pl V, *Ob* of No 86. Prof RAPSON found such a symbol punched on Silver Sigloi of the ACHAEMENID

dynasty of Persia 6th century B C (*J A S B* , 1895, page 865)

Fig 83 is another form of the same with a small circle as its nucleus, see Pl IV, *Re* of No 19

Fig 84 is a similar arrangement of 6 curved lines or grass like curved leaves to form the figure of a ŚADARACHAKRA see *Re* of coins 7 and 8, Pl II, and *Re* of Nos 9 and 10, Pl III, the 6th and 9th Figs respectively

Fig 85 is a flower like bold design of 6 points, resembling a Śadarachakra of 6 leaves or petals, see Pl IV, *Ob* of coin 28, 5th Fig

Fig 86 is the same figure as above but of a smaller size see *Re* of No 10 Pl III 12th Fig

Fig 87 is the same with a dot as its Nabhi or nucleus, see Pl IV No 53 *Re*

Fig 88 represents a double wheel of 6 spokes having 2 rims one within the other, this figure also comes under the Sadarachakra see Pl V, *Re* of Nos 86 and 100 and *Ob* of Nos 101 and 102 3rd Fig

Fig 89 is a special type of Chakra, formed of 3 different elements the central part is a small circle with a dot resembling Fig 34 described previously, round which are placed 3 Bindus or zeros, probably the Balyakāra annular figure representing the mother goddess described before, and 3 arrow heads alternately The arrow is one of the Praharanas, a weapon held in one of the hands of the mother goddess

The arrow with a small handle on such symbols is described by previous scholars as an umbrella, but the umbrella of early days had a different shape as can be seen from the sculptures of Asokan period That it is really an arrow can be seen from the Fig 106 Pl XXIII, and Fig 113 Pl XXVII, where the symbol of a bow and an arrow is clearly seen, the arrow head is exactly similar to the above figure, a broad barbed arrow On some coins it looks like a rounded leaf owing to the flattening of the coin symbols but on 99 per cent of the coins it is somewhat like the shape of an umbrella of modern times This symbol is a prominent figure on all the Golakhpur hoard coins which are of an early period This symbol has not been seen on the other types of early period coins It is seen first on the Golakhpur coins This symbol becomes a conspicuous symbol on other broad thin coins as well as the smaller thicker coins of finer execution of the later periods, tentatively here called the middle and

the *later periods* on reasonable grounds. This type of Chakra and other variations about 32 of which have been noted and illustrated by the author up to this time (see Pls XXVI and XXXII) are found on 99 per cent of the Silver punch marked coins, as will be seen from Pls IX to XX, the second figure of the group of symbols in the third columns throughout. Another noticeable feature of this symbol is that it is always seen with the so called the Sun symbol, and never alone.

- Fig 92 is similar to the above, with a central dot instead of a circle, see Pl II, *Re* of coin 5, Pl III, *Re* of 10, and on the Dvīpana, Pl VII, 8th Fig.
- Fig 93¹ is a wheel of 8 spokes with its rim and the hub. Theobald (Fig 140) described it as a solar symbol. But it can be taken as an Ashtāra chakra like the Sudarsana chakra, the discus of Vishnu. See Pl VI, *Re* of 4,¹ 3rd Fig.
- Fig. 94 resembles the Ashtāra chakra with its Nābhi but without a rim, see Pl V, *Re* of 90, and Pl VII, on the *Ob* of Dvīpana, 3rd Fig.
- Fig 95 is the same as Fig 94, the 8 radial lines are all concentric. Theobald (Fig 144) described it as an eight pointed star, but stars are never shown with such big radial rays as the figure. It also resembles the Ashtāra chakra, see Pl IV, *Re* of 39 and *Ob* of 56, 4th Fig, and Pl I, *Re* of coin 1, 2nd Fig.
- Fig 96 is a smaller figure like the previous one, see Pl IV, as an extra figure of coin 28.
- Fig 97 is a figure formed of 8 curved concentric lines like blades of grass all turned in the same direction. It may also be taken as a variation of an Ashtāra chakra of 8 leaves, see Pl IV, *Re* of coin 53.
- Fig 98 seems to be another variation of the Ashtāra chakra of the lotus flower pattern, described as Ashtapatra chakram. See Pl III, *Re* of coin 10, 11th Fig.
- Fig 99 has 9 radial lines, but it is doubtful whether the number is 8 or 9, see Pl VII and Pl V, *Re* of coin 90.
- Fig. 100 has 12 right lines radiating from a central point or Nābhi, not touching it, in the Narasimha Tapana Upanishad there is a description of DVĀDASHĀRA CHAKRA, a figure of 12 radial lines, if drawn in black and white, resembles this symbol —NTU, page 86. अथ द्वादशारं द्वादशपत्रं चक्रं भवतिअथ षोडशारं षोडशपत्रं चक्रं भवति, see Pl I, *Re* of coin 3; Pl IV, *Ob* of 35 as an extra figure.

¹ A similar symbol is found on Mohenjodaro Seals, see Pl XXVIII, second figure of column 3.

dynasty of Persia 6th century B C (*J.A.S.B.*, 1895, page 865)

Fig 83 is another form of the same with a small circle as its nucleus, see Pl IV, *Re* of No 19

Fig 84 is a similar arrangement of 6 curved lines or grass like curved leaves to form the figure of a ŚADARACHAKRA see *Re* of coins 7 and 8, Pl II, and *Re* of Nos 9 and 10, Pl III, the 6th and 9th Figs respectively

Fig 85 is a flower like bold design of 6 points, resembling a Śadarachakra of 6 leaves or petals, see Pl IV, *Ob* of coin 28, 5th Fig

Fig 86 is the same figure as above but of a smaller size see *Re* of No 10, Pl III, 12th Fig

Fig 87 is the same with a dot as its Nabhi or nucleus, see Pl IV No 53 *Re*

Fig 88 represents a double wheel of 6 spokes having 2 rims one within the other, this figure also comes under the Śadarachakra see Pl V, *Re* of Nos 86 and 100 and *Ob* of Nos 101 and 102 3rd Fig

Fig 89 is a special type of Chakra formed of 3 different elements the central part is a small circle with a dot resembling Fig 34 described previously, round which are placed 3 Bindus or zeros, probably the Balyākari, annular figure representing the mother goddess described before, and 3 arrow heads alternately The arrow is one of the Praharanis, a weapon held in one of the hands of the mother goddess

The arrow with a small handle on such symbols is described by previous scholars as an umbrella, but the umbrella of early days had a different shape as can be seen from the sculptures of Asokan period That it is really an arrow can be seen from the Fig 106, Pl XXIII, and Fig 113 Pl XXVII, where the symbol of a bow and an arrow is clearly seen, the arrow head is exactly similar to the above figure a broad barbed arrow On some coins it looks like a rounded leaf owing to the flattening of the coin symbols, but on 99 per cent of the coins it is somewhat like the shape of an umbrella of modern times This symbol is a prominent figure on all the Golahpur hoard coins which are of an early period This symbol has not been seen on the other types of early period coins It is seen first on the Golahpur coins This symbol becomes a conspicuous symbol on other broad thin coins as well as the smaller thicker coins of finer execution of the later periods, tentatively here called the middle and

or Pañcha Sula, it also fits the description of a Pañcha Bāna, see Pl IV, coin 39

Figs 110 to 116, Pl XXIII, and 221, 222, Pl XXIV. All appear to be different variations of the symbol of eye Theobald (Figs 52, 198, and 199) has described these as emblem of ISTHAR, essentially the VESICA PISCIS of mediæval and Romanic decoration

Lingam and Yoni or Phallic worship was the cult of several countries, Romans, Syrians, Egyptians, and Indians in early days But some of the figures have a greater resemblance to eye This symbol is also found in many forms on the seals of Mohenjodaro The early image of Śiva along with many stone lingams have lead the scholars to conclude that the people of the Indus Valley civilization were followers of Śiva and Sakta cult as early as 5,000 years before See Pl XXVIII, for the figure on the seals of Mohenjodaro and Harappa, Figs 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12 second column

Fig 110—see Pl I, *Re* of 3

Fig 111 has a cleft in it, see coin No 2, *Re* of Pl I

Fig 112—see Pl II, coin 5, and Pl IV, coin 59, as an extra symbol

Fig 113 is just like the previous figure but surrounded by a Bindumandala See Pl II, *Re* of coin No 7

Fig 114 the same symbol with 2 dots, within, see Pl I, *Re* of coin No 4

Fig 115 the same symbol shown without any opening, see Pl III, *Re* of coin No 11

Fig 116 is similar to figure 115, but surrounded by a Bindumandala see *Re* of 2, Pl I

Fig 117 is a variation of the same symbol two are shown side by side enclosed in a Mandapa, see Pl V, *Ob* of coin No 89 5th Fig

Fig 118 seems to be the same symbol surrounded by a Bindumandala, but there is a small line below it, see Pl III coin 12, second figure

Fig 119 looks like the same symbol but it has a line below it, giving it the resemblance of a spear, see Pl II, *Re* of coin 7, 3rd Fig

Fig 120 has been taken to be the Lingama, the symbol of creation but it is doubtful, see Pl V, *Ob* of 102

Fig 121 is a conspicuous figure on the Golakhpur coins, described by Mr Walsh see Pl IV, coins 4 to 64, the 3rd symbol of the group

It is difficult to say as to what it represents, but it resembles a Ghata, a neckless earthen pot like those prehistoric earthen pots seen in the museums,

Fig 101 is the same as the previous figure but the lines are all emanating from a central point, see Pl I, *Re* of coin 3, and Pl I, *Re* of 3, 5th Fig

Fig 102 is the same figure but smaller in size

Fig 103 has 16 radial lines emanating from a central point, it seems to be the SHODASARA CHAKRA described before see Pl V, *Re* of coin 89

Fig 104 is a wheel of four spokes without a hub another variation of a Chakra See Pl V, *Re* of coin No 100

Fig 105 is the well known symbol, the SVASTIKA an ancient and auspicious symbol of the Hindus, which has survived from very early days, not only in this country but has spread far and wide in the West

At the present day no ceremony of the Hindus is performed without depicting this symbol at the outset It is used to symbolize the deity Ganapati now a days This symbol is one of the conspicuous figures on the seals or matrices, excavated from the ruins of Mohenjodaro, as illustrated on Pl XXIX of this article (it is a copy of Seal Nos 514 and 502, Pl CXIV, Vol I, by Sir J Marshall) The survival of this symbol up to the present day after over 5 500 years is really marvellous It may be noted here that in early days of Mohenjodaro period this symbol was drawn in 2 ways, the right turning and left turning, but on the coins only the right turned ones are seen, as we use in modern times

Fig 106 is the figure of a bow with a broad barbed arrow In Sanskrit it is known as a Chapa bāna, one of the Praharnas, weapon held in one of the hands of the goddess Kalkā and others See Pl V, *Ob* of coins 98 and 99

Fig 107 is the figure of a barbed arrow with a small shaft, a sort of broad headed javelin, another PRAHARNA Its Sanskrit name is Sakti See Pl XXIII, 107, and Pl VI, *Re* of coin No 2, the figure of a pair of javelin is found on the obverse of 25 early coins in the Cabinet of the author, see supplement, Pl XXXI

Fig 108 is a peculiar figure resembling an arrow of 5 forks Is it the PANCHABANA or Kandarpa Bana of Kama-deva the Indian Cupid, who has five names KAMA, MANAMATHA KANDARPA, MINAKETU and MAKARADDEVAJA ?

For the symbol see Pl IV, *Ob* of coin 44 Wonder fully enough this symbol is also seen on several Mohenjodaro seals, see Pl XXVIII, 4th and 5th figures

Fig. 109 is another figure with 5 forks, like a double Trisūla

or Pañcha Sūla, it also fits the description of a Pañcha Bāna, see Pl IV, coin 39

- Figs 110 to 116, Pl XXIII; and 221, 222, Pl XXIV. All appear to be different variations of the symbol of eye Theobald (Figs 52, 198, and 199) has described these as emblem of ISTHAR, essentially the VESICA PISCIS of mediæval and Romanic decoration
- ...Lingam and Yoni or Phallic worship was the cult of several countries, Romans, Syrians, Egyptians, and Indians in early days But some of the figures have a greater resemblance to eye This symbol is also found in many forms on the seals of Mohenjodaro The early image of Śiva along with many stone lingams have lead the scholars to conclude that the people of the Indus Valley civilization were followers of Śiva and Śākta cult as early as 5,000 years before See Pl XXVIII, for the figure on the seals of Mohenjodaro and Harappa, Figs 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12, second column
- Fig 110—see Pl I, *Re* of 3
- Fig 111 has a cleft in it, see coin No 2, *Re* of Pl I
- Fig 112—see Pl II, coin 5, and Pl IV, coin 59, as an extra symbol
- Fig 113 is just like the previous figure but surrounded by a Bindumandala See Pl II, *Re* of coin No 7.
- Fig 114, the same symbol with 2 dots, within, see Pl I, *Re* of coin No 4
- Fig 115 the same symbol shown without any opening, see Pl III, *Re* of coin No 11
- Fig 116 is similar to figure 115, but surrounded by a Bindumandala see *Re* of 2, Pl I
- Fig 117 is a variation of the same symbol, two are shown side by side enclosed in a Mandapa, see Pl V, *Ob* of coin No 89, 5th Fig
- Fig 118 seems to be the same symbol surrounded by a Bindumandala but there is a small line below it, see Pl III, coin 12, second figure
- Fig 119 looks like the same symbol, but it has a line below it, giving it the resemblance of a spear, see Pl II, *Re* of coin 7, 3rd Fig
- Fig 120 has been taken to be the Lingama the symbol of creation, but it is doubtful, see Pl V, *Ob* of 102
- Fig 121 is a conspicuous figure on the Golakhpur coins, described by Mr Walsh, see Pl IV, coins 4 to 64, the 3rd symbol of the group
- It is difficult to say as to what it represents but it resembles a Ghata a neckless earthen pot like those prehistoric earthen pots seen in the museums,

with 6 balls or Pindas May it not be a *Ghaṭa-sthāpana* ?

Fig 122 is the figure of an Indian bull, standing facing to right its tail is shown with tufts of hair in a peculiar way There are two dots below its head reminding us of the Mohenjodaro figures of bulls with some appendage in front The figure of a Nandi is one of the conspicuous symbols found on a large variety of silver punch marked coins of early and later periods It is always seen with its hump standing facing left or right as a single figure or with some other symbol From a Hindu point of view it represents the Vahana or the vehicle of Siva It is also a very common figure like the figure of an elephant on the silver and copper coins of the Indo Greeks of the 2nd and 1st century B C also on the silver and copper coins of the Hindu kings of the same period and later The gold and copper coins of the great and later Kushans bear the figure of Siva with Nandi specially the gold and copper coins of KADPHISES HUVISHKA VASUDHYA, and the later Kushans are well known for this Siva and Nandi symbol Later on the tyrant Mihra kul the Hun king who came in the 6th century, adopted the symbol of a bull on his copper coins as well as on his banner, which is evident from the legend 'JAYATU VRISHAH' of his coins Even as late as the 20th century we find the image of a bull on the copper coins of Indore The figure of a bull also represents the symbol of Dharma or Truth

It is a curious fact to note here that not a single figure of the cow is seen on the punch marked coins The author looked for them very particularly but could not find any figure of a cow on over 4 000 punch marked coins, of half a dozen different types which he had to examine though the Kama Dhenu was known from very early days See Pl I, coin No 4, 4th Fig

Figs 123, 124, 125, and 126 of Pl XXIII are all the figures of Nandi with some variations, standing facing either ways which are seen on different coins, Pls I, II, III, IV, V, and XXXI, as reverse symbols

Fig 127 is described by Mr Walsh to be a tiger, it is seen on several coins of Golakhpur hoard, but it seems to be a lion having a thick neck indicating its mane It probably represents a SIMHA, the Vahana of the mother goddess Durga See Pl V, Ob of coins 70 to 89, 4th Fig

Figs 128 129, 130 131, 132, and 133 are elephants standing facing to right or left, with long curved tusks bent upwards their heads are proportionately big and put much above their bodies with a sunk dot to indicate their eyes, their trunk legs and tail are all depicted by thick lines From the Hindu point of view it seems to be the Airavata of the vedic god INDRA which is his Vahana and considered sacred The figure of elephant is also seen on the Mohenjo daro seals (Pl XXIX) For the symbols on coins see Pl VI Ob 4th Figs and Pl IV Ob Nos 4, 9^c, 99 and 100

Figs 134 and 135 are doubtful though they look like some animal it cannot be said with any certainty whether they represent a dog or a rat or some other animal see Pl VIII Re of coin 3 and Pl I Re of coin 4

Figs 136 and 137 are different kinds of fishes The symbol has its place also in Hindu mythology and is considered sacred This is also seen on Mohenjo daro seals *vide* Pl XXIX for coins see Pl VIII Re of Nos 1 2, and 4 2nd Figs

Fig 138 is the figure of a peacock the Vahana of Kartikeya See Pl II Re of coin 8 It is a favourite symbol on later coins

Fig 139 seems to be a figure of a cock the favourite pet of goddess Kalika See Pl III coin 9 It is an emblem on the copper coins of the Ayodhya Sungas

Figs 140 to 243 illustrated on Pls XXIII and XXIV are difficult to identify with any certainty and are left unexplained though some of them are conspicuously seen on the coins specially figures 161 165 167 200 and 230 Figures 161 and 162 are described by Theobald (fig 130) to be a very ancient symbol It also occurs on the ancient stones of Scotland The author has seen similar symbols on the ancient coins of INDIA of about 400 B C

It is observed from the study of 243 symbols found on the early coins of four different types that only 76 of them are found on the obverse side of the coins which are all marked with an asterisk on Pls XXII XXIII and XXIV, the remaining 167 symbols are found on the reverse sides of the coins Another peculiar noticeable feature of early coins is their having smaller simple symbols on their reverse sides from one to fourteen That is not the case with the later coins which generally bear from one to four or six symbols to the utmost while on the obverse of the early coins there are four symbols generally the later coins have always five except in a few cases where by mistake

a reverse symbol of smaller size is punched on the obverse instead of the reverse side

PART II So far 184 symbols have been traced out from the coins of the *middle and later periods* which are seen punched on their obverse side *vide* Pls XXXVI XXVII and XXXII A dozen and a quarter of them are undoubtedly duplicates of different symbols with some variation and thus about 169 different symbols could be counted out of the total of 184 illustrated on the above three plates One hundred and seventy eight symbols have been traced out from the reverse side of the coins of the said 2 periods These figures are very small in size and most difficult to decipher being punched lightly on coins without heating them and hence the symbols are not deeply marked and get easily worn or flattened by long use They are illustrated on Pl XXV out of these only 75 are different and are not illustrated on the other Pls XXXI XXXIII XXXVI XXXVII and XXXII The remaining 103 symbols are exactly similar to those described in the first chapter the only difference is their smaller size In all 244 (169 + 75) symbols are quite different from those found on the early coins and need explanation which the author has attempted in this second part from the Hindu point of view of early days As stated elsewhere the symbols punched on the obverse side of the coins of the middle and later periods are mostly of a complex nature They are formed by the combination of 2 to 4 *different* simple symbols which are found on the obverse and reverse of early coins A large number of them have been recognized but many still remained unexplained the correct interpretation of which would reveal many new facts of the ancient Hindu culture Another important fact which has come to light is that though the number of different types of early period silver coins published and unpublished having different sets of groups of symbols does not exceed 55 (so far seen by the author) yet the number of symbols which are seen similar to those figures found on the Mohenjodaro seals is 23 out of the 42 similarities as illustrated on Pl XXVIII of this essay while the number of Mohenjodaro like seal symbols is less on the middle and later period coins Notwithstanding the number of different group coins being 154 as illustrated in this thesis the number of similar symbols on these coins is only 13 Thus it is clear that in the author's collection proportionately the early period coins have about six times more Mohenjodaro like symbols in comparison to the later period coins This fact goes in favour of the tentative differentiation of coins of early and later periods and is another fact to distinguish one from the other which is also apparent from the fabrication of the coins and the crude and simple forms of the symbols out of which have evolved the more complex and finely executed figures of the later period coins Sir A Cunningham has also noted in his *Coins of Ancient*

India that the early coins are of a roundish form generally, and are broader and thinner in fabrication as will be clear from the illustrations of the coins in this thesis

Fig 1 Pl XXVI has been already described in the first part of this chapter, the Parama Bija Mudrā resembles it. The only noticeable fact is that this symbol is more finely executed and is geometrically circular on the coins of the middle and later periods and is seen on 99 per cent of the coins with one of the Chakras of 6 points as illustrated on Pl XXVI, Figs 2 3, 4 5, 6, 7, 8 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 19, 20, 21, 23 24, 25, 26, 27, and 28, and Figs 137 138 139, on the supplement Pl XXXII Theobald Fig 139

Fig 2,¹ this symbol also has been described in the first part. On the later coins it is found of a finer and geometrically correct form, as if the punch was engraved with the help of geometrical instrument of precision, and it is always seen with Fig 1 described above. It is a type of SHADARA CHAKRA. It appears first on the coins of the Golakhpur hoard, in its crude form, not geometrically correct, vide the 2nd figure of the 3rd column Pls IV and V. But it is not seen on any other type of early coins, of which the author has seen of three different types over 1,470, and hence the coins of the Golakhpur hoard may be taken as a link between the *early* types and the coins of the *middle* period which are illustrated on Pls IX to XV, group figures 1 to 69. Theobald, Fig 100

Fig 2a is the same SHADARA CHAKRA but it has rounded arrow heads. It is sometimes seen on the coins of the same group on which the Fig 2 is found. It should not be counted as a different figure. Theobald, Fig 92

Fig 3 is another type of SHADARA CHAKRA. It has 4 arrow heads Śaktis, and only 2 zeros or Balīyakāra Bindus, see Pl IX coin 10 and Pl X, coin 11, 2nd Fig

Fig 4 is another variation of the above described figure, it is formed by composing 3 arrow heads and 3 shields containing a Brāhmi ma the so called taurine symbol arranged alternately round a circle with a dot, see Pl X, Ob of coin 14. Theobald, Fig 98

¹ A similar symbol was found on a glass seal discovered out of the rubbish filled in between the wooden walls or palisades of ancient Pāṭali putra of about 5th century B C. J.B.O.R.S., 1919 33

- Fig 5 is another form of the same, it consists of 2 arrows, Śaktis, 2 Bindus and 2 M's symmetrically arranged round the same circle with a dot the Parama bija symbol, see Pl X, *Ob* of coin 17 [The author has adopted Mr Jayaswal's interpretation of this symbol as the letter *M* of Brahmi script]¹
- Fig 6 is a different variation of the same, having 2 arrow heads 2 shields and 2 M's the so called taurine symbol see Pl X *Ob* of coin 15
- Fig 7 is a different type of Shadara chakra composed of 6 arrow heads or Śaktis, placed equiangularly round the circle with a dot see Pl X *Ob* of coin 18, 2nd Fig Theobald Fig 229
- Fig 8 is another form consisting of 2 arrow heads and 4 figures like the heraldic shields, round the same circle with a dot, see Pl X *Ob* of coin 19
- Fig 9 is another variety of the Chakra having 42 arrow heads and 4 M's see Pl X, *Ob* of coin 20
- Fig 10 is a different type of Chakra, 3 Śaktis or arrows and 3 small zeros with a dot inside arranged alternately round another small circle with a dot, see Pl X, *Ob* of coin 21, 2nd Fig
- Fig 11 is a Chakra of a different formation It consists of 3 arrows and 3 small ovals each containing a DAMARU-like symbol, arranged alternately round a circle with a dot, see Pl XI, *Ob* of coins 22, 23, 24, and 25, also Pl XV, 70, 2nd Figs
- Fig 12 is another beautiful Shadara chakra, composed of 3 arrows, and 3 small circles each containing a triscalis, see Pl XI, *Ob* of coins 26 and 27, 2nd Figs
- Fig 13 is another variation of the same Chakra formed by 3 arrows and 3 small wheels of 6 spokes put round a central circle with a big dot in it, see Pl XI, *Ob* of coin 28, 2nd Fig
- Fig 14 is a peculiar type of the Chakra composed of 2 arrows, 2 fishes, and 2 M's, see Pls XI and XII, coins 29, 30, and 31, 2nd Figs
- Fig 15 in this figure there are 2 cross like marks in place of M's, see Pl XII, *Ob* of coins 32 to 36, 2nd Figs
- Fig. 16 in this Chakra there are 3 arrows and 3 objects like Indian lamp, see Pl XII, *Ob* of coin 38, 2nd Fig
- Fig 17 in this form of the Chakra, there are 3 arrows, one leaf, one lamp like object and another figure not yet identified, it resembles a hammer head like


¹ All along in the descriptions the letter M stands for *ma* of the Brahmi script, the so called taurine symbol

curve attached to a rod, see Pls. XII and XIII, *Ob.* of coins 39, 40, and 41, 2nd Figs

- Fig. 18 has a different form, Theobald, Fig. 103, it is composed of 2 arrows, 2 leaves, and 2 M's, arranged alternately, see Pl. XIII, *Ob.* of coin 43, 2nd Fig.
- Fig. 19 has 3 arrows and 3 Ghaṭas, pitchers, or loops with their mouth towards the central circle with a dot, see Pl. XIII, *Ob.* of coin 44, 2nd Fig.
- Fig. 20 is a conspicuous Shadara-chakra seen on a large number of coins of the *middle* or *pre-Mauryan* period. It is formed by 3 arrows and 3 M's enclosed in 3 small oval shaped enclosures, the author thinks that they are 3 M's inside 3 Balayākāra Bindus arranged alternately round the central circle with a dot, see Pls. XIII, XIV, and XV, *Ob.* of coins 45 to 69, 2nd Fig.
- Fig. 21, is a new type, composed of 3 Arrows and 3 DAMARUS, arranged round the circle with a dot, see Pl. XV, *Ob.* of coin 71. (Theobald, Fig 102.)
- Fig. 22 is a different curiously formed Chakra, composed of 3 arrow-heads with shafts, one fish, one M and one mouse or a puppy like animal arranged round the central circle with the dot, see Pl. XV, *Ob.* of coins 72 to 74, 2nd Fig. (Theobald, Fig 22, incomplete.)
- Fig. 23 is another variety of the Shadara-chakra, consisting of 3 arrows, one fish with its head towards the circle, one M and a small rod or pole, see Pl. XVI, *Ob.* of coins 75 and 76, 2nd Figs
- Fig. 24 is another notable variety of the Chakra. It has a SVASTIKA, one fish, one M, and 3 arrows arranged round the central circle, see Pl. XVI, *Ob.* of coins 78, 79, and 80. It may not be out of place here to mention as some scholars thought that silver punch-marked coins do not bear the symbol of a Svastika, but the author has seen half a dozen coins with the symbol of Svastika as a single symbol or in combination with the other symbols as their component part, as in this figure 24.
- Fig. 25 has 3 arrows, one rod, one M, and a group of 6 dots round a central one, which has been described by the author as one of the types of the SHADARA-CHAKRA, see Pl. XVI, *Ob.* of coin 77, 2nd Fig.
- Fig. 26 in this Chakra are arranged 3 arrows, two DAMARUS, one M, see Pl. XVI, *Ob.* of coins 81 and 82, 2nd Fig.
- Fig. 27 has 3 arrows and 3 Mandapas¹ with a dot in each, all arranged round the central circle, the dot enclosed in the shield has been recognized by the Tantra

¹ The figure resembles the modern heraldic shield.

school to represent the supreme being (परमेश्वर मूर्त्यरूप), see Pl X, Ob of coins 12 13 and 16 (Theobald, Fig 97)

Fig 28 is another conspicuous SHADARA CHAKRA seen on the largest number of coins there are 3 arrows and 3 Ms placed alternately round the small circle with a dot. A noticeable feature of this symbol is that it is seen on a large number of coins with the figure of the so called MERU a figure of 3 arches, and also with another figure of 3 arches placed separately (Figs 43 and 44 Pl XXIV) This symbol of 3 arches  with a crescent on its top was seen by Dr Spooner on the base of one of the pillars of the hall of Chandragupta Maurya excavated at Kumrahar PATNA it was also noticed on the Sahagaura Copperplate of the Mauryan period (J A S B 1894 p 84) which led the author to fix the period of such coins which were punched with the Meru symbol described above to the Mauryan period and the result of the quantitative chemical analysis of a piece of the coin (Type No 128 of Pl XX) which tallied very nearly with the ingredients of the alloy used for minting silver punch marked coins described by Kautilya in his Artha Śāstra further strengthened the conclusion of the author, and the finding of the coin illustrated on Pl XX Fig 128 from 16 different places Swat, Hāsanabdal Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Mathurā, Kosām, Benares Purnah Bhagalpur, Teregna (Patna Dist), Taxila Deccan Assam and Ceylon convinced the author that the said coin Fig 128 Pl XX belonged to the Maurya period¹ [Now Mr Jayaswal has shown this symbol to be the monogram of Chandragupta Maurya himself]

Another noticeable feature of the above described 32 different types of the SHADARA CHAKRA (6 pointed wheel) mentioned with full details is their formation as they are found to contain from 2 to 5 *different simple symbols* all found on the *early* coins of silver as described and illustrated in the previous part. This methodical arrangement in the formation of the Shadara chakras must have some meaning they do not appear to be mere ornamental figures or an emblem of the sun or a lotus. So far 32 different types of this wheel Shadara chakra have been traced

¹ A paper (*Observations on Silver punch marked Coins and their age*) was read by the author before the Num Society 1931 separately published

out with certainty by the author, including the Figs 137, 138, 139, 150, and 151, illustrated on Pl XXXII, of this thesis, but there may be many more not yet known or published. It will be seen from the illustrations of these Chakras, Figs 2 to 28, Pl XXVI, and also those illustrated on supplement Pl XXXII, that all of them have a common central figure in them, the Nābhī or nucleus in the form of a small circle with a conspicuous dot in it, an ancient symbol. The Parama Bija Mudrā of the Tantrikas of the medieval period resembles it. Another figure which is commonly found in the composition of these Chakras is the figure of small shafted arrow, and out of 32 different types of Chakras (including Figs 137, 138, and 139 of Pl XXXII) not a single one is seen without these two symbols as their common factor, only the other simple symbols varying. Thus systematic change cannot be without some purpose and meaning, the study of which would reveal some new facts not yet known to us, as stated before the SHADARA-CHAKRA formed of 6 radial lines or leaves put round a nucleus was considered equivalent to the Sudarśana Chakra of Vishnu [*'Shadaram vā etata sudarśanam mahāchakram moksha dvāram yad yogina upadiśanti'*]. Whether in the same sense these Chakras were taken in the period of the punch marked coins is the question before us. It is clear from the study of these figures that they are not mere ornamental or decorative symbols, as some previous scholars had thought. Dr Spooner took the symbol as a conventional lotus, while others took it as a symbol of the sun without giving any reason for their theory.

Theobald could illustrate only 12 of these Chakras, a few of them are incomplete, but he added 2 more in his revised list without illustrating them. Another fact revealed by the study of the symbols on the coins is that each Chakra described above has its own group of five symbols, so much so that particular symbols are to be found only with a particular type of Chakra. This helps a great deal in deciphering the incomplete or superimposed symbols which owing to their disfigurement are difficult of identification. The Chakra symbol is found on 99 per cent of coins of the later period, only those coins are exceptions which bear the homo figures, and 2 more which do not bear the symbol of Chakra, as illustrated on Pl XXI, Figs 132 to 140, in other

words, only 9 types of such coins could be found in 2,000 coins

- Figs 29, 29a, 30, 30a are elephant figures, already described in the 1st part from the Indian point of view, they represent the sacred Vāhna of the Vedic god Indra. In figure 29a is seen a *MA* back, and in figure 30 a crab like animal is seen below the elephant. This figure is seen on a large number of coins of the middle and later periods, see Pls IX, X, XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XVI, XVII, XX, and XXI for the figure of elephants (Theobald, Fig 10)
- Fig 31 seems to be a peculiar figure resembling an elephant, see Pl XII, coins 39 and 40
- Figs 32, 32a, 32b, 32c and 32d (Theobald, Figs 16, 17, and 18) are all different variations of the figure of a Nandi bull, already described in the previous part. Here again it will be noticed that some of the figures have either a *MA* or a fish placed on the back or in front of it, reminding us of the bull symbols seen on the Mohenjodaro seals with a sort of an appendage placed in front of the bulls, which has been taken as an incense burner. This figure of a bull is also a conspicuous symbol seen on the coins of the middle and later periods, see Pls IX, XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XIX, and XX, for the figure of the Nandi the revered Vahana of Siva.
- Fig 32e is a special form of the bull, it is seen standing on a hill of 5 arches, from the Hindu point of view it most probably represents the Nandi standing on the Kailāsa mountain, see Pl XIII, coins 45, 46, and 47.
- Fig 33 is another symbol of the same design, there is a jumping dog with its curled up tail on a hill, of 5 arches, probably it represents the Vāhna of Bhairava aspect of Siva, or it may be the dog of Yama. It is a conspicuous symbol on coins 53 to 69, Pls XIV and XV, 3rd Figs (Theobald, Fig 49)
- Fig 34 represents a tree of 5 lanceolate shaped leaves growing from the top of a 5 arched hill, the shape of the leaves resemble so much the Pātali tree (as pointed out by Mr Jayaswal to me), that one is tempted to take the symbol of the Pātali after which the city of Pataliputra was named, see Pls XI and XII, Ob of coins 29 to 34, 4th Figs. (Theobald Fig 52, inaccurately drawn)
- Fig 35 is a doubtful figure, being incomplete, a hill of 5 arches with a crescent like figure at the top, see Pl XII, coin 38, 5th Fig
- Fig 36 is a similar symbol of a hill of 5 arches with a peacock perched on it, the Mayūra (peacock) is the

Vāhana of Kārtikeya, the son of Śiva. The Vāhanas of different deities were revered in ancient days as they are up to this day, or the symbol may represent the Mauryan dynasty as pointed out by Mr Carlleyle¹. A peacock engraved on the stone pillar of Asoka at Lauria Nandangarh 2 feet below the ground surface was seen, which he took to be the stamp or royal mark of Asoka. This symbol is seen on the obverse of coins of the Mauryan period and on the reverse side as well on a large number of coins, discovered in the Patna district, which are in the Museum there, see Pl XVIII, 105 to 107, 4th Figs, as well as *Re* of coins 100 and 101 (Theobald, Fig 50)

Fig 37 is a similar hill representation of 5 arches having a round dot probably representing the full moon (or a symbol, which in Tantra depicts the supreme being the Parabramha, represented by a dot) surrounded by 4 M's with their cusps turned outwards. What does this symbol actually represent remains an enigma at present, see Pl XI, *Ob* of coin 26, 3rd Fig

Fig 38 is another hill figure of 5 arches, it has the figure of a Parama Bijā Mudrā like symbol, with 4 M's placed two and two on each side with their heads towards each other, it could be taken as the figure of the rising sun above the hill, but the puzzle is to explain the presence of M's, see Pl XI, *Ob* of coin 27, 3rd Fig

Fig 39 is another variation of the hill figure of 5 arches, there is a long central arch like a gate, and there are 4 arches one above the other on each side of it, with a bigger M surrounded by 4 others, see Pl IX, *Ob* of coin 3, 5th Fig

Fig 40 is the representation of a hill of 6 arches arranged in a pyramidal form each containing a Damaru. Cunningham thought this symbol of Damaru to be the Indian lamp, but it looks more like the Damaru than the lamp see Pl XVI, *Ob* of coins 81 and 82, 3rd Fig (Theobald, Fig 48)

Figs 41, 41a, 41b are different variations of a simple 6-arched hill. Fig 41 has a crescent on its top, Fig 41a has more elongated arches see Pls XVII, coin 86, 4th Fig, Pl XXI, *Ob* of coins 137 and 138, 1st Figs, and Pl IX, coin 3, 4th Fig (Theobald, Fig 47)

¹ See Arch. Survey of India Report 1877-80, by A. C. L. Carlleyle, Vol XXII, p 47

Fig 42 indicates some sacred object a 3 arched figure enclosed in a big arch with a Brahmi M on its top and 2 fishes in a tank below it see Pl XI Ob of coins 22 to 25 3rd Figs (Theobald Fig 53 in accurate)

Fig 42a is not seen complete on the coin there is a single bigger arch and 3 Ms and 2 dots placed alternately above it It has probably 2 fishes in a tank below like the previous figure see Pl XXI Ob of coin 141

Figs 43 and 43a (Theobald Fig 51 without crescent) are variations of the same symbol a figure formed of 3 arches one placed above the other 2 with a crescent on its top Sir A Cunningham and other scholars mistook it to be the figure of a Stupa but Bhagawan Lal Indraji explained it as the figure of a Meru with a crescent on top but the question arises about the 3 arches and the crescent on its top There is no allusion anywhere of the moon with the Meru How to explain the crescent on its top? In the opinion of the author it may represent the abode or temple of the Triads Brahma Vishnu and Śiva the upper cell with the crescent on top indicates it to be the abode of Śiva As the coins belong to the Hindu period objects relating to Hindu mythology are expected to be seen in the coin symbols of those days and they should be seen from the ancient Hindu point of view Whatever may be the true interpretation of this symbol from the numismatic point of view it is an important symbol and is helpful in fixing the period of the coin It was first noticed as such on the Sohagaura copperplate of the Mauryan period it was also noticed on the base of the sand stone polished pillar of Chandragupta's hall discovered in the village Kumrahar a part of Patna the ancient Pataliputra excavated by Dr Spooner (*vide* Excavation of Pataliputra A S Report 1912 13 pp 53-83 Pl XLIX by Dr Spooner) It is clear from the above discoveries that the symbol was used for some purpose in the time of Chandragupta and as it is also seen on a large number of punch marked coins found throughout India and one of them No 128 of Pl XX which was obtained in large numbers from 16 different places viz —Swat Hasan Abdal Peshawar Rawalpindi Taxila Mathura Bhagalpur Tereghna (Patna Dist) Kosambi Purniah Benares and the Deccan the all India find of this particular type of coin lends support to the author's theory to consider it as Chandragupta's

coin This view is further supported by the chemical quantitative analysis of the said coin, as the percentage of silver copper, and other base metals found in the alloyed silver of the coin tallied very nearly with the description given by Kautilya in his Arthashastra about the proportion of silver, copper, and other base metals, in Bk. II, Ch. 12 —

“लक्षणाध्यक्षं चतुर्भागतामं रूप्यरूपं त्रीक्ष्णचतुर्सीसञ्जनानामन्यतमं
माषबीजयुक्तं कारयेत् पञ्चमर्घपणं पादमष्टभागमिति” ।

According to this the ingredients of the ‘PANA’, the silver punch marked coin of his period were, silver 68.75, copper 25, with any of the base metals tin, lead, iron, and galna 6.25 parts in 100 parts of the coin metal, while the analysis of the coin indicated silver 68.5 and copper with clear trace of lead and other impurities 31.5. A difference of 25 of silver in 100 parts was found to be less in the coin, which can be explained to be due to the impurities in the original silver used for preparing the alloy, a cent per cent pure silver could not be expected in those early days, as even in modern times of chemical knowledge the purity of the finest silver which is highly assayed is 999 in 1,000 parts of bullion silver. For the reasons stated above the particular coin is considered to be of the Maurya King Chandragupta. It may also be pointed out here, that the belief of some of the early scholars that in ancient days of India, coins were not manufactured by the kings but were minted by guilds or private persons is erroneous, which is proved by the writing of Kautilya in his Arthashastra where he says that coins were manufactured for two purposes, one for storing in the King's treasury and the other for currency under the supervision of the State officer LAKSHANADHYAKSHA, coins were also minted from bullion brought by the people for which manufacturing charges were made and royalties levied.

Fig. 44 seems to be a different depiction of a bull, or it may be the representation of three gates [*Tripolyā* in Hindi] as stated in my previous thesis, see Pl. XVII, COINS 86 to 92, obverse symbols, 3rd Figs (Theobald Fig. 59).

Fig. 45 is a doubtful symbol, it is not very clear on the coin see Pl. XIX, coin 110, obverse, 5th Fig.

Fig. 46 is undoubtedly the figure of a rhinoceros. It appears that the engraver of the punch has committed a mistake in showing its horn in the wrong way, it

is bent forward instead of backwards. This symbol was noted by Theobald (Fig 13) but it is curious that he deleted the symbol in his revised list considering it to be his mistake. There are half a dozen coins in the author's cabinet clearly showing the figure of a rhinoceros. Similar coins are in the cabinets of Capt M P C Martin and Mr Srinath Sili of Benares. From the Hindu point of view its hide is considered sacred. Agha a sort of boat shaped vessel is made of its hide to give water oblations to the dead Pitris, see Pl X coins 11 to 15. This symbol is also found on several Mohenjodaro seals (*vide* Pl XXIX seal No 14 3rd figure of this essay) Vol 1 Pl XII Fig 17 of Mohenjodaro excavation report by Sir J Marshall.

- Fig 17 (Theobald Fig 19 inaccurately drawn) is a jumping dog facing right with 4 Ms around it. This symbol resembles Fig 33, but it is not standing on a hill see Pl IX *Ob* of coins 7 and 8 also 11 XIII, *Ob* of coins 11 and 12 3rd Figs.
- Fig 48 is a panther like animal following a kid or a dog (Theobald Fig 37). It is at present difficult to say as to what it actually represents see Pl XVII *Ob* of coins 87 to 92 and Pl XX *Ob* of coins 124 to 127 4th Figs.
- Fig 49 (Theobald Fig 20 partly shown, Fig 25 inaccurately drawn and Fig 221) is a figure of a deer standing facing to right with a plant in front of it and a Damaru or pitcher like object over its back. Theobald took it as the figure of a goat see Pl XV *Ob* of coins 72 to 74 4th Figs. This symbol is seen with the figure 22 already described.
- Figs 50 and 50a are the figures of a rabbit or a hare enclosed in a frame (Theobald Fig 26). See Pl XV, *Ob* of coin 67 Pl XI *Ob* of coin 28, and Pl XIII, *Ob* of coin 50 3rd Fig.
- Fig 51 (Theobald Fig 24 inaccurately drawn) is another enigmatic symbol not clearly understood, a small dog or a puppy stuck to a pole is shown within a railing it appears that it alludes to some story or represents a ceremony now forgotten see Pl XIX, *Ob* of coin 114 it is also seen on the reverse of coins 111 113 114, 115 and 125.
- Fig 52 (Theobald, Figs 31 32 and 34) is clearly the figure of a NAGA cobra, with its expanded hood, it is also revered as a pet of ŚIVA, or it may represent the Tal shaka Nāga, see Pl XVII, coin 91, 5th Fig.
- Fig 53 (Theobald Fig 45) seems to be a small creeping insect with 10 legs. It is generally seen on the early

coins, as well as on the obverse of middle period coins, but only on the reverse of the later period coins, see Pl XXXI, figure 10 of the first line, Pl IX, *Ob* of coin 10, 5th Fig, Pl X, *Ob* of coin 16, 4th Fig, Pl XII, *Ob* of coin 36, Pls 16 and 17, *Re* of coins 75 and 92 respectively

Fig 54 (Theobald, Fig 28) is another unexpected symbol the figure of a frog, see Pl XV, *Ob* of coins 68 and 69

Figs 55, 55a, 56, 57, 57a, 58, 59, 60, 61, 61a, 62, 62a are fishes of different species, some of them are single, but 56 and 57 are in pairs, some shown living in tanks as Fig 57, while in 57 and 57a they are shown in their natural environments in a pond with aquatic plant or a lotus, in Fig 58 they are shown in an ornamental design 3 of them are placed at an angle of 120° round a central nucleus, in Figs 59 and 60 they are seen 4 in a tank, Figs 61 and 61a show 2 purns with a separating line between them, see Pl IX, *Ob* of coins 1 and 219, Pl X, *Ob* of coins 11 to 15, Pl X, coin 19 Pl XII, *Ob* of coins 39 to 42, and coin 52, Pl XV, coin 69, Pl XVI, coin 76, Pl XVII, coin 86, Pl XIX, coins 108 and 109 also 119, Pl XX, coin 126, and Pl XXI, *Ob* of coins 139 and 140, for the respective figures (Theobald, Figs 44, 37, 39, and 42 respectively) Fishes are considered auspicious, up to this day, it is a good omen

Figs 62, 62a, and 143 of the supplementary plate (Theobald, Fig 36) are described by Theobald as Cat fishes see Pl IX, *Ob* of coin 9, 5th Fig

Fig 63 (Theobald, Fig 35, inaccurately drawn) is a turtle with the symbol of 4 M's with a common head, Pl XXI, *Ob* of coin 135, a turtle has its place in ancient Indian mythology but how it comes here is a puzzle

Fig 64 is another puzzling figure of a turtle with a panther like animal and 3 M's in front within one incuse showing it to be a group of figures in one punching, and not a superimposed figure, see Pl XVIII, *Ob* of coin 103, 5th Fig Theobald has not noted this symbol

Fig 65 is the figure of a gharvāl (fish eating crocodile) catching a fish in its mouth Its sharp teeth are seen, only its head is seen on the coin (Theobald, Fig 30) he has described it correctly, a gharvāl catching a *kilsā* fish, but why the figure comes with the other symbols is the question to be considered Another noteworthy feature of the symbol is its exact resemblance with a figure seen on the Mohenjodaro seals On the seals the entire body of a gharvāl is seen but on the

coin only its head is visible probably owing to the small size of the coin see Pl XXIX The first three seals and the figure on the coin which are given side by side for comparison with Vol Plate and seal numbers of Sir J Marshall's report This symbol was first noted by Thomas In the Indian mythology Kamadeva the Hindu Cupid has 5 different names of which his 2 well known names are MAKARA DHVAJA and MINAKETU, can it be that the symbol alludes to Kamadeva in any way?

For the symbol see Pl \ Ob of coin 20 the 5th figure it is clearly seen in the photo of the coin on the left lower corner

- Figs 66 66a 66b seem to be the Vata tree They are shown in a frame (Theobald Fig 67') probably to show them reverence see Pl IX coin 2 and Pl VIII coin 44 Pl XVI coin 7) where it is seen with its fruits Pl XVII coin 94 Fig 66b Pl XV coin 70 is Theobald Fig 222 but he has shown it incomplete
- Fig 67 is the same Vata tree but differently drawn see Pl XIV coin 60 5th Fig
- Fig 68 seems to be a conventional form of the tree with horizontal branches see Pls XI XII XIII and XIV Ob of coins 24 27 39 52 and 58 respectively 5th Fig
- Fig 69 is a beautiful tree with flowers it was found on the 2 coins obtained from Nagpur Museum see Pls XVI and XXI Ob of coins 85 and 142 4th Figs
- Fig 70 is undoubtedly the Patali tree with flowers see Pl XIV Ob of coin 61 5th Fig
- Figs 71 72 and 72a are like Fig 68 with horizontal branches they could not be definitely identified see Pls XI, XII and XVI Ob of coins 21 31 and 82 respectively Fig 72a is Fig 74 of Theobald
- Fig 73 has round leaves but an M is put on its top it has resemblance to the Palaśa leaves Palaśa wood is used for Havan see Pl \ Ob of coin 16 5th Fig (Theobald Fig 64)
- Fig 74 appears to be another variation of Fig 73 see Ob of coin 43 Pl XIII 4th Fig
- Figs 75 75a 76 76a and 79 seem to be different plants with or without railing see Pls XI Ob of coins 23 and 29 Pl XII coin 40 Pl XIII Ob of coin 42 Pl XVI coin 83 and Pl XVII Ob of coin 89
- Fig 77 is like a sago palm the tree is shown with 5 branches and 4 fruits the trunk is bottle shaped

with remains of bark still attached to the trunk (Theobald Fig 71) See Pl IX, *Ob* of coins 7, 8 and Pl XIII, *Ob* of coin 51, on which it is very clear and complete

Fig 78 is the same as the previous figure, rather crudely depicted and without fruits it has resemblance to an ordinary palm with less tapering trunk, see Pl IX, *Ob* of coin 5 (Theobald, Fig 80, drawn in complete)

Fig 80 is a tree like Fig 73, but it is put in a big reservoir, see Pl XIII, *Ob* of coin 50 (Theobald, Fig 65)

Fig 81 is a peculiar tree put in a railing it has only a few leaves at the top, with 4 M's put round it, see Pl XIX, *Ob* of coin 116 4th Fig

Fig 82 seems to be incomplete, see Pl XII, coin 37, 4th Fig

Fig 83 is a plant grown in a *Chauri* or pot, it is conspicuously seen on the Chandra Gupta Mauryan coin Theobald did not notice it see Pl XX, *Ob* of coins 128 to 130, 4th Figs also Pl XXI, *Ob* of coins 132 137 and 138, 3rd Figs

Fig 84 seems to be the cactus plant the prickly pear (*Opuntia tuna*) with its joined leaves and thorns Why it is made a coin symbol is still a mystery, see Pl XI *Ob* of coins 26 and 27, 5th and 4th Figs respectively

Fig 85 seems to be the leaf of the prickly pear, its thorns are clear See Pl XVIII, coin 101, 5th Fig

Figs 86 and 86a are variations of the same figure, it looks like the lotus plant growing in water, the 2 circular leaves are seen on the surface and the other 2 are raised above water with their stalk, and the central bud (Theobald Fig 89) which he took to be the representation of a garden it appears on the coins of the later period see Pls XVII, XX, and XXI, *Ob* of coins 88 123 125 5th Figs

Fig 87, this symbol could be interpreted in 2 ways, a shield with 3 spears behind it, or an aquatic plant growing out of a small tank, see Pl XXI *Ob* of coins 137 and 138 Theobald has noted this symbol as Fig 201

Figs 88 and 119 are smaller symbols such as appear on the reverse of these coins, they seem to be wrongly punched on the obverse side of the coins

Figs 89 90 91, 92 93 94 95, 95a 96 are the various symbols formed of one or two M's with some other mark like a leaf, a T shaped stand or a small circle with a dot, or a spear head out of these symbols Fig 92 (Theobald, Fig 169) is a conspicuous figure on the coins of the middle period, see Pl IX, *Ob* of coins

7 and 8 4th Figs, Pl X, coins 19 and 20 3rd Figs, Pl XII, *Re* of coin 39, Pl XIII, *Ob* of coins 43 49, and 50, 5th Figs

Fig 97 and 97a, which seems to be an arrow of 5 forks, with a tail or a feather at the end, sometimes seen with or without 2 M's, may be the Pañcha Vāna described in the 1st part of this chapter. This symbol was seen by Mr Walsh on some coins which were obtained from Ghoro Ghāt of the Bhagalpur district see Pl IX, *Ob* of coin 4 5th Fig, Pl XI *Ob* of coin 21 4th Fig. this symbol is seen on the coins of early and middle periods

Fig 98 (Theobald Fig 118 shown incomplete) is a peculiar symbol. Theobald described it as a bird's receptacle of food. What lead him to think of it is difficult to imagine. To the author it looks like a ŚŪLA MUDGARA a club with forks, a heavy offensive arm of the early days. It has 4 M's placed by its side. See Pl IX, *Ob* of coin 3, 4th Fig. Pl XIII, *Ob* of coins 45 46 and 47 3rd Figs

Figs 98a and 98b are variations of the previous symbol, there is a triscelis, another very ancient symbol, already described. See Pl XVIII, *Ob* of coins 99 and 97, 5th Fig (Theobald, Fig 167)

Fig 99 is undoubtedly a flag staff of the ancient days, as is seen on the gates of the Sanchi stūpa sculptured in stones, the flags were attached to the upper part of the staff and they flew horizontally. The staffs were held in hands and carried by men sitting on elephants. This custom of carrying a banner in a procession even in this 20th century is not a new thing. It is undoubtedly a very old system. The elephant with the rider carrying the Patakā, flag, leads the procession. Theobald (Figs 119, 120) described this symbol also as the receptacle of a bird?, see Pl XVI, *Ob* of coin 85, and Pl XXI, coin 142, 3rd Fig

Figs 100, 101, 102, and 103 are artistic combinations of the so called taurine symbols taken 4 together, (Theobald, Figs 61, 99, 165, and 164). Whether they are mere artistic combinations forming ornamental designs, like the modern Peepal leaf *Jhālar*, frieze and other designs which have originated from some sacred leaf or flower, and are used as mere ornamentations, or are actual technical symbols designed to represent some particular idea is difficult at present to say. See Pl XVIII, *Ob* of 100 Pl IX, coin 2, 3rd Fig, Pl XI, coin 28, 3rd Fig. Pl XIV, coin 55, Pl XVI, coins 77, 78, 79, and 80,

- 3rd Figs , Pl XVII, coin 93, and Pl XIX, coin 118 ,
Pl XIV, coin 63 5th Fig , Pl X coin 17, 5th Fig
- Fig 104 (Theobald 166) is another combination placed in
the 4 compartments of a square, 2 Vs and 2 damarus
See Pl XV, coin 70, 4th Fig
- Figs 105, 106, 107, 108 and 109 are other beautiful complex
symbols formed of 4, 5, 6, and 8 Vs artistically
arranged round 4 circles with dots, a wheel of 6
spokes a temple like figure with a spear head, a
shield like figure and 2 small circles respectively
Any attempt to identify them would be a mere
conjecture For the figures see Pl XIII, coin 48,
5th Fig , Pl XI, coin 30, 5th Fig , Pl XI, coins 22,
23 and 24 4th Figs , Pl XIII, coin 44, 4th Fig , and
Pl XIV, coin 62, 5th Fig for the respective symbols.
- Fig 110 is clearly the SVASTIKA symbol placed in a Mandapa ,
this figure is a well known ancient symbol, it is
seen on many Mohenjodaro seals, and is a world
wide figure See Pl XVI, coin 85 5th Fig , and
Pl XXI, coin 142 (Theobald Fig 134)
- Figs 111 and 111a are 2 variations of the same figure
(Theobald, Figs 274 and 136) Cunningham described
it as a bale of cotton but Theobald recognized it
correctly he called it Caduceus, which is a rod
with 2 cobras intertwining it, he thought it to be a
modified form of the same and considered it to be
connected with Siva The author holds the same
view On the Nāgapañchami day in August when
the serpent is worshipped similar figures are drawn
on paper and sold for worship see Pl XV, Ob of
coins 71 to 75, 3rd Figs , Pl XVII coins 93 to 105,
4th Figs , and Pl XXI, coins 135 and 136 4th Figs
This symbol is also seen on a large number of coins
on their reverse side, Pl XVIII on the Reverse of
coins 97 98 99, 102, 103, 104 it is seen on both the
sides, but it has not been found on the early coins
- Fig 112 resembles a Stambha a pillar, it was seen on a
coin found at Kosambi by Mr Martin, from whom
I obtained a duplicate, see Pl XVII, coin 95, 5th
Fig
- Figs. 113 and 113a are two bow and arrow figures (Theobald,
Figs 58 and 56 but without any M) The bows
and arrows were the chief arms of war for use
from a distance in the early days and in the Hindu
mythology they are the Praharanas the emblematic
arms, in the hand of the Mother goddess See Pl X,
Ob of coins 17 and 18, 3rd Figs , Pl XV, coin 71,
5th Fig This symbol is seen on the coins of early,
middle, and the *later* or Mauryan periods

Figs 114 114a (Theobald Fig 9) is a steel yard¹ just as we use in India now a days the horizontal line is the arm the small upright line indicates the index at the fulcrum the hanging line is shown with a pan the circular piece is the sliding weight and the rectangular figure is probably a vessel Exactly similar figures are seen on the copper cast coins and on the Gandhar sculpture representing the Sibi Jataka story now in the British Museum where the scene is depicted of king Sibi sacrificing his own flesh equal in weight to the weight of a dove to save it from a hawk a man is standing there with a similar steel yard for weighing his flesh for the illustration see Pl XI of Barnett's *Antiquities of India* 1913 See Pl XVIII Ob coin 106 5th Fig

Fig 115 is a square of 4 compartments (Theobald Fig 162) is the symbol Chatushkona already described See Pl XV coin 71 4th Fig but the figure is doubtful it may be the ruling of a tree generally shown on the coins without the tree

Fig 116 seems to be the depiction of a thatched shelter house as is seen on the Sohgaura copperplate as illustrated in my previous thesis the small circle probably represents a well Building of a shelter house and digging a well near it is a very ancient custom of the Hindus as a charitable work to help the travellers by roads See Pl XX coin 129 5th Fig

Fig 116a seems to be the same but there is the symbol of a triscalis with it another very ancient symbol It is found on the Lycian coins of about 400 B C (*Numismatic Chronicle* 1886 Pl I Fig 7) it is also found on the early stones of Scotland (Theobald) See Pl XVIII Ob coin 98 also 97 and 99 5th Fig

Fig 117 is a group of 5 big circular dots see Pl XXI Ob of coins 139 140 4th Figs

Figs 118 and 119 are smaller figures and seem to be wrongly punched on the obverse side of the coins by mistake they have been already described in the 1st part See Pl XIII coin 42 and Pl XII Ob of coin 35

Fig 120 is a floral design with 4 radial lines and 4 leaves see Pl XX coin 122 5th Fig

Fig 121 is like the Sudarsana Chakra a wheel of 8 spokes and 8 axe head like blades attached to it Theobald

¹ Some scholars thought it to be the Libra sign of the zodiac but there are no other zodiac symbols on the Coins The Libra would have been shown by the figure of a scale and pans which was well known and is fully described by Kautilya in his Arthashastra

(Fig 142) has described it to be a wheel with 8 bells attached to it like the Mass bell of the medieval period of Europe but the clappers are not seen there. See Pl XIX, coin 113 5th Fig and Pl XIII Ob of coin 43 3rd Fig

Fig 122 is like the flower carrier the Indian *Dālī* for carrying flowers for worship there are 2 Vs in the figure. See Pl XIV 33 5th Fig

Fig 123 seems to be the figure of a hand enclosed in a frame but only 4 fingers are seen. A very primitive custom of printing the hand impression with turmeric or the red coloured powdered turmeric Kumkum on the walls or on the doors is still prevalent throughout India amongst the Hindus specially in villages. It is considered auspicious the women of the family generally do it. The symbol may be the same sort of the hand impression without the thumb. Theobald (Fig 7) thought it to be the hand impression of a Śaṭi. Thomas had coins with similar symbol with 5 finger marks. See Pl XIX Ob of coins 117 to 120 4th Figs. This symbol has not been seen on the *early* and the *middle* period coins by the author.

Fig 124 (Theobald Fig 207) seems to be the depiction of lightning. Theobald took it doubtfully to be the figure of a 2 headed snake. He is right to note the blunt head of the figure. See Pl X coin 11 Pl XIII coin 46 Pl XIV coin 36. This symbol has been seen only on the middle period coins.

Fig 125 is like the Figure 60 of Pl XXII described before with a V between. See Pl XX coin 131 4th Fig

Fig 126 There are 2 small circles with dots already described before see Pl VII as extra figures on the obverse of coin 34 which is not illustrated on the plate. Photograph of another coin is shown there.

Fig 127 is the figure of a man carrying something in his stretched hands. It may be a soldier. Theobald (Fig 2) took it to be the figure of Śiva but there is no indication for its being the image of Śiva. *No punch marked coin has been seen with the figure of any deity up to this time by the author.* See Pl XVIII Ob of coin 104 5th Fig

Fig 128 is undoubtedly the figure of a soldier with a sword and a shield in his right and left hands respectively. See Pl XVI Ob of coins 83 and 84 4th Figs. The figure has a turban on its head.

Fig 129 is a figure probably of a soldier with a peculiar head dress holding a bow in his right hand. See Pl XI Ob of coin 28 5th Fig

Fig 130 In this figure there are 3 separate human figures each punched separately by different punches as is clear from the incuse formed on the coin. The figures are not in a line they look like soldiers holding bows in their hands they may be shields. See Pl XXI coin 132 1st, 2nd and 3rd Figs

Fig 133 (Theobald Fig 1) This is a group of 3 human figures in one punch they are not like the previous figures separately punched. The chief feature of this figure is that the 3rd figure has a clear diadem like fillet hanging behind its head. There is no Indian head dress of the ancient Hindus like it known to us and it is a well known fact to the numismatists that Indo Greek kings on their coins always got their figures stamped with diadems a custom which was also adopted by the Sakas the Greek Kushans and even by the Great Guptas on their coins. It leads one to think that this punch marked ϵ in bearing the human figure with a double fillet hanging behind would have been imitated by some Hindu king when the royal diadem became well known to Indians. This coin gives an idea of the period when it was manufactured. The latest date would be 2nd century B.C. and the earliest the third century B.C. The last limit of the manufacturing of the punch marked coins can be put safely in the 2nd century B.C. at the latest after which we have coins with legends. Such a coin is also illustrated by Sir A. Cunningham in his coins of Ancient India Pl I No 11. Mr Walsh has described a similar coin obtained from Ghoro Ghāt of Bhagalpur Dist (J.B. and O.R.S. 1919 Pl I Nos 53 54 and 55). Dr V. Smith also illustrated such a coin in the Indian Museum Catalogue of Coins Vol I Pl XIX, Fig 3. For the illustration see Pl XXI coins 134 135 and 136 of this thesis. Theobald took one of the figures as of a female owing to perhaps the rounded knot of the hair but in the Aśokan sculptors men are seen with knotted hair with and without turban on the head.

Fig 132 is another separately punched group of human figures Pl XXI coin 133. In this the 3rd figure has 3 dots above its head.

Fig 133 is a flower, see Pl X coin 18 5th Fig

Fig 134 is a small turtle with the figure of 4 Ms. See Pl XXI coin 135 5th Fig

Figs 135 and 136 are symbols connected with Ms in combination with a spear head. See Pl XXI coins 142 and 143 5th Fig

- Fig 137 of the supplement, Pl XXXII, is a Shadara chakra, having 2 saktis, arrows, and 4 bell like figures, round a circle with a dot See Pl XXXII, coin 147
- Fig 138 is another Chakra composed of 2 saktis, 2 M's, one fish, and one oval with a dot See Pl XXXII, Ob of coin 146
- Fig 139 is a differently formed Chakra consisting of 2 saktis 2 fishes, and 2 M's in 2 ovals See Pl XXXII, Ob of coin 145
- Fig 140 is seen incomplete A circle is mounted in a railing See Pl XXXII, Ob of coin 147, 4th Fig
- Fig 141 is a flag staff like Figure 99 See Pl XXXII, coin 148
- Fig 142 is a turtle with 3 M's See Pl XXXII, coin 149, 5th Fig
- Fig 143 has been already described with Fig 62, see Pl XXXII, coin 147
- Fig 144 is a Pātālī tree, already described See Pl XXXII, Ob of coin 146
- Fig 145 seems to be an aquatic plant with trifoliate leaves and root bulb, the line indicates the surface of water, it looks like the modern JALAKUMBHI, or Kachuri the scourge of Bengal tanks and rivers See Pl XXXII, coin 146
- Fig 146 is a bulbous plant See Pl XXXII coin 150
- Fig 147 is another aquatic plant with leaves and flowers, it may be the lotus plant there is a fish below in the water and 2 M's See Pl XXXII coin 145
- Fig 148 This symbol could not be identified though it is clear on the coin It looks like a goad a battle axe head on the right side and a fish on the left with M all enclosed in a frame See Pl XXXII, coin 145 3rd Figure
- Fig 149 is undoubtedly the figure of a jumping dog with its tail turned up like the Fig 47, see Pl IX, Ob of coins 9 and 10

III GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE EARLY AND LATER-PERIOD COINS, AND SYMBOL GROUPS, THEIR APPROXIMATE PERIOD AND INTRINSIC VALUE

From the study of a large number of silver punch marked coins it is found that the largest number of coins are such as are found distributed throughout the country, and have been obtained by the author from 13 different places from the N W frontier to Behar and from the Punjab to Malwa the Central Provinces to the Deccan All these coins are of 32 Ratti standard weight, the PANAS or DHARANAS with an aggregate average weight of about 52 grains They all bear a group

called *Pataliputra*. It is not incorrect to think that the wooden walls or palisades were erected either by Ajātaśatru or Udayin who founded the new city. It becomes evident from the above facts that the said vitreous seal bearing the particular symbol was of the Saisunaka period or even earlier.¹ Sir J. Marshall also was of opinion that the infilling between the palisades may have been made in part from older rubbish heaps.

If seals found at Ur and other cities could help to limit the period of the seals found from the excavations of Mohenjodaro between 3000 to 3500 B.C. why could this seal not be taken into account in the same way to limit the period of the Golakhpur coins which are all punched with the similar symbol as is seen on the seal?² The author thinks that it would not be wrong to say that Golakhpur coins are of the Saisunaka period. Of course it would not be possible in these circumstances to attribute the coins to any particular king Bimbisār Ajataśatru Udayin or some other of the dynasty.

Now coming to the description of the middle period coins it will be clear from the symbol group illustrations of Pl. IX 2nd Figs. that there are ten other coins which bear similar symbol (*Chakra*) and it would be no wonder if these coins are of the later Saisunaga kings as they are a little more advanced in execution and of a smaller dimension in comparison with the Golakhpur hoard.

According to Puranic chronology of dynasties which are now recognized by a majority of scholars there was the famous dynasty of *BRIHADARATHAS* which existed before the great War of Mahabharata and the 15th king of the dynasty named *SAHADEVA* was killed in the great war after whom 27 other descendants ruled in the Magadha till about 727 B.C. (Mr K. P. Jaiswal *J B O R S* Vol I 112ff. V 36). After this dynasty came the Saisunagas from about 727 B.C. to rule over Magadha of which 10 kings reigned for 366 years and the last king was followed by the Niva Nandas at about 361 B.C. which dynasty ruled till 326 B.C. to give place to the well known *MAURYA CHANDRAGUPTA* who was a contemporary of Alexander the Great. If the chronology described is correct and there is no reason to think otherwise it seems rather hard to think that these dynasties could have exercised their power so long over vast territories without any coinage system of their own. The Western savants like Sir A. Cunningham and others have established through numismatic evidence that Indians had a coinage of their own in the shape of punch marked coins which was prevalent in the

¹ Unfortunately the vitreous seal is not traceable now but it is fully described by Mr Walsli *J B O R S* 1919.

² See *Cambridge History of India* Ch. XIII by E. J. Rapson pp. 296-318.

of 5 symbols on the obverse side but on the reverse from 1 to 4 and in a few cases 6 or 7 symbols the major number of them are rectangular and square roughly cut out from flat bars with one to four corners cut showing the process adopted in regulating their weights by clipping their corners before punching. But the round and elliptically shaped coins bearing the same group of symbols are comparatively much less and they are never seen cut or clipped on any side indicating that either they were flattened round from correctly weighed pellets or were cut from round rods in slices and regulated in weight before flattening round or elliptical. Naturally those which are smaller in size sometimes less than $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch are thicker. They generally bear finely executed symbols of geometrical precision of a complex design. These coins are further divided into two types with regard to their shapes and designs of symbols. Coins which have been recognized as of the Mauryan period containing the figure of a three arched hill with a crescent (Fig 43 Pl XXVI) accompanied by a Chakra composed of 3 arrows 3 Ms and a central circle with a big dot (Fig 28 Pl XXVI) have been tentatively designated of *later period* by the author (vide Pls XVII to XXI). Over and above these coins there are other coins found mixed with those described above are a little broader and do not show very finely executed symbols are in majority of a round form not geometrically circular with a few exceptions and some of the symbols found on such coins are also found on those of the Mauryan period showing a connection with them. Such coins are also obtained from a large number of places distant apart these coins have been tentatively designated as the coins of the *middle period*. They are illustrated on Pls IX to XVI. The Golakhpur hoard which has been very fully described by Mr Walsh (see Pls IV and V of this thesis) bears a particular symbol of a six pointed Chakra (Fig 2 of Pl XXVI) on all the coins it resembles the symbol found on a small square opaque greenish vitreous seal found out of the rubbish excavated from the infilling between the wooden palisades described by Megasthenese as the wooden city walls of Pataliputra excavated by Dr Spooner at Buladibagh of Patna¹. This symbol is a key to ascertain the period of the Golakhpur coins. This fact was first noted by Mr Walsh and he concluded that the coins are earlier than CHANDRAGUPTA MAURYA. Taking into consideration the other established facts the Ajataśatru of the Saisunaga dynasty of the 6th century B C built a fortress at the village of PATALI to protect his kingdom against the confederacy of Vrijis Lichhavis and Videhas and also the UDAYIN (the Udayin Bhadda of the Buddhist literature) founded a new city of KUSUMAPURA on the southern bank of the Ganges (GANGA) which was afterwards

called *Putaliputra*. It is not incorrect to think that the wooden walls or palisades were erected either by Ajatāśatru or Udayin who founded the new city. It becomes evident from the above facts that the said vitreous seal bearing the particular symbol was of the Śaśunāka period or even earlier.¹ Sir J. Marshall also was of opinion that the infilling between the palisades may have been made in part from older rubbish heaps.

If seals found at Ur and other cities could help to limit the period of the seals found from the excavations of Mohenjodaro between 3000 to 3500 B.C. why could this seal not be taken into account in the same way to limit the period of the Golakhpur coins which are all punched with the similar symbol as is seen on the seal? The author thinks that it would not be wrong to say that Golakhpur coins are of the Śaśunāka period. Of course it would not be possible in these circumstances to attribute the coins to any particular king Bimbisār, Ajatāśatru, Udayin or some other of the dynasty.

Now coming to the description of the middle period coins it will be clear from the symbol group illustrations of Pl. IX 2nd Figs., that there are ten other coins which bear similar symbol (*Chakra*) and it would be no wonder if these coins are of the later Śaśunaga kings as they are a little more advanced in execution and of a smaller dimension in comparison with the Golakhpur hoard.

According to Puranic chronology of dynasties which are now recognized by a majority of scholars there was the famous dynasty of *BRUHADARATHAS* which existed before the great War of Mahābhārata and the 15th king of the dynasty named *SAHADEVA* was killed in the great war after whom 27 other descendants ruled in the Magadha till about 727 B.C. (Mr K. P. Jaiswal *J BORS* Vol. I, 112ff. V, 36). After this dynasty came the Śaśunāgas from about 727 B.C. to rule over Magadha of which 10 kings reigned for 366 years and the last king was followed by the Nava Nandas at about 361 B.C. which dynasty ruled till 326 B.C. to give place to the well known *MAURYA CHANDRAGUPTA* who was a contemporary of Alexander the Great. If the chronology described is correct and there is no reason to think otherwise it seems rather hard to think that these dynasties could have exercised their power so long over vast territories without any coinage system of their own. The Western savants like Sir A. Cunningham and others have established through numismatic evidence that Indians had a coinage of their own in the shape of punch marked coins, which was prevalent in the

¹ Unfortunately the vitreous seal is not traceable now but it is fully described by Mr Walsh *J BORS* 1919.

² See *Cairbridge History of India* Ch. XIII by E. J. Rapson, pp. 296-318.

time of BUDDHA whose contemporaries were Bimbisara Ajataśatru and Pradyota It does not mean that there were no coins in any shape before Buddha and does not preclude us from searching for them as we know that the earliest coinage of Hindu India consisted of silver and copper pieces punched with symbols without any legend on them We have only to study and find out how far we can go back into the history of ancient India to find them out

CHARACTERISTIC DIFFERENCES OF EARLY AND LATER SILVER COINS

The early silver punch marked coins of full denomination the Panas or the Puranas not the half panas illustrated on Pls I II III and XXXI are found to be less than 43 gram in weight Either they are of another standard weight of 24 Rattis which is also mentioned in Sanskrit texts or they seem to have lost about $\frac{1}{4}$ of their original weight a proof of their great antiquity if they were actually of 32 Ratti standard weight They are generally thinner bigger broad distorted and some times saucer shaped of irregularly roundish form varying in size from 1.5 to .99 inches punched with only four big bold peculiar symbols of a crude design on the obverse side but on the reverse they are punched with from one to fourteen symbols of crude but simple form sometimes leaving no blank space on the face of the coin The obverse symbols are found to form different groups of a systematic arrangement as will be evident from the illustrations an indication of their *evolved stage* and not the primitive condition They are all made of a homogeneously alloyed silver, containing over 78 per cent of silver and 22 per cent of copper with considerable amount of lead iron and other impurities The proportion of ingredients vary in different types of early coins The other 25 early coins which were obtained from the vicinity of Cawnpore illustrated on Pl VI are not so big but all their corners are rounded off on account of very early age they are also punched with only 4 crude symbols None exceeds 43 gram in weight containing 75 per cent of silver The smaller early Ardha Panas do not show any grouping arrangement of symbols on the obverse side they are punched with one to two big symbols

The coins of the *middle period* are a little thicker and smaller in size and are not seen distorted like the early coins they have always 5 symbols of a better execution and complex design if classified they indicate a systematic arrangement of grouping of symbols On their reverse are found from one to four lightly punched symbols of simpler designs as are found on the early coins but in a few cases there are 6 to 7 symbols on the reverse They are also made from homogeneously alloyed silver the percentage of silver varies from 80 to 72

in different coins. The later or Mauryan period coins have still more finely executed symbols of geometrical precision, punched 5 on all the coins. The alloyed silver of which they are made shows a percentage of 79 to 68.5 of pure silver, and copper from 20 to 25 per cent with base metals like lead, iron, tin and galena.

It is found also that the later coins carry some of the symbols which appear on the coins which existed prior to them, and on this basis the author has arranged the coin groups in the illustrations. A careful study of illustrations would show many well defined connecting links between the different group arrangements. It will also be noticed that some of the coins have been obtained from as many as 12 different places situated far apart for example coin No 128 Pl XX, another coin No 105, Pl XX was obtained from 9 different cities, a third coin No 106, Pl XVIII was secured from 8 distant places. There are only two possible explanations of this fact (1) either the coin belongs to a king whose empire comprised the whole of India even beyond the N W Frontiers or (2) his coins were so vastly distributed through the country that they are found up to this day after 2200 or 2300 years. Whatever be the exact cause, it undoubtedly shows its recognition as a currency in the whole Indian empire of the period the author leaves these facts for the reader to consider and judge.

BENARES

DURGA PRASAD

25th October, 1933

PLATE 1

PRL MAURYAN KOSALA COINS

S. No.	Class	Symbols on the Obverse side of the Lucknow Museum Coins	Symbols on the Reverse side	Obverse	Reverse
1	L ₁				
2	L ₂				
3	L _{B1}				
4	L _{B1}				

























































PRY MAURYAN KOSILA COINS

PLATE II

Serial No	Class	Symbols on the Obverse side of Lucknow Museum Coins				Symbols on the Reverse side										Coins		Reverse	
5	IB ₂	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Obverse	Reverse
6	IC ₁	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Obverse	Reverse
7	IC ₁	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Obverse	Reverse
8	IC ₁	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Obverse	Reverse

PLATE III.

PRE MAURYAN KOSALA COINS.

Serial No	Clave	Symbols on the Obverse side of the Lucknow Museum Silver Coins	Symbols on the Reverse side	Obverse	Reverse
9	LC ₁	   	       	 	
10	LC ₂	   	       	 	
11	LD ₁	   	       	 	
12	LD ₂	   	       	 	

DPRASAD

GROUP CLASSIFICATION OF GOLAKHPUR COINS
IN THE PATNA MUSEUM.

PUBLISHED BY MR. WALSH.

PLATE IV.

PRE-MAURYAN MAGADHA COINS.

Serial Number of Coins	Class	Symbols on the Obverse side						Symbols on the Reverse side			
		1	2	3	4	5	6				
4	G 1A ₁							7	9	10	11
19	1A ₂						19	EXTRA			
26	1A ₃						.	20	21		
28	1A ₄						30	26			
35	1A ₅						36	27			
39	1A ₆						37	37			
43	1A ₇						39	40	41		
44	1A ₈						42				
47	1A ₉						46	Coin 43			
51	1A ₁₀						51				
53	1A ₁₁						.	55			
54	1A ₁₂						.	Symbols on the reverse side			
56	1A ₁₃						.				
57	1A ₁₄						57				
58	1A ₁₅						58				
59	1A ₁₆						59				
61	1B ₁						EXTRA SYMBOLS ON OBSERVE	D. Prasad			
		1	2	3	4	5					

For illustration of Coins see Plates I, II, and III facing page 72, Pl. I,
Vol. V, Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1919.

GROUP CLASSIFICATION OF GOLAKHPUR COINS
IN THE PATNA MUSEUM

PUBLISHED BY MR WALSH

PLATE V

PRE MAURYAN MAGADHA COINS

Serial Number of Coins	Class	Symbols on the Obverse side					Extra Symbol	Symbols on the Reverse
		1	2	3	4	5		
70	2A ₁					?	.	70 74 75
78	2A ₂						.	79
80	2A ₃						.	80
81	2A ₄						.	84
83	2A ₅						.	83
85	2A ₆						.	.
86	2A ₇						.	86
87	2A ₈							87
88	2A ₉						.	.
89	2A ₁₀							89
98	3A ₁						.	96
99	3A ₂						.	97
90	3B ₁						.	98
100	3B ₂					?	.	93
101	4A ₁							101
102	4B ₁						.	.
105	5A ₁					?	.	105 106

GROUP CLASSIFICATION OF SYMBOLS ON THE EARLY SILVER
PUNCH-MARKED COINS OF 24 RATTIS STANDARD
WEIGHT (AUTHOR) PLATE VI

Serial No	Class	Symbols on the Obverse side				Symbols on Reverse	Coins
1	A ₁	1	2	3	4	See CCA 1 Pl I, No 10 Blank	Obtained from Lucknow
2	A ₂					1 2 3 BLANK 1 2	
3	A ₃					2 1 2 3 4 5	
4	B ₁					1 2 3 4 5	
5	B ₂					1 2 3	

Symbols on a Dvapan of 32 Rattis Std Wt, Author's Cabinet PLATE VII

Serial No	Class	Reverse	Symbols on one side, Obverse							Coin
1	x	BLANK Weight 105.75 Gr	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Obtained from Lucknow
			8	9	10	11	12	13	central	

Symbols on Ardhapans of 32 Rattis Standard Weight (Author) PLATE VIII

Serial No	Class	Obverse	Symbols on the Reverse side											Coins
1	KOSALA COINS No 4 group of symbols on the Obverse side		1	2										Obtained from Lucknow
2			1	2	3	4								
3			1	2	3	4								
4			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	

GROUP CLASSIFICATION OF SYMBOLS ON THE SILVER PUNCH MARKED COINS IN THE AUTHOR'S CABINET

PLATE IX

Serial No	Class	Symbols on the Obverse side	Symbols on Reverse	Coins	Obtained from
1	1A ₁	1 2 3 4 5	* 3 indistinct		1 CAI PI 1 No 13 Rawalpindi
2	1B ₁		* 2 indistinct		3 Ahraura Dist Mirzapur Mr Srinath
3	1A ₁				Rawalpindi
4	1B ₁		3 indistinct		Hasan Abdal (Mr Martin) (No 2617)
5	2C ₁				Peshawar
6	1C ₂		 EXTRA ON OL		Peshawar
7	3A ₁	1 2 3 4 5	EXTRA ON OL		Kosam (Mr Martin) (No 2628)
8	4A ₁				Rawalpindi
9	5A ₁		5 indistinct		Ahraura Dist Mirzapur Mr Srinath
10	5A ₁	1 2 3 4 5	& 5 indistinct		Benares
81	4A ₁		Restra k by No 51 ever		Peshawar
		D Prasad			Ahraura Dist Mirzapur

GROUP CLASSIFICATION OF SYMBOLS ON THE SILVER PUNCH
MARKED COINS IN THE AUTHOR'S CABINET












































































PLATE X

Serial No	Class	Symbols on the Obverse side	Symbols on the Reverse	Coins	Obtained from
11	6A ₁	1 2 3 4 5	EXTRA SYMBOLS		Peshawar —o—
12	6B ₁	1 2 3 4 5	EXTRA SYMBOLS		Peshawar —o—
13	6B ₂	1 2 3 4 5	EXTRA		Peshawar, 1 Ahraura, 2 B Snnath's Cabinet —o—
14	6C ₁	1 2 3 4 5	3 indistinct (EXTRA)		Ahraura, Dist Mirzapur V SCIM, Pl XIX, No 5
15	6D ₁	1 2 3 4 5		See	V Smith CIM, Pl XIX, Fig 6 —
16	7A ₁	1 2 3 4 5		See	Lucknow Museum CAI, Pl I, No 8 V Smith Plate XIX, 16 CAI, Pl I, 8
17	8A ₁	1 2 3 4 5		See	Pl I, No 4 & 5 CAI —o—
17A	8A ₂	1 2 3 4 5	EXTRA SIGS		No 2 & 3 Pl I, CAI Broad early
18	8B ₁	1 2 3 4 5		See	—o—
19	9A ₁	1 2 3 4 5			Peshawar, Palan pur, Patna Museum —o—
20 D.P.	10A ₁	1 2 3 4 5	EXTRA 6th SYMBOL		Ahraura, Dist Mirzapur Mr Snnath Sah —o— Durga Prasad

All the Ahraura Coins were presented by Mr Snnath Sah of Benares

GROUP CLASSIFICATION OF SYMBOLS ON THE SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS IN THE AUTHOR'S CABINET.

PLATE XI.

Serial No.	Class	Symbols on the Obverse side					Symbols on the Reverse	Coins	Obtained from
		1	2	3	4	5			
21	12A ₁						 2 indistinct		Peshawar and Rawalpindi.
	—o—								
22	13A ₁								Ahraura, Dist. Mirzapur B. Srinath's Cabinet.
	—o—								
23	13A ₂						 +		Ahraura, Dist. Mirzapur Peshawar.
	—o—								
24	13A ₃								Teregna, Patna, M. No. 157.
	—o—								
25	13B ₁								Kosam. (Mr. Martin).
	—o—								
26	14A ₁						 3 indistinct		Ahraura, Dist. Mirzapur B. Srinath's Cabinet.
26A	14A ₂						SILVER COATED		Nalanda
27	14A ₃						—o—		Mr. Martin's Cabinet.
	—o—								
28	15A ₁						 		Ahraura, Dist. Mirzapur Mr. Srinath.
	—o—								
29	16A ₁								Ahraura, Dist. Mirzapur Mr. Srinath.
	—o—								
30	16A ₂						 		Ahraura, Dist. Mirzapur Mr. Srinath.

GROUP CLASSIFICATION OF SYMBOLS ON THE SILVER PUNCH MARKED COINS IN THE AUTHOR'S CABINET

PLATE XIII

Serial No	Class	Symbols on the Obverse side					Symbols on the Reverse	Coins	Obtained from
		1	2	3	4	5			
42	22B ₁								Ahaura Dist Mirzapur B Srinath's Cabinet —o—
43	23A ₁								1 Patna and (Mr Martin) Swat —o—
44	24A ₁								Mr Srinath Ahaura Dist Mirzapur —o—
45	25A ₁								1 Peshawar 2 Rawalpindi 3 Indore 4 Hasanabdal 5 Bhagalpur 6 No 41 & 42 Ahaura. —o—
46	26A ₂								1 Peshawar 2 Ahaura 3 Bhagalpur
47	26A ₃								1 Ahaura Dist 2 Mirzapur 3 Mr Srinath —o—
48	26A ₁								Ahaura Mirzapur Dist Mr Srinath —o—
49	26A ₀								See C I M No 1 Pl XIX 1 Bhagalpur 2 No 40 3 Patna M —o—
50	27A ₁								See 1 C I M Pl I No 1 2 Cunningham —o—
51	28A ₁								1 Peshawar 2 Rawalpindi 3 Bhagalpur 46 4 Elhot Pl I 4 & 6 5 Ahaura —o—
52	28B ₁								1 Peshawar 1 2 Swat 2

PLATE XIV.

D. Prasad.

GROUP CLASSIFICATION OF SYMBOLS ON THE SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS IN THE AUTHOR'S CABINET.

PLATE XV.

Serial No	Class	Symbols on the Obverse side					Symbols on Reverse	Coins	Obtained from
		1	2	3	4	5			
64	29A ₁₂								1 Rawalpindi 2 Ahraura —o—
65	29A ₁₃								1 Peshawar 2 Swat 3 Ahraura 4 Taxila 5 Mathura 6 Teregna —o—
66	29B ₁						.	SEE →	Elhots 1 C. of S India Pl. I, No 5 —o—
67	29B ₂						.	SEE →	Bhagalpur 1 J.B O.R.S., Vol. V, No. 50 —o—
68	29B ₃								1 Peshawar 2 Ahraura Mr. Srinath —o—
69	29C ₁								Ahraura B Srinath —o—
70	30A ₁								1 Peshawar 2 Lucknow 3 Hasanabdal 4 Teregna, 148 5 Ahraura —o—
71	31A ₁								1 Peshawar 2 Lucknow 3 Swat 4 Ahraura 5 V. Smith, No 7 —o—
72	32A ₁								1 Peshawar 2 Lucknow 3 Hasanabdal 4 Teregna, 144 5 Ahraura 6 Spooner, 20 B. —o—
73	32A ₂								1 Rawalpindi 2 Lucknow 3 Mathura 4 Teregna, 143 5 Ahraura —o—
74	32A ₃								1 Peshawar 2 Swat 3 Kosam 4 Mathura 5 Ahraura 6 Bhagalpur

























































































GROUP CLASSIFICATION OF SYMBOLS ON THE SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS IN THE AUTHOR'S CABINET

PLATE XVI

Serial No	Class	Symbols on the Obverse side					Symbols on Reverse	Coins	Obtained from
		1	2	3	4	5			
75	33A ₁								Peshawar
75A	33A ₂								—o—
76	33A ₃								Lucknow
—o—									—o—
77	34A ₁					?			Peshawar
—o—									—o—
78	35A ₁								Ahraura B Srinath's Collection
—o—									—o—
79	35A ₂								Swat
—o—									Mr Martin, 2210
80	35B ₁								—o—
—o—									—o—
81	36A ₁								1 Peshawar
—o—									2 Bhagalpur
82	36A ₂								3 Ahraura
—o—									Mr Srinath
83	37A ₁								—o—
—o—									—o—
84	37A ₂								1 Peshawar
—o—									2 Ahraura
85	38A ₁								B Srinath's Collection
—o—									—o—
86	38A ₂								Swat 2225
—o—									Mr Martin
87	38A ₃								—o—
—o—									—o—
88	38A ₄								Nagpur Museum












































































GROUP CLASSIFICATION OF SYMBOLS ON THE SILVER PUNCH MARKED COINS IN THE AUTHOR'S CABINET

PLATE XVI

Serial No	Class	Symbols on the Obverse side					Symbols on Reverse	Coins	Obtained from
		1	2	3	4	5			
75	33A ₁								Peshawar
75A	33A ₂								—o—
76	33A ₃								Lucknow
	—o—								—o—
77	34A ₁					?			Peshawar
	—o—								—o—
78	35A ₁								Ahraura B. Srivastha Collection
	—o—								—o—
79	35A ₂								Swat
	—o—								Mr Martin 219
80	35B ₁								—o—
	—o—								—o—
81	36A ₁								1 Peshawar
	—o—								2 Bhawalpur
82	36A ₂								3 Ahraura
	—o—								Mr Srivastha
83	37A ₁								—o—
	—o—								—o—
84	37A ₂								1 Peshawar
	—o—								2 Ahraura
85	38A ₁								B. Srivastha Collection
	—o—								—o—
86	38A ₂								Swat 222, Mr Martin
	—o—								—o—
87	38A ₃								Nasirpur

GROUP CLASSIFICATION OF SYMBOLS ON THE SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS IN THE AUTHOR'S CABINET

PLATE XVII

Serial No	Class	Symbols on the Obverse side					Symbols on Reverse	Coins	Obtained from
86	39A ₁	1 	2 	3 	4 	5 			Mr Srinath Ahraura —o—
87	39B ₁								Ahraura Swat Peshawar Rawalpindi Taxila, No 6A —o—
88	39B ₂								Bhagalpur Ahraura Peshawar Taxila No 9 Rawalpindi Swat —o—
89	39B ₃								1 Rawalpindi 2 Taxila, 39A —o—
90	39B ₁								1 Taxila, 26A 2 Bhagalpur 3 Ahraura 4 Peshawar —o—
91	39B ₅								1 Peshawar 2 Ahraura —o—
92	39B ₆								1 Rawalpindi 2 Peshawar 3 Swat 4 Bhagalpur, 48 5 Ahraura —o—
93	40A ₁							SEE	1 Teregna (Patna M) —o—
94	40A ₂							SEE JBN O K 5 1919 Vol V Part II Pl I, No 12 CORRUCHAT BOARD	1 Bhagalpur No 12 (Patna M) 2 Taxila, 16B —o—
95	40A ₃								Kosam —o—
96	40A ₄								Ahraura Mr Srinath










































































GROUP CLASSIFICATION OF SYMBOLS ON THE SILVER PUNCH
MARKED COINS IN THE AUTHOR'S CABINET

PLATE XVIII

Serial No	Class	Symbols on the Obverse side					Symbols on Reverse	Coins	Obtained from
		1	2	3	4	5			
97	40A ₅								Peshawar —o—
98	40A ₆								Peshawar Benares —o—
99	40A ₇								Ahaura Peshawar Hasanabdal Swat Bhagalpur Nos 9 10 23 C.A.I. Pl I It
100	40A ₈								Ahaura Peshawar Swat Bhagalpur No 11 Teregna —o— Srinath Sah
101	40A ₉								Ahaura Dell Peshawar —o—
102	40A ₁₀								Peshawar Ahaura Swat Bhagalpur No 13 Taxila No 2/B —o—
103	40A ₁								Peshawar —o—
104	40A ₁₃								Peshawar Kashmir Teregna Ahaura —o—
105	40A ₁₄								Peshawar Mathura Ahaura Teregna Taxila No 1 —o— Peshawar Rawalpindi Swat Hasanabdal Ahaura Teregna Bhagalpur
106	40B ₁								—o— Peshawar
107	40B ₂								Dharmat

GROUP CLASSIFICATION OF SYMBOLS ON THE SILVER PUNCH MARKED COINS IN THE AUTHOR'S CABINET

PLATE XIX

Serial No	Class	Symbols on the Obverse side					Reverse Symbols	Coins	Obtained from
		1	2	3	4	5			
108	40C ₁								1 Peshawar 2 Ahraura 3 Taxila No 20 4 Teregna
109	40C ₂								1 Peshawar 2 Ahraura Dist Mirzapur Mr Srinath Sah
110	40D ₁								1 Swat 2218 (Mr Martin)
111	40D ₂								1 Ahraura Mr Srinath
112	40D ₃						EXTRA 	SEE	V Smith C I M, Pl XIX, No 1
113	40E ₁								1 Ahraura Mr Srinath
114	40F ₂								1 Peshawar
115	40E ₃								1 Ahraura Mr Srinath
116	40F ₁							SEE	1 Teregna (Patna M)
117	40G ₁								1 CA I Pl I 12 Teregna
118	40G ₂								1 Mr Srinath Ahraura 2 (Mr Martin)
119	40G ₃								1 Peshawar

D. Prasad

GROUP CLASSIFICATION OF SYMBOLS ON THE SILVER PUNCH
MARKED COINS IN THE AUTHOR'S CABINET

PLATE XL

Serial no	Class	Symbols on the Obverse side					Symbols on Reverse		Coins	Obtained from
		1	2	3	4	5	1	2		
120	40G ₄									P hawar Ahraura Taxila 3 Swat —
121	40E ₄									Peshawar Swat Taxila 19 Ahraura Mr Srinath —
122	40E ₅								SEE 1 B & O. R 5 1919 Vol V No 24 Page 470	Bhagalpur (Chorhoghat) (Hoard No 21) —
123	40E ₆									Bhagalpur (Chorhoghat) (Hoard No 13) Ahraura Mr Srinath —
124	40E								SEE	Philot S C S. I. 11 1 No 3 —
125	40H ₁									Ra valpindi Peshawar Swat Hasanabdal Lucknow Ahraura Ter gna Taxila 3 Bhagalpur
126	40H ₂									Teregna (Patna M)
127	40H									I shawar Iawalpindi Lucknow ho am Bhagalpur Ahraura Taxila
128	40J ₁						EXTRA			Peshawar Rawalpindi Swat Mathura ho am Hasanabdal Bhagalpur Taxila
129	40J ₂						PESHAWAR RAWALPINDI			Teregna Deccan Iurniah Benares Walia
130	40J ₃						SWAT TAXILA No. 24			Peshawar Bhagalpur Teregna Ahraura Mr Srinath —
131	40K ₁									Teregna (Patna M)

GROUP CLASSIFICATION OF SYMBOLS ON THE SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS IN THE AUTHOR'S CABINET

PLATE XXI

trial no	Class	Symbols on the Obverse side					Symbols on Reverse	Coins	Obtained from
		1	2	3	4	5			
132	42A ₁								Hasanabdal Peshawar
32A	42A ₂								Rawalpindi —o— Jaunpur
133	42B ₁								Hasanabdal (Mr Martin) No 2612 —o—
134	43A ₁								Lucknow Tavla 18 A —o—
135	43B ₁								Ghorhoghat No 54, 55 Patna M C A I Pl 1, No 11 —o—
136	43B ₂								Ghorhoghat, No 53 Patna M —o—
137	44A ₁								Peshawar Rawalpindi —o—
138	44A ₂								Peshawar Hasanabdal —o—
139	41A ₁								Hasanabdal Mr Martin, No 2627 —o—
140	41A ₂								Ahraura, Dist Mirzapur Mr Srinath —o—
69A	—o—								—o—
141	29D ₁								Jaunpur —o—
142	38A ₂								Nagpur M Srinath Sah —o—
85A	—o—								—o—
143	40L ₁								Mr Srinath Ahraura The smallest coin Durga Rd
131									

VARIETIES OF SYMBOLS FOUND ON THE EARLY SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS.

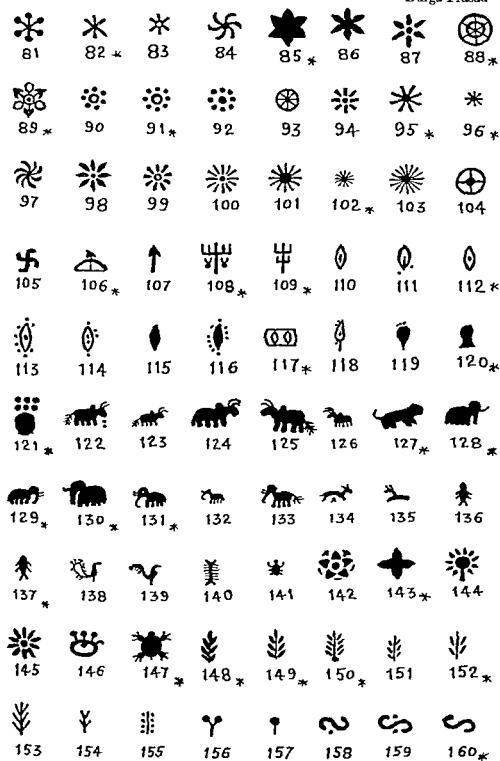
FOUND LOCALLY.

 PLATE XXII
Durga Prasad


Figures marked with asterisks are found on the Obverse side of the Coins.

VARIETIES OF SYMBOLS FOUND ON THE EARLY SILVER
PUNCH MARKED COINS

FOUND LOCALLY

PLATE XXIII
Durga Prasad

Figures marked with asterisks are found on the Obverse side of the Coins

VARIETIES OF SYMBOLS FOUND ON THE EARLY SILVER
PUNCH-MARKED COINS.

FOUND LOCALLY

PLATE XXIV
Durga Prasad.

Figures marked with asterisks are found on the Obverse side of the Coins.

SYMBOLS ON THE REVERSE SIDE OF THE SILVER PUNCH-
MARKED COINS OF THE MIDDLE AND LATER PERIODS

1 OUND THROUGHOUT INDIA

PLATE XXV
Durga Prasad

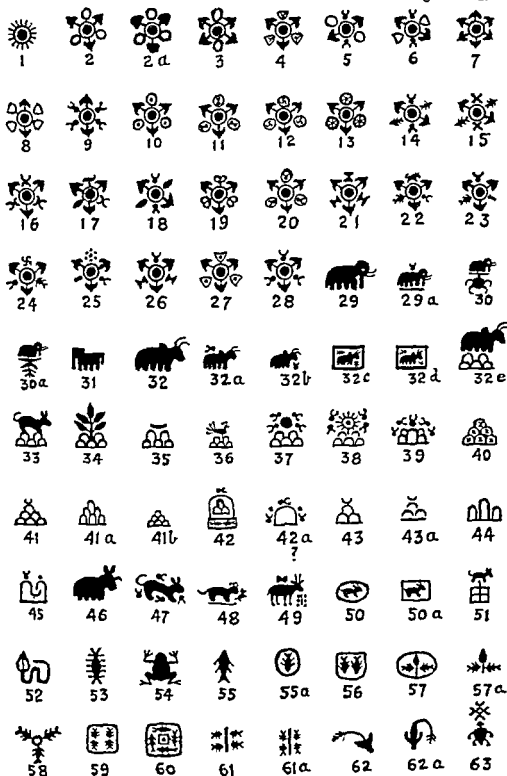


VARIETIES OF SYMBOLS FOUND ON THE LATER SILVER
PUNCH-MARKED COINS

PLATE XXVI.

OBSERVE SYMBOLS, FOUND THROUGHOUT INDIA.

Durga Prasad.

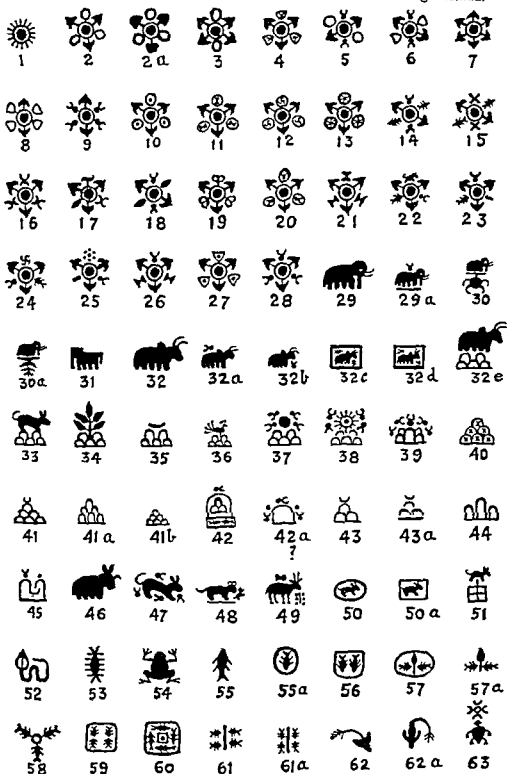


VARIETIES OF SYMBOLS FOUND ON THE LATER SILVER
PUNCH-MARKED COINS

PLATE XXVI.

OBSERVE SYMBOLS, FOUND THROUGHOUT INDIA.

Durga Prasad.

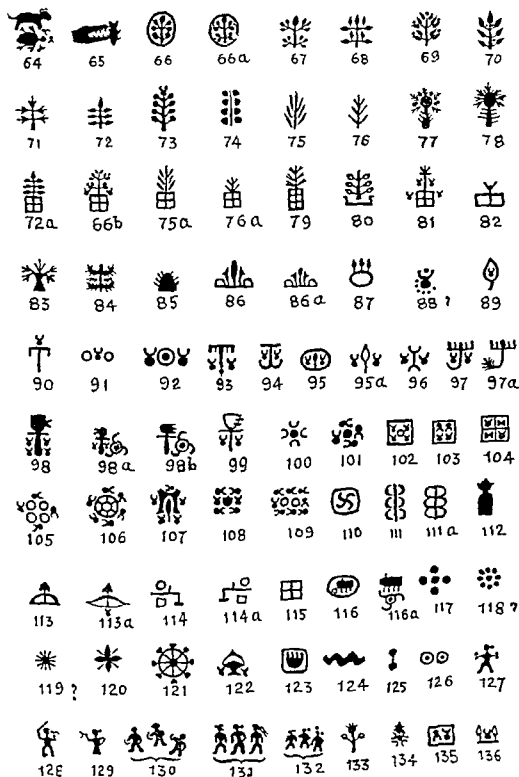


VARIETIES OF SYMBOLS FOUND ON THE LATER SILVER
PUNCH MARKED COINS

PLATE XXVII

OBVERSE SIDE FOUND THROUGHOUT INDIA

Durga Prasad




























































SIMILARITY OF SYMBOLS OF THE SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS TO THOSE FOUND ON THE MOHENJODARO SEALS

PLATE XXVIII

1933

D. Prasad.

Mohenjodaro Symbols		Punch marked Coin Symbols		Mohenjodaro Symbols		Punch marked Coin Symbols	
List No. and Seal No.	Symbols	Symbols	Plate and Fig. No.	List No. and Seal No.	Symbols	Symbols	Plate and Fig. No.
CCXCVI SEAL 424			XXII Fig 51	CXLVIII SEAL 341			XXV Fig 37
CCCI SEAL 444			XXII Fig 70	LXXVII SEAL 367			XXIII Fig. 93 & XXV Fig. 39
CCXCVII SEAL 552			XXV Fig 96	XV SEAL 211			XXIV Fig. 173
CCLVI SEAL 469			XXIII Fig 108	VIII SEAL 366			XXV Fig 88
CCLXI SEAL 374			XXVII Fig 97a	CXXXIX SEAL 412			XXV Fig 118
CCGXXI SEAL 540			XXIV Fig 196	CXXII SEAL 253			XXVI Fig. 52
CCCL SEAL 395			XXIII Fig. 137	CXCIII SEAL 102			XXVII Fig. 124
XLVIII SEAL 188			XXVI Fig 55	CLXXXII SEAL 252			XXVII Fig 111a
XLIX SEAL 349			XXV Fig 87	CCXIII SEAL 548			XXV Fig. 101
L SEAL 236			XXIII Fig. 112	CGXVII SEAL 259			XXII Fig. 1
LXIII SEAL 235			XXIII Fig. 113	CCLXXXIII SEAL 101			XXII Fig. 30
LXXXVII SEAL 253			XXIII Fig 110	CCCXXIV SEAL 340			XXII Fig 106
LXXXII SEAL 58			XXV Fig 87a	CCGXXIX SEAL 340			XXVII Fig. 122
CXX SEAL 432			XXIII Fig 114	CLIX SEAL 225			XXII Fig 107
CXLVII SEAL 341			XXII Fig 53				
			XXIII Fig 88				



























































SEE SIR J MARSHALL'S MOHENJODARO AND THE INDUS CIVILIZATION Vol. III.

SIMILARITY OF SYMBOLS OF THE SILVER PUNCH MARKED COINS TO THOSE FOUND ON THE MOHENJODARO SEALS

PLATE XXXIII

1933



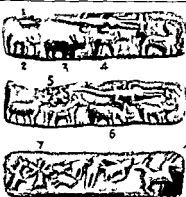







D Prasad

Mohenjodaro Symbols		Punch marked Com Symbols		Mohenjodaro Symbols		Punch marked Com Symbols	
List No and Seal No	Symbols	Symbols	Plate and Fig No	List No and Seal No	Symbols	Symbols	Plate and Fig No
CCXCVI SEAL 424			XXII Fig 51	CXLVIII SEAL 341			XXV Fig 37
CCC I SEAL 444			XXII Fig 70	LXXVII SEAL 367			XXIII Fig 93 & XXV Fig 39
CCXCVII SEAL 552			XXV Fig 96	XV SEAL 211			XXIV Fig 173
CCLVI SEAL 469			XX III Fig 108	VIII SEAL 366			XXV Fig 88
CCLXI SEAL 374			XXVII Fig 97a	CXXXIX SEAL 412			XXV Fig 118
CCGXXXI SEAL 540			XXIV Fig 196	CXCII SEAL 233			XXVI Fig 52
CCCL SEAL 395			XXIII Fig 137	CXCIII SEAL 102			XXVII Fig 124
XLVIII SEAL 188			XXVI Fig 55	CLXXXII SEAL 252			XXVII Fig 111a
XLIX SEAL 349			XXV Fig 87	CCXIII SEAL 548			XXV Fig 101
L SEAL 236			XXIII Fig 112	CCXVII SEAL 259			XXII Fig 1
LXIII SEAL 235			XXIII Fig 110	CCXXXIII SEAL 101			XXII Fig 30
LXXXVII SEAL 253			XXV Fig 87a	CCCXXIV SEAL 340			XXII Fig 106
LXXXII SEAL 58			XXIII Fig 114	CCCXXXIX SEAL 340			XXVII Fig 122
CXX SEAL 432			XXII Fig 53	CLIX SEAL 225			XXIII Fig 107
CXLVII SEAL 341			XXIII Fig 88				

SEE SIR J MARSHALL'S MOHENJODARO AND THE INDUS CIVILIZATION VOL. III.



























RESEMBLANCE OF SOME OF THE FIGURES FOUND ON THE
SILVER PUNCH MARKED COINS TO THOSE ON THE
MOHENJODARO SEALS

PLATE XXIX

No	Reference to Plate No Seal No	Seals	Figures on Coins	Reference to Plate No Coin No Fig No Plate No
1	Plate CXXVI Fig No 20 Vol III			Pl X, No 20 Fig Pl XXVII No 65
2	Plate CXXVI Seal No 14 and Plate CXXVIII Seal No 10 Vol III			(1) Pl XIII, No 52 (2) Pl IX, No 3 7 (3) Pl X, No 12 16 (4) Pl XVII, No 87 (5) Pl XV, No 68 (6) Pl XII, No 32 (7) Pl XX, No 129 Fig Pl XXVI, No 55 29 46 48, 54, 32, and No 83
3	Plate CXXVI Seal No 1 and Plate CXXVIII Seal No B 426 Vol III			(1) Pl XXI, No 133 (2) Pl XXI, No 134 (3) Pl XV, No 72 Fig Pl XXVII, No 132 133 Pl XXVI, No 49
4	Plate CXIV No 514 and No 502			Plate II Rev No 3 Pl XXIII, No 49 Pl XXVII, No 110 Pl XVI, No 85
5	Plate CXIV No 528b			Fig 269 Theobald Pl XXV, No 115 (A Reverse Fig)

RESEMBLANCE OF SOME OF THE FIGURES FOUND ON THE
SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS TO THOSE ON THE
MOHENJODARO SEALS.

PLATE XXIX.

No.	Reference to Plate No. Seal No.	Seals	Figures on Coins	Reference to Plate No. Coin No. Fig. No. Plate No.
1	Plate CXVI Fig. No. 20 Vol. III			Pl. X, No. 20 Fig. Pl. XXVII No. 65
2	Plate CXVI Seal No. 14 and Plate CXVIII Seal No. 10 Vol. III	  	      	(1) Pl. XIII, No. 52 (2) Pl. IX, No. 3-7 (3) Pl. X, No. 12-15 (4) Pl. XVII, No. 87 (5) Pl. XV, No. 68 (6) Pl. XII, No. 32 (7) Pl. XX, No. 128 Fig. Pl. XXVI, No. 55, 29, 46, 48, 54, 32, and No. 83
3	Plate CXVI Seal No. 1 and Plate CXVIII Seal No. B. 426 Vol. III	 	     	(1) Pl. XXI, No. 133 (2) Pl. XXI, No. 134 (3) Pl. XV, No. 72 Fig. Pl. XXVII, No. 132, 133 Pl. XXVI, No. 49
4	Plate CXIV No. 514 and No. 502		 	Plate II Rev. No. 3 Pl. XXIII, No. 40 —o— Pl. XXVII, No. 110 Pl. XVI, No. 85
5	Plate CXIV No. 528b		 	Fig. 269 Theobald —o— Pl. XXV, No. 115 (A Reverse Fig.)



NO 97



NO. 339

VOL
III



SEE
MOHENJODARO
AND INDUS
CIVILIZATION BY
SIR J. MARSHALL.
VOLS I & II

(VOL. I Pl. XII. Fig. 17)



502



512



Pl. CXIV

513


























































































528 b

SYMBOLS FOUND ON THE 25 SILVER COINS SIMILAR TO THOSE
OF LUCKNOW MUSEUM OBTAINED FROM MATHURA
BY THE AUTHOR

PRE MAURYAN SURASENI COINS

























































SUPPLEMENT
PLATE XXXIThe 4 Obverse Symbols
found on all the 25 Coins

Reverse Symbols found on the twenty five Coins

1		coin (1)												
		coin (2)							coin (3)					
		coin (4)								coin (5)				
2		coin (6)							coin (7)					
		coin (8)							coin (9)					
		coin (10)							coin (11)					
		coin (12)							coin (13)					
3		coin (14)							coin (15)					
		coin (16)							coin (17)					
		coin (18)							coin (19)					
		coin (20)							coin (21)					
4		coin (22)							coin (23)					
		coin (24)							coin (25)					

COIN
ob


















GROUP CLASSIFICATIONS OF SYMBOLS ON THE
SILVER PM COINS.SUPPLEMENT
PLATE XXXII

Serial No	Class	Obverse Symbols	Reverse	Coins	Obtained from
144 7A	3A ₂	    	 		I ucknow
	—o—				—o—
145	19A ₁	    	?		Lucknow
	—o—				—o—
146	20A ₁	    	 		Luel now
	—o—				—o—
147	11A ₁	    			Lucknow
	—o—				—o—
148	18A ₂	    	?		Lucknow
	—o—				—o—
149 103A	41A ₁₂	    			Ahraura
	—o—				—o—
150 132A	42B ₁	    	?		Ahraura
151 44A	24A ₂	    	0	see	Teregua
152 17A	8B ₂	    	 	see	Teregua

Durga Prasad

VARIETIES OF SYMBOLS FOUND ON LATER SILVER PUNCH-
MARKED COINS IN THE AUTHOR'S CABINET

Obverse Symbols—Supplement

								
137	138	139	140	141	141A	142	143	144
								
145	146	147	148	149	150	151	152	153

Among the many problems of Andhra numismatics that which presents the greatest possibility of ultimate solution appears to be the reconciliation of the names of the kings represented in the Chānda hoard with those rulers who struck coins of fabric A in Āndhradeśa and with the later kings given in the Pauranic lists

The three coins displayed to day are all of interest in this connection. They are part of a fine series of Andhra coins which I purchased recently from Mr P Thorburn

(1) Pulumavi—from Chanda hoard

Obv —Elephant standing r with trunk upraised
diminutive rider on back

Legend — Siva Śiri Puluma(vīsa)

Rev —Ujjain symbol pellet in each orb

The reading Śiva is perfectly clear on this coin which confirms a reading proposed by Dr Hoernle (P A S B 1893 p 117) which was doubted by Professor Rapson (J R A S 1903 p 305). The point is of interest as the name Siva Śri is found in the Puranas

(2) Pulumavi—Coin of Andhradeśa fabric A

Obv —Caulya of three arches with wavy line beneath

Legend — (Rat o Vasithi) pu(tasa) Siva
Śiri Pulumavi(sa)

Rev —Ujjain symbol dot and circle in each orb

The reading Siva Śiri is again clear on this coin. Coins Nos 88 and 89 on Plate V of the British Museum Andhra catalogue are defectively struck and do not show this part of the legend. The use of the same title on coins (1) and (2) confirms Professor Rapson's statement that both types were struck by the same ruler

(3) Rudra Satatarni—Coin of Andhradeśa fabric A

Obv —Caulya of 3 arches surmounted by a crescent wavy line beneath

Legend — putasa śiri Rudra
Sī(ṭṛ)kanṣa)

Rev —Ujjain symbol dot and circle in each orb

(61 N)

On General Pearse's specimen, illustrated in B.M.C., VII, No. G.P.S., the name 'Rudra' was only read conjecturally by Professor Rapson. It is clear on this example.

Though I have compared the reading 'Śiva Śrī' on coins (1) and (2) with the name 'Śiva Śrī' given by the Matsya Purāṇa as the 25th king of the dynasty, it must not be thought that I advocate the allocation of the coins to this king. The following three consecutive names occur in the Matsya Purāṇa :—

23. Gautamīputra.

24. Puloma.

25. Śiva Śrī.

Of these the first is the conqueror of Nahapāna. Inscriptions Nos. 7-9 in the introduction of the B.M.C. give the titles 'Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarnī' and these are repeated without alteration on the coins he restruck on silver drachms of Nahapāna.

The second king is the 'Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śrī Pulumāvi' of inscriptions Nos. 13, 14, and 16. Coin No. 2 of Andhradeśa fabric A gives the titles 'Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śiva Śrī Pulumāvi' and the Chānda hoard coins read 'Śiva Śrī Pulumāvi' or 'Śrī Pulumāvi'. He is also mentioned by Ptolemy as ruling at Paithan, being a contemporary of *Caṣṭana*. Other inscriptions give his name as Vāsiṣṭhiputra Svāmī Śrī Pulumāvi.

The third ruler is the 'Vāsiṣṭhiputta Śiva Śrī Śātakarnī' of the coins of Andhradeśa fabric A and the 'Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śrī Śātakarnī' of Rapson's inscription No. 17, whose queen was a daughter of the Mahāksatrapa Rudradāman.

MAYMYO,

M. F. C. MARTIN.

10th November, 1933.

The coins that are described in the present paper form part of the big collection, mostly South Indian, made by General Pearse and subsequently acquired for the cabinet of the Indian Museum. They constituted the currency of the Muslim rulers in the southernmost part of the Indian peninsula, called Ma'bar and are interesting to students of Numismatics as they contain some new dates and types.

The annals of Madura (or Ma'bar, as it was denominated by the Muhammadan historians) under her Muslim potentates were enveloped in the darkness of oblivion until about half a century ago, when the discovery of a number of coins of these Sultāns stirred the curiosity of European scholars like Dr White King and Captain R. H. C. Tufnell who brought out the history of this forgotten kingdom. The meagre information contained in the narratives of Ibn i Batūta,¹ the only contemporary writer, served them as a nucleus to build up the chronology of the period. Later on, Mr C. J. Rodgers, the distinguished Numismatist, described² a number of coins bearing new names and dates and he was enabled to arrange the names of the rulers in proper succession. Finally, Prof E. Hultzsch assimilated all the previous notices on the subject and fixed³ the chronology of the princes of Madura so far as it could be ascertained. There are still some lacunæ in our knowledge of the names of the rulers and the periods of their reigns, which have yet to be filled by future researches.

Madura, the capital of the ancient Pandya Kingdom, is situated in the southernmost part of the Indian peninsula and was called by the Muslim annalists Mabar (lit a pass, a ford) inasmuch as this tract with its sea ports on the west, south and east was the meeting ground of nations and people could cross over from it to Arabia, Ceylon and the Eastern Archipelago. It comprised under the Muslim occupation, the whole area between the Malabar and the Coromandel coasts and from Cape Comorin up to Gulbarga.⁴

The rulers who held sway over this province may conveniently be classed into two distinct groups —

- (1) Those who were appointed by the Sultāns of Delhi and governed the country in the name of their

¹ *Voyages of Ibn-i Batūta*, Vol III, p. 328, *ibid*, Vol IV, pp. 188-189

² *J.A.S.B.* for 1895, pp. 49-50

³ *J.R.A.S.* for 1909, pp. 670-682

⁴ *J.R.A.S.* for 1909, p. 668

sovereign This period extended from 1311 to 1333 A D i.e. nearly 23 years

- (ii) Those who threw off the yoke of allegiance to the Delhi empire and ruled the province as independent kings from 1333 to 1377 A D

The annexation of the Madura province to the Delhi empire was first effected in the time of Alāuddin Khālji the Delhi Sultān on the plea of assisting Sundar Pandya the Pandyan prince against his brother Vira Pandya who had driven away the former and occupied the kingdom. An expedition was sent headed by the renowned general Malik Kāfur who on his approach found Madura the capital of the Pandyan kingdom evacuated by Vira Pandya. Kāfur entered the city without much opposition plundered the valuables and returned to Delhi with a fabulous booty. A lieutenant was left behind at Madura to govern the country on behalf of the Delhi Sovereign. This system of ruling the province by appointing governors from time to time continued up to the early years of Muhammad III bin Tughlaq (A D 1325-1351). It is regrettable that the names of officers holding charge of the Madura dependency under the Sultans of Delhi should not have been carefully recorded in any contemporary historical works. Ibn i Batūta is also silent on this point.

The second chapter in the history of Madura begins with the appointment of Jalāl ud din of Kaithal (probably the city of that name in the South Punjab) by Muhammad bin Tughlaq to the government of the province. He claimed descent from the family of Muhammad the prophet and was accordingly styled Sharif and Sayyid.¹ Ibn i Batūta the renowned Moorish traveller was his son-in-law. Jalāl ud din was an ambitious general and as was usual in Muslim India, the provincial governors were ever anxious to assume independence as soon as the opportunity presented itself and he was no exception to it. Taking advantage of the wide spread discontent and discord prevailing in the empire Jalāl ud din threw off his allegiance to the throne of Delhi in the year A H 734=1333 A D (according to some historians in A H 735) and proclaimed himself Sultān under the style of Jalāl ud din Ahsan Shāh and thus laid the foundation of a kingdom which lasted for nearly half a century. He struck coins in his own name and arrogated to himself the lofty title of سلطان الملوك (the king of kings).² From the assumption of such an overbearing title, it is apparent that he had before declaring his independence, sufficiently strengthened his position by subduing the neighbouring Hindu

¹ *Travels of Ibn i Batuta* Vol III pp 398 337 *Ibid* Vol IV pp 189 190 200

² *Coin* No 1

States who failed to offer any united resistance by reason of their mutual jealousy and civil strife

Ibn i Batuta who resided for some time in the Court of Ghiyasuddin Damaglan Shah gives the name of five kings¹ viz—(1) Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah (circa 1333-39 A D) (2) Alauddin Udayi (1339 A D) (3) Qutbuddin Firoz (1339 A D) (4) Ghiyasuddin Muhammad Damaglan (circa 1340-44 A D) and (5) Nasiruddin Mahmud Ghazi (circa 1344-56 A D) Modern researches have enabled scholars to add as many as three to this number viz—(6) Adil Shah (circa 1356-58 A D) (7) Fakbruddin Mubarak (circa 1358-68 A D) and (8) Sikandar Shah (circa 1368-1377 A D)

The independent rulers of Vidura struck coins in their own names in silver copper billon and probably in gold also as will be evident from the lists of Mr C J Rodgers² and Prof E Hultzsch³ According to Ibn i Batuta⁴ Jalal ud din Ahsan Shah the founder of the dynasty issued a gold coin on one side of which was impressed the inflated legend—

سلالة طه و نس - ابو القراء و المساكن حلال الدنيا

و الدس ه

(The offspring of Taha and Yasun the father of the poor and the indigent Jalal ud din i wad din) but no specimen of this kind is known to be represented in any collection The currency of Vidura presents several varieties which differ from the Delhi currency in respect of execution and weight The former consists generally of small pieces some variety of which is apparently of superior execution to the latter The weights of the silver coinage of these Sultans vary so far as can be ascertained from known collections from 53 to 47 grains whereas the copper and billon issues follow approximately the same standard ranging from 68 to 21 grains The standard weight in the silver currency was fixed at 110 grains⁵ In Muhammad bin Tughlaq though mixed metal coins of lower weight are not uncommon On the other hand the gold and copper currency in the south before the arrival of the Musalmans ranged from 72 to 16 grains⁶ This shows that the metrology of the coinage of the Sultans of Vidura was probably influenced by that of the neighbouring Hindu States

¹ *Travels of Ibn i Batuta* Vol IV p 11 1899 07

² *J i S B* Part I 1893 pp 49 &c

³ *J i S B* for 1909 pp 6 - 83

⁴ *Travels of Ibn i Batuta* Vol III p 7-8

⁵ *J M C* Vol II Part I p 9

⁶ *Num. antiq. Orientalis* Coins of Southern India pp 33

Jalal ud din Ahsan Shāh,
A H 734-40, A D 1333-39

Coin No 1 (mixed metal)



1



O

R

A H 734, weight 40.4 grams

Obv سلطان السلاطين (The King of kings)

Rev centre احسن شاه (Ahsan Shāh)

margin سه اربع و ثلث و سعمائة (The year seven hundred and thirty four)

A coin apparently of similar type, appeared in the list¹ of Mr C J Rodgers but the date portion being indistinct it remained undeciphered. In the present specimen, the date can be clearly read as 734. As this coin fixes the initial date of Ahsan Shāh's reign which is a year earlier than hitherto supposed, its importance cannot be exaggerated.

Ibn i Batuta mentions that Ahsan Shāh reigned in Madūra only for five years,² but he is silent about the precise year when he assumed independence. The year 740 being decidedly the last date on his coins, the initial date of his reign as an independent Sultan was naturally fixed as A H 735. The present discovery of the date 734 in his coins creates an anomaly which may, however, be explained on the supposition that Ahsan Shāh, who since his arrival at Madūra as a Governor was *de facto* Sultān of the kingdom, began to issue coins in his name from the year 734, though he may have deferred, for diplomatic consideration, to proclaim himself sovereign openly till 735. Otherwise we must suppose that the duration of the reign as stated by Ibn i Batūta is only approximately correct.

Coin No 2 (Silver)



2



O

R

A H 735, weight 50 grams

Obv حلال الدنيا و الدار (Jalal ud dunya wad dīn)

Rev احسن شاه ٧٣٥ (Ahsan Shāh, 735)

¹ J.A.S.B., 1895, pp 49-50

² *Travels of Ibn i Batūta*, Vol IV, p 189

This is a new date which has not so far been published. Mr Rodgers is said to have seen¹ a coin of Ahsan Shāh with this date, but did not substantiate his statement by illustrating it.

Coin No 3 (Silver).



3



O

R

A H. 739, weight 49 grams

Obv. اَهِسْ شَاه ٧٣٩ (Ahsan Shāh, 739)

Rev. الحسى (The descendant of Husain)

Desikachari mentions a specimen bearing this date, in his possession, but it has not been illustrated.

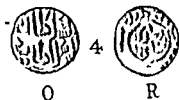
Ahsan Shāh was killed apparently early in A H 740 and the throne was seized by one of his nobles, 'Alāuddīn Udayi. He reigned about a year only and was slain by a stray arrow which he received when removing his helmet after victory over the 'infidels',² probably the neighbouring Pandya or Kerala Chiefs, with whom constant warfare was going on. Udayi was succeeded by his son in law, Qutb ud dīn Firoz Shāh who was put to death after forty days of his accession to the throne. The coins of both Udayi and Qutb ud dīn in the Indian Museum collection bear the date 740. The next Sultān was Ghīyās ud dīn Muhammad Damaghān Shāh, son in law of Ahsan Shāh. He was apparently an able ruler. Ibn i Batūta dwells at length on some of this prince's atrocious crimes which made him extremely unpopular. It is not clear either from the narratives of Ibn i Batūta or from his coins how long Ghīyās ud dīn continued to rule. His coins hitherto discovered give only the date 741 while some specimens are without date. On his death, the throne was seized by Nāsīruddīn once a domestic servant at Delhi and a nephew of Ghīyās ud dīn Damaghān Shāh, under the title of Mahmūd Ghāzi Damaghān. The only date that appears on his coins is 745. Ibn i Batūta left Madūra during the reign of this prince and with him the literary source of information relating to the annals of the Sultāns of Madūra ceases. The remaining rulers of this dynasty are known exclusively from their coins. The next ruler was 'Adīl Shāh whose coins bear the date 757, no other date has hitherto been discovered on his coins.

¹ J.R.A.S., 1909, p. 673

² Voyages of Ibn i Batūta, Vol IV, p. 189

Fakhruddīn Mubārak Shāh

Coin No 4 (mixed metal)

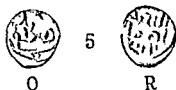


A H 760, weight 46.7 grams

Obv السلطان السلاطین (The king of kings)*Rev* مبارک شاه - سه سن و سعماء (Mubarak Shāh the year seven hundred and sixty)

According to the supposition of Prof E Hultzsch and others, the next ruler Fakhruddīn Mubārak Shāh ascended the throne of Madura in 761 which is testified by Coin No 26 in Mr Rodgers list¹. The specimen (No 4) in the collection of the Indian Museum bears the date 760 and thus brings the initial date of Mubārak Shāh a year earlier. It is further interesting to note that the piece represents a new type of this Sultān in which the legend is in Arabic while in his later issues it is found in Persian.

Coin No 5 (copper)



A H 764, weight 25.7 grams

Obv محمد مصطفى (Muhammad Muṣṭafā).*Rev* الی با صفا (The pure Nabī)

Mr Rodgers' No 21 and Prof Hultzsch's No 22² represent this type but the date on their coins is 765. Mr Desikachārī's No 21³ is said to bear the date 764, but has not been illustrated.

There is a divergence of opinion among Numismatists as to the reading of the legend on the reverse of this specimen. Mr Rodgers did not offer any reading whatever. Prof E Hultzsch was inclined to read it *ناصر الی* (Nasifun Nabī) while Mr Desikachārī's reading is *الی با صفا* (An Nabī 1 bāsafa). I prefer the latter reading on two grounds, firstly that the initial word in the second line on the reverse is *با*, which may be read either *با* (Nā) or *با* (ba), by adding either above or below it a

¹ *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, pp. 43-50² *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, p. 681³ *Ibid*

ط (dot) which is absent here, but the terminal portion of the letter ف (Fā) in صا (Safā) has been raised to a considerable height indicating that it is but the letter الف (Alif) and not a flourish of the letter ف (Fā), secondly, the legend on all the specimens of this type is in Persian while ناسيف نبي (Nāsifun Nabī) would be purely Arabic which is untenable

The dates that have so far been found on the coins of Mubārah Shāh range successively from 760 to 770 with the exception of the years 762 and 766

The last Sultān of this short lived dynasty was Sikandar Shāh whose coins are dated in 774 and 779, but no coin of the intermediate period has ever come to light. The epigraphical records of the South reveal that the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar was at that time rapidly growing in power and had overshadowed the Muslim rule in Madūra¹. In an inscription² of 1371 it is recorded that Goppina the General of Bukka I the 3rd king of the first Vijayanagar dynasty, defeated the 'Turushkas', i.e. the Muslim army, and it is probable that the final extinction of Muslim power in Madūra was effected by this king and most likely in the year 779 (=A.D. 1377) which is the latest date found on the coin of Sikandar Shāh

In conclusion, I would like to point out the gaps still existing in the chronology of the Muslim Sultāns of Madūra, viz. from 742 to 744, 746 to 756, 758 to 759, 771 to 773 and 775 to 778. It is probable that the state of continuous warfare between Madūra Sultāns and the rising Vijayanagar power was responsible for some of these lacunæ

SHAMSU D DIN AHMAD

¹ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol III p 150

² *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol VI p 330

Janjira is a state within the political agency of Kolaba in the Konkan district, Bombay. The original name was 'Jazira' meaning 'an island', but the present name is its corrupted form under the Maratha influence. The state was founded by an Abyssinian (i.e. an Habshi) about the year 1489 and is still under the sway of a Sidī chief, entitled 'Nawāb of Janjira'. The state was under Bijāpur for sometime and during the reign of Aurangzeb, it passed under the Mughals. During both these periods, the Sidīs served as the chief admirals of Deccan and were in charge of the Muslim Naval Power in the Indian Ocean. But after the fall of the Mughal Empire, this state had also to face the disturbing elements of the Maratha invasions and English aggressions. The former could never establish their superiority over the Sidīs while the latter could succeed in bringing them under the British suzerainty only in the year 1869.

As regards the coinage of this state, practically nothing has yet come to light. In Volume IV of the Indian Museum Catalogue (Page 213) a solitary coin of Ibrahim Khān III (1848-79 A.D.) is described and illustrated. It bears the usual legend of the Emperor Shāh 'Ālam with a small counter mark "ज" (ja) in the Devanāgarī character, which, it is said, stands for Janjira. The authority of Prinsep's 'Useful Tables' is cited in support of this identification and his mention of the Currency of 'Ankushī' and Habshi rupees at this place is quoted. This, however, does not appear to be quite correct. But as long as no other evidence is brought to light, this theory of 'ja' (which is also a mint mark of Marāthas) has to be allowed to continue to mark the Janjira coins in case of silver issues.

As regards the copper issues of this state it may be said with certainty in view of the specimens that we have before us that none of them bear any counter mark in the Marāthī or Devanāgarī script.

Unfortunately, we have not got a large collection of dated coins but all that we have so far go to show that the Sidīs were striking their own coins till as late as the year 1867-68 A.D. from the dates 1284 and 85 A.H. which clearly appear on some of the coins.

These specimens are taken from two collections, (1) the Cabinet of the Prince of Wales Museum and (2) that of Mr. Gadgil. A collective study of both these collections which consists of about 50 coins has proved very useful in pursuing this study.

The coins are of the three rulers viz. (1) Sidī Ibrahim Khān II (1789-92 and 1804-1826) (2) Sidī Muhammad Khān (1826-

1848) and (3) Sidi Ibrahim Khān III (1818-1870) but only the coins of the last mentioned Nawab bear two dates the years 1284 and 1285 A H which correspond with 1867 C S A D

As regards the legend on the coins it is interesting to find that though the Nawabs of Janjira were in no way under the control of the Mughal Emperors they had to follow the usual practice of striking the coins in the name of the Mughal Emperor but they were bold enough to strike their own names as well on the coins

So on the coins of Ibrahim Khān II who ruled from the year 1789 to 1796 with a break of about twelve years we find the inscription *عالم گز بادشاہ عاری* on one side and *سیدی محمد عاری* on the other. On some coins Shah Alam's name (*شاہ عالم*) is also inscribed in place of Alamgir's

This ruler was as a matter of fact a contemporary of Shah Alam II and came to the throne in the 11st year of that Emperor but still we find the name of the previous Emperor Alamgir II (1701-9) on some coins. This leads one to surmise that ignoring the death of Alamgir II and the subsequent change on the throne of Delhi the mint officers at Janjira first continued to strike coins in the name of that ruler but afterwards replaced it by the name of Shah Alam II. But this surmise is nullified by the fact that even on the coins of his successor Sidi Muhammad Khān we find the name of 'Alamgir on one side and his own name on the other side. The size weight and type of the coins of this ruler are quite similar to those of his predecessor

Then we come to the second Sidi Ibrahim. It is not possible to say at this stage whether or not he struck coins like those of his predecessors but we have a series of coins of the later years of this ruler on which it is found that the Imperial name is altogether omitted

On these coins we see —

سکہ زد در ملک کوکبی شاہ ابراہیم محمد خان on the obverse i.e. the King Ibrahim Muhammad Khān struck coin in the country of Konkan in the year 1284 and *بامر موصی بنو امہ الصمد* 'By the order of the Chosen One' (i.e. the Prophet) and the help of God—the Eternal One on the reverse

These coins also have a crescent and some stars on both the sides

One of these bears the date 1285

It appears that the currency went on becoming more and more debased in subsequent years and it appears that the mint masters did their work very carelessly. We notice also that the calligraphy which was already crude becomes cruder still and the reverse is perhaps struck with an inverse die and consequently

the imprint bears inverted letterings which when put before a mirror shows the legend in its correct position

It appears that this ruler made an attempt to distinguish his coins from those of his grandfather Ibrahim by adding his father's name and hence the full name on these coins appears as Ibrahim Muhammad Khan. Another distinction is that he drops the word تدوی (Tidwī) meaning devoted servant or 'a vassal' and replaces it with the word Shah.

These coins also enable us to correct the statement made in the Bombay Gazetteer Vol XI (Kolaba and Janjira) page 449 in which it is said. In 1834 the British Government declared Janjira to be subject to the British Power and in virtue of its supremacy abolished the Janjira mint which issued a debased coinage and safely substitute the date by 1869 when the Nawab was deprived of his criminal jurisdiction and a resident British Officer with limited judicial powers was appointed to the Political charge of the state. By this treaty the Nawab was bound to communicate all important matters to the British Government through this Political Officer and follow his advice.

R G GYANI

COINS OF JANJIRA



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



321 A COIN OF THE 'ABBASIDS FOUND AT PAHARPUR, BENGAL

This coin was discovered in the ruins of the monastery at Paharpur during the course of excavations. The foundation of the establishment at Paharpur is attributed to Dharmapāla, the second king of the Pāla dynasty, who lived in the last quarter of the eighth century A.D.

The coin belongs to the Abbāsīd Caliph Hārūn ar Rashīd who was a contemporary of Dharmapāla. It was issued from the mint Al muhammadiya and bears the date A.H. 172 = A.D. 788.



O

Obv centre

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

margin

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة اثنان و سبعين و مائة هـ

Rev centre

سلام

محمد رسول الله

بما امره محمد

بن أمير المؤمنين

صدر

margin

محمد رسول الله ارسل بالهدى و دين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله و لو كره المشركون هـ

The mint 'Al muhammadiya' which was established by the Caliph Al mansur, in the year A H 148=A D 765 may be identified with the city of 'Ar Ray' which was destroyed by the Mongols of Persia in the 13th century A D

K N DIXHIT

In March, 1925, a dozen debased gold coins of the later Kushānas, found in Hardoi district were acquired for the Provincial Museum, Lucknow. While listing them along with other coins of this type in the Museum collection, I discovered recently the name of a new chief who, like Kritavīrya, must



61

60



65

59

have ruled in the Punjab and other parts of North Western India during the fifth and sixth centuries. His name as is clear from the Brahmi legend which appears on the reverse of no less than five coins of the lot is Śrī Salonavīra. All the five coins have a close resemblance to a coin illustrated by General Cunningham in his 'Coins of the Later Indo-Scythians', Pl VI-12, and assigned by him to Śrī Śilāditya. There appears to be a mistake in the reading of the reverse inscription on this coin.

The coins of the Lucknow Museum clearly show the name Śrī Salonavīra on the reverse and the letters $\pi\delta$ on the obv.

On grounds of general technique and the style of writing they undoubtedly belong to the lot of Kidara coins and as the find fortunately includes a coin of Śrī Kritavīrya, I am inclined to think that Śrī Salonavīra might have been a ruling chief a few years before or after Śrī Kritavīrya.

On the obv. we see the king standing at altar, a debased Brahmi legend *Kida* vertically under his left arm and Brahmi

$\pi\delta$ on the right. The rev. has the throned goddess

Ardochsho a debased marginal Brahmi legend and *Śrī Salonavira* or *Śrī Salona*

	<i>Obv</i>	<i>Rev</i>
No 6905	𑀧𑀺𑀓	Śrī Salonavira
6906	Do	Śrī Salona
6907	—	Do
6910	—	Do
6911	𑀧𑀺𑀓	Do

DESCRIPTION

No	<i>Obv</i>	<i>Rev</i>
No 6904	King standing at altar de based Br legen I Kṛ la ver tically under his arm	Throned Ardochsho, de based marginal Br legend gone
6905	Do 𑀧𑀺𑀓	Do Śrī Salonavira
6906	Do do	Do Śrī Salona
6907	Do	Do do
6908	Do †	Do
6909	Do 𑀧𑀺𑀓	Do
6910	Do —	Do Śrī Salona
6911	Do 𑀧𑀺𑀓 (clear)	Do do
6912	Do 𑀧𑀺𑀓 ?	Do —
6913	Do —	Do Śrī Salonavira
6914	Do 𑀧𑀺𑀓	Do
6915	Do —	Do

PRANĀG DAYAL







On the 23rd of February, 1914 and on the days following, a collection of 132 Danish coins of Tranquebar was sold at Amsterdam under the direction of Mr Schulman, a well known numismatist and dealer in coins¹. This collection was part of the whole collection of Henry Thomas Grogan of London. The catalogue of the whole collection published by Mr Schulman, is the only catalogue describing Danish Coins. Forty seven specimens of these coins are reproduced in plates I and II at the end of the catalogue.



In 1616 the *Dansk Ostindisk Compagni* (Danish East India Company) was formed at Copenhagen under the protection of King Christian IV. The Danish merchants settled at Tranquebar—a small territory on the eastern coast granted to them by Raghunatha Nayak of Tanjore, in 1620. In the following year the Danish Castle, the Dansborg, was being built. The first company was dissolved in 1729, and in 1732 during the reign of Christian VI, a new company was formed called the *Dansk Asiatic Compagni* (Danish Asiatic Company) that lasted till 1839. In 1845, the Danish possessions in India were sold to England for 2 million kroner.


During a short visit I paid to Tranquebar during the month of April, 1933, I tried to collect some Danish Coins, but I was not very successful. Mr Malaiperumal Chettiar showed me a few coins he had collected and gave me three duplicates. But an old Catholic of Tranquebar, Mr G. Thambusamy Pillai, offered himself to search for old coins and soon after he wrote to me that he had traced a representative collection, the owner of which was ready to sell it. Finally this collection was acquired for the coin cabinet of the Indian Historical Research Institute during the month of October last. It consists of 34 coins. These coins along with the three coins presented by Mr Chettiar and another one existing in our collection for some time make 38 coins. In this collection all the Danish Kings of the period 1620-1845 are represented.

The Danes like to adorn their coins with monograms. All the Danish Coins of Tranquebar bear at least one monogram, sometimes two. Occasionally the King's monogram is doubled. Some of the continental coins of Frederick VIII (1906-1912) have also a double monogram. The monogram of the King, is formed with his initial and the figure of his reign. The initials during this period are only two, for all the kings were called either Christian or Frederick alternately. In the first case the



¹ Schulman, Collection Henry Thomas Grogan, pp 3-9

figure is placed inside the letter C thus    In the second case the figure is intermixed with the initial F in this way    Similar monograms are also seen over the gates of the Tranquebar Fort. Over the royal monogram there is always a crown.

In other cases the initial is mixed with an R the initial for *Rex*—and below it the Roman figure is placed between two strokes of the initial thus  

Sometimes the monogram is double viz two Cs or two Rs with two figures all intermixed for instance  as the

double monogram of Christian VII. The other monogram that sometimes occupies the reverse of the coin is the monogram of the Company. Since there were two companies with different names the monograms are also two. First the monogram was

 Afterwards it was changed thus  At

times this monogram is also covered by the royal crown. Putting aside other peculiarities which will be given in detail when describing the coins something must be said about the Danish Coat of arms. The silver coins have the Danish Coat of arms representing three Norse lions running to the left the whole shield being topped by a crown. On some copper coins one lion only is represented.

The coins current at Tranquebar had two different origins. The gold coins called ducats were struck at Copenhagen but evidently were destined to circulate in India as the reverse of one of the ducats of Frederick III clearly discloses it bears a sail round which in block letters this inscription is read *Domus Providebit* while on each side of the ship one discovers a syllable of this Latin word *tan dem*. All the other coins were struck at Tranquebar itself.

Among the coins minted at Tranquebar there is a gold coin of the type of the Hindu pagoda. It was struck during the reign of Christian VII.

The silver coins were first called *fano* from the Tamil word *fanam* a small South Indian coin. (In the time of Frederick IV and Christian VI for instance.) Later on in the time of Frederick V these were called *Royalner* and finally *Royalin*. But in the time of Frederick VI the word *fano* appears again.

The copper and lead coins were called *Kas* for *cash*. The first coins struck at Tranquebar were of lead. In 1667 the first copper coins were minted at Tranquebar. They were *double Kas* coins.

The Tranquebar silver coins were equivalent to 1/8 of the ordinary *Sicca rupia* or to 80 Kas of copper.

The coins acquired for the Indian Historical Research Institute are, in their chronological order, the following —

Christian IV (1588-1648).

1. Lead. 4 Kas.

Obv The royal monogram (4)

Rev. The Dansborg Castle

This is one of the very early issues, not existing in the Grogan Collection. Schulman nevertheless speaks of these issues as bearing the figure of the Dansborg Castle on the reverse. Our specimen shows the façade of the castle with a square door in the centre and three turrets on top

Frederick III (1648-1670)

2. 1667 Copper. 5 Kas.

Obv. Royal cypher F3, not intermixed, under a crown, surrounded by two circles, one made by a continuous line, the other one of dots. Between these two circles to the right, the year 1667.


Rev. The Norse lion crowned current to left and attacking a serpent, all surrounded by a circle of dots

This is one of the coins of the first copper issue. It was not in the Grogan Collection

Christian V (1670-1699)

3. 1680. Copper. 1 Kas

Obv. The King's double monogram under a crown.

 On one side of the monogram S, on the other 0, that makes 80, i.e. 1680

Rev The Company's monogram under a crown.

4. 1692. Copper. 1 Kas

Obv The King's double monogram under a crown as above.

Rev. The Company's monogram under a crown as above. To the right 6, and below 92, that makes 692, i.e. 1692.

- 5 Dateless coin Copper 1 Kas

Obv As above

Rev The Company's monogram under a crown as above


- 6 Dateless coin Lead 4 Kas

Obv As above

Rev As above

(This coin is much worn)


- 7 Dateless coin Lead 10 Kas

Obv The King's monogram  under a crown

Rev As above Below λ i.e. 10 Kas

Frederick IV (1690-1730)


- 8 Dateless coin Copper 1 Kas


Obv The King's monogram , i.e. F and 4, under a crown surrounded by dots

Rev The Company's monogram (much damaged)

Christian VI (1730-1746)

- 9 Dateless coin Copper 1 Kas

Obv The King's monogram , under a crown

Rev The new Company's monogram , under a crown


- 10 Dateless coin Copper 2 Kas


Obv As above

Rev As above Under monogram 2 between two dots, viz 2 Kas

Frederick V (1746-1766)

- 11 1763 Copper 4 Kas

Obv The King's monogram  under a crown surrounded by dots

Rev The Company's monogram as above, but the λ , on a higher level, thus  On one side of

the monogram 17 on the other 63 i.e. the date 1763
Below 4 i.e. 4 Kas

- 12 1963 Copper 4 Kas

Obv As above

Rev As above


- 13 176 Silver Royalin


Obv As above

Rev The Danish Coat of arms with three Norse lions
current to left Shield topped by a crown On one side 17
On the other 6 Above Royalin in block letters

Christian III (1766-1808)


- 14 1768 Copper 10 Kas

Obv King's double monogram  under a crown

Rev Company's monogram  Below \

Kas Below 1768 within a circle of dots



- 15 1770 Copper 4 Kas

Obv King's monogram  under a crown

Rev Company's monogram as No 11 with 17 to left
and 70 to right i.e. 1770 Below 4 i.e. 4 Kas

- 16 1777 Silver Royalin

Obv King's monogram as above within a circle of dots

Rev Danish Coat of arms as No 13 with 7 to
left and 77 to right i.e. 1777 Above Royalin in block
letters with  turned to left thus 

- 17 177 Copper 2 Kas

Obv As above No circle of dots can be seen

Rev Company's monogram as No 15 with 17 to left
and 7 to right Below 2 i.e. 2 Kas

- 18 1786 Copper 4 Kas

Obv As above
IV

Rev Kas
786

19 1788 Copper 4 Kas

Obv As above*Rev*

Kas 1788 within a circle of dots

20 178 Silver Royalin

Obv As above*Rev* Coat of arms as No 16 with 17 to left and 8 to right Above Royalin in block letters (Worn)

21 1790 Copper 4 Kas

Obv As above with a dot after number 7*Rev* (IV)

(K)AS

(17)90 within a circle of dots

22 1800 Copper 4 Kas

Obv As above*Rev.* (IV)

Kas

1800

23 1782 Copper 6 Kas

Obv As above*Rev* VI

Kas

82

Frederick VI (1808-1839)

24 1810 Copper 4 Kas

Obv The King's monogram

under a crown

Rev IV

Kas

1810

25 1816 Copper 10 Kas

Obv As above*Rev* (X)

Kas

1816

- 26 1820 Copper 4 Kas
Obv As above
Ret IV
 Kas
 1820
- 27 1823 Copper 4 Kas
Obv As above
Ret (IV)
 (K)as
 1823
- 28 1831 Copper 4 Kas
Obv As above
Ret IV
 Kas
 1831, within a circle of dots
- 29 1832 Copper 4 Kas
Obv As above within a circle of dots
Ret IV
 Kas
 1832 within a circle of dots
- 30 1833 Copper 4 Kas
Obv As above
Ret IV
 Kas
 1833, within a circle of dots
- 31 1838 Copper 4 Kas
Obv As above
Ret IV
 Kas
 1838
- 32 1838 Copper 4 Kas
Obv As above
Rev As above within a circle of dots
- 33 1838 Copper 10 Kas
Obv As above
Ret * X *
 KAS
 1838, within a circle of dots

34. 1839 Copper 4 Kas

Obv As above

Rev IV

Kas

1839 within a circle of dots

35 1839 Copper 4 Kas

Obv As above

Rev As above

Very beautiful specimen

Christian VIII (1839-1848)

36. 1842 Copper 4 Kas

Obv The King's monogram



under a crown,

within a circle of dots

Rev IV

Kas

1842

37 1844 Copper 4 Kas

Obv As above

Rev IV

KAS

1844

38 1845 Copper 4 Kas

Obv The King's monogram as above but without
roman numerals

Rev (IV)

(K)AS

(1)845, within a circle of dots

This is the last coin struck at Tranquebar The Danish
possessions were sold to England the same year

H HERAS, S J

Arcot—At the meeting of the Numismatic Society held at Benares in 1928, I exhibited a coin of Farrukhsiyar issued from Aurangabad Mint dated 1123 A H and 7 R Y. At that time 1123 seemed to be a freak and obviously it is, as Farrukhsiyar ascended the throne in 1124 A H and all the coins that have been discovered till now bear the date 1124 or an after date. Consequently all the numismatists reckon his reign from 1124 A H. About three coins in our Cabinets go to prove that coins were struck in the name of Farrukhsiyar at least as early as 1123 A H if not 1122 A H.

History says that in 1123 A H Farrukhsiyar had claimed the throne for his father Azimush shān. But these coins and particularly the coin dated 1123 A H and 2 R Y suggests that Farrukhsiyar might have claimed the throne for his own self in 1122 A H.

I am describing here three coins dated 1123 A H because one of them bears the date 1 R Y, the other 2 R Y (which suggests that Farrukhsiyar must have claimed the throne in 1122 A H). On the last one the R Y is cut. But all of them have been struck from different dies. According to Khāfi Khān Farrukhsiyar claimed the throne for his father in 1123 and after his father's death claimed the throne for his own self in the same year. This author says that Farrukhsiyar struck coins in his own name in the same year.



Obv

(سیر)

(ح) ق روح

(د) ر

(ار ف ص) ل ر سیم و در

ش

(ناد) بحر و ر ۱۱۲۳



Rev

ما یوس

میم

احد

سه حلوس

صرب

ارکا (ت)



B



Obv

Rev

سر

مانوس

حق فرج

_____ که رد

۲

اردبیل بر سیم و زر

سه خلوس

شاه _____

_____ صر

ماد بحر و بر ۱۱۲۳

ارکات



C



Obv

Rev

حق فرج (سر)

مانوس

_____ که (رد)

(سه) خلوس

اردبیل بر سیم و زر

_____ (صر)

شاه _____

ارکات

ماد بحر و بر ۱۱۲۳

(A & B) (A & B) — These two coins are from an unpublished series called 'Udair'. One of them is struck in the name of Aurangzeb and the other in the name of Farrukh-syar. The following is the reading of the coins —



D



Obv.

عالم گیر
اورنگ زیب
شاه
زد چو بدر منیر
در جهان

Rev.

جلوس
س
(مانو)
میمنت
۱۰۹۸
الظفر
دار قلعه اودگیر



E



Obv.

شاه
بحر و بر فرخ (سیر)
زد از فضل حق

Rev.

مانوس
میمنت
سنه احد جلوس
ضر
اودگیر

On Aurangzeb's coin which is dated 1098 the mint name Udgir is followed by the epithet دار الظفر and قلعه. It may be noted that after 1097 H.Y. on the coins struck at Bijāpur also the mint name is followed by the epithet دار الظفر. On the coin of Farrukhsiyar both the epithets are omitted.

Bankāpur Mint—Coins of Rafiud-Darajat issued from this mint are known, but no coin has as yet been published which

bears the name Shams ud Din. The coin described here not only bears this name but also a new legend or couplet which has not been deciphered fully as yet and which is unpublished.

The following is my reading of the coin —



F


Obv
Rev

رفع الدرجات
حاشا شمس الدین

مانوس

ت

سه خلوس

سید _____

صر _____

مه حور

سکاپور

Sahrind Mint — The earliest published coin in the name of Aurangzeb from this mint is coin No 1504 of the Indian Museum Catalogue. It is dated 1103 A H (R B Whitehead)¹. The coin described here is dated 1102 A H 34 R Y.



G


Obv
Rev

عالم گیر

مانوس

1102

اورنگ زیب

۳۴

شاه _____

سه خلوس

رد چو بندر میر

صر _____

سهرند

(در جهان)

¹ Introduction to Punjab Museum Catalogue p 81

Sikākul Mint.—Till now the mint Sikākul is represented only by two Emperors, Farrukhsiyar and Ahmad Shāh. The Hyderabad Museum Cabinets contain coins of Aurangzeb and Jahāndār Shāh, one each of 1100 A.H. and 36 R.Y. (Sic) and Hijri Year cut and ۱۱۰۰ R.Y. respectively. The couplet on Jahāndār Shāh's coin (yet to be deciphered in full) is new. The following is my reading of the coins.—



H



Obv.

عالم گیر

۱۱۰۰

اورنگ زیب

شاه

زد چو بدر منیر

که

(در جهان)

Rev.

مانوس

میمنت

۳۶

جلوس سنه

(ضر)

سیکا کل



I



Obv.

چو صاحبقران

شاه

جهاندار شد باد

که

جهان

Rev.

مانوس

میمنت

سنه احد جلوس

ضرب

سیکا کل

Mumbai Mint—According to Mr Whitehead the earliest known issues from this mint are Rupees of Farrukhsiyar (see Introduction to Punjab Museum Catalogue page 110) Our cabinet contains a unique coin issued from this mint by Farrukhsiyar's predecessor Jahāndār Shāh The following is my reading of it —



Obv

مهر و ماه ابو الفتح

۳۶۱۱



Rev

خاوس

میمت

مانوس

(صر) ب

سه

KHWĀJA M AHMAD

Note—The Hijri-Julūs dates stamped on the Arkat Rupees of Farrukhsiyar are undoubted blunders. It is a mistake to suppose that these 'freaks' are found only in the Haidarābād State Museum or that they have not been published before. No less than six of them are registered in the P M C (Nos 2153-2158). The three coins mentioned in this article are all described there also and Mr Whitehead has not failed to notice the erroneous dating. Khwāfi Khān is a careless and slipshod writer and Sir Jadunāth Sarkār and Mr Irvine have shown that his chronology is confused inconsistent, and unreliable. The literary evidence from other contemporary authors leaves little doubt that Farrukhsiyar did not 'claim the throne' before 1124 H (vide Irvine, *Later Mughals* and my *Historical Studies on Mughal Numismatics*, 279-281). The Numismatic testimony is even more conclusive. Bahadur Shāh Shāh 'Ālam's coins of 1124 H are all in our museums. The only known coins of 'Āzīmush shāh are of 1124—'Āhd and hundreds of Farrukhsiyar's own coins from more than twenty mints postulate the fact that 1124 H was his first julūs year and are serially dated accordingly. If these Arkāt Rupees are right all these other coins must have been wrongly stamped—an unthinkable conclusion. The supposition that Farrukhsiyar 'claimed the throne' at a time when not only his grandfather but his father, was alive is historically preposterous and numismatically absurd. Khwāfi Khān himself explicitly states that he did so only after he heard of the death of his father—which took place on or about 20th Safar, 1124 H (S H H, Editor).

In 1902, Dr G P Taylor, the veteran Numismatist, who may be called the original authority on the coins of Gujarāt wrote an exhaustive article on the subject. In that article Dr Taylor has described five mint towns of the Gujarāt Sultans, the fifth one was read by Mr H N Wright as Khanpur. Although various scholars have written about the Coins of Gujarāt Sultans, during the intervening thirty one years, no new mint towns have been noticed. It is therefore permissible to invite attention to three new mints which have been noticed by me while preparing the Catalogue of Coins of Gujarat. These are —(1) Dīb (Dīu in Kāthiāwāḍ), (2) Burhānpur, which was read as Khanpur, and (3) Daulatābād (Barodā).

Now I will take up each mint, one after the other and describe all those coins which bear the names.

(1) Dīb, Dīv or Dīu derived its name from the Sanskrit word *dīpa* an island and in former times was a celebrated holding of the Chāvāda Rajputs. The total area of the whole island is about twenty five square miles and there are eleven or twelve small villages, besides the town and the fort of Dīv. This island is said to have been the seat of the Chāvādā Rajputs in the 8th Century A D and was held by them till the 12th or 13th Century when they were ousted by the Vāghelas, who were in turn expelled by the Muhammadans in 1330 A D, when Jaisingh Vaghela was conquered by them. In the time of Sultān Mahmūd Begādā of Gujarat, Dīb was distinctly a Muhammadan port. From its important position at the mouth of the gulf of Cambay, and because it was a port of call for vessels trading with the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, this island rose into importance and was frequently the seat of the local Governor of the province instead of Junagadh (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol VIII, pp 289 and 434). Malik Ayāz, who was one of the great nobles of Sultān Mahmūd Begādā and who was famous for his impartiality and charitable habits, was then the Governor of Dīv. Although he was a slave bought with gold, he had the ability of an able administrator. He had a large tank of leather made for storing water and when his army was on the march they took water from it. He laid out gardens in the island and built the fort of Dīv which was destroyed by the Portuguese by whom another was constructed in its place. There are numerous references in the contemporary histories which go to show that the Sultāns of Gujarat used to visit this island as a pleasure resort very frequently and even stayed there for months. After the death of Bahādur Shah in 943 A.H., Dīv passed completely into the hands of the Portuguese.

Following are the coins which exhibit this mint

Mahmud Shah I 863 917 A H

- No 1. Silver 86 grs 8 size Mint Dīb II 900
Obv In dotted circle السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدین و الدس ابو الفتح
Rev In square محمود شاه السلطان
 Margins —Left حه
 Top دب
 Right ه Taylor No 32
 Bottom ا

Outer linear and dotted circle

This coin was in the Collection of Dr G P Tavor

- No 2 Silver 87 grs 7 size Mint Dīb II 900
Obv As on No 1
Rev As on No 1
- No 3 Silver 42 grs 55 size Mint Dīb II 900
Obv As on No 1
Rev As on No 1

These two coins which originally belonged to Dr G P Taylor were purchased from Mr S M Contractor of Bombay (2) Burhanpur (which was read as Khanpur) was founded by Nusir Khan Faruqy in honour of the famous Shail h Burhan ud din of Daulatabad Khanpur or to give it its full name Khanpur Wankaner is a town on the left bank of the River Mahi midway between Baroda to the south and Dakor to the north and it is difficult to believe that a mint of the Gujarat Sultans existed at such an ordinary village Dr Taylor also admits that he failed to discover a single reference to this Khanpur in the histories of the reign of Muzaffar II and was unable to suggest any reason for that Sultan having caused coins to be struck in his name at that mint On the other hand Burhanpur has played an important part in the history of Gujarat and the Faruqy Kings of Burhanpur used to pay tribute to the Sultans of Gujarat and owned allegiance to those monarchs There are numerous instances in history which go to show that Burhanpur was under the control of the Sultans of Gujarat and they had full authority in appointing officers to govern Burhanpur and Āsir Some of the references are given below —

طام شاه بحری و عادل شاه یحیapur و هاشم رار و ایلچ پور

و قطب شاه گلکنده و راحه علی خان رهاپور یست و پنج لک
هُون بطریق پیشکش می رسایدند *

Mirāt i Ahmadī, p 23

Translation —

Nizam Shāh Bahmanī Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur, Hāshim of Berār and Elchpur, Quṭb Shah of Golconda, and Rājā Alī Khān of Burhānpur, used to send twenty five Lacs of 'Huns' every year as tribute

In the reign of Mahmud Shāh Begda

در سه ۹۰۴ چون بمقام تهالیر رسید بعد عید الصبحی عالم
خان اس احس خان را بمخطاب عادل خان محاطب ساخته چهار
سلسلهٔ فیل و سه لک تکچهٔ اعام فرموده بمحکومت اسیر و رهاپور
تعیین فرمود *

Ibid, p 60

(At Thālner), after the Id ud duha 'Ālam Khān, the son of Ahsan Khan, was ennobled by the title of 'Ādil Khān and four elephants and three Lakhs of tanhas were given to him and he was placed in the government of Āsir and Burhānpur

Mirāt i Sikandarī translated by
Fazlullah Faridī, p 77

In the reign of Muzaffar Shāh II

و در همان محل عادل خان حاکم اسیر و رهاپور که به سلطان
ست دامادی داشت با فرزندان آمده ملازمت حاصل نمود *

Ibid, p 62

At this camp A'zam-Humāyūn 'Ādil Khān of the exalted throne, ruler of Āsir and Burhānpur, who was the Sultan's son in law, came with his sons and waited upon the Sultan

Mirāt i Sikandarī, translated by
Fazlullah Faridī, p 93

In the reign of Mahmud Shāh III

تا نواهی رهاپور رسیده بمبارک شاه پیغام نمود - که عماد
الملک را گرفته به فرستد - چون این معی از مبارک شاه بعمل

سامده فرار جنگ داده - در حوالی دامگه‌ری معرکه فال آراسه
 شد - مارک شاه شکست یافته پناه قلعه اسیر رُد و فلاں نامی
 و ائانه سلطنت او بدست سلطان محمود اُفاد - عماد الملک ار آخا
 گریحه مندو رد فادر شاه حاکم مالوه روف - سلطان چند دور
 نه رهاپور افامب گریده - آخر الامر فرار صلاح که خطه و سکه
 در رهاں پور و آسر نام سلطان محمود ثانی بوده باشد *

Ibid 1 --

Darya Khan took the Sultan in pursuit as far as the Burhanpur frontier and sent a message to Mubarak Shah asking him to capture and send the traitor Imad ul mulk and in case he did not that his harbouring him would not bear good fruit. He collected his army and gave Darya Khan and the Gujarat Sultan battle at the Village of Dangri a dependancy of Burhanpur but being defeated withdrew to the lofty fortress of Āsir. The famous elephants of Mubarak Shah fell into the Sultan's hands. Thence the Sultan went to Burhanpur and Imad ul mulk fled and sought shelter with Kadir Shah at Mandu the ruler of Malwa. The Sultan remained for some time at Burhanpur and eventually made peace stipulating that the public sermon should be read and the coins struck in his name.

Mirat-i Sikandari translated by
 Fazlullah Faridi p 211

The following coins are inscribed with this mint —

Muzaffar Shah II 917-932 A H

No 4 Silver 110 grs 7 size Mint Burhanpur H 921

Obv المود نامد الرحمن سمن الدنيا و الدن او الصر

Rev in scalloped circle مظفر شاه السلطان فی رهاپور ۹۲۱

No 5 Same as No 1 H 922

Obv As on No 1 but in dotted circle

Rev As on No 1 but date ۹۲۲

No 6 Silver 111 grs , 65 size, Mint Burhānpur, n 923

Obv As on No 1

Rev As on No 1, but date ۹۳۳.

No 7 Silver 111 grs , 7 size, Mint Burhānpur, n 924 ?

Obv As on No 1

Rev As on No 1, but date ۹۳۳

The mint town which was read as *صرب حابور* is *رہادر* being written in 'Shikasta' like *مر* thus, in my humble opinion

(3) Daulatābād One copper coin of Mahmūd III which originally belonged to Prof S H Hodivālā has got Daulatābād on the margin of the coin On pages 61 and 65 of *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*, we find the following references to this place —

P 61

بعد چند روز سلطان (مظفر) بطرف رودہ عزیمت فرمود
و در صلح آن شهری موسوم بدولت آباد آباد نمود کہ بہ رودہ
اشتہار دارد ۵

After some days, the Sultan went in the direction of Baroda and in that district he founded a city which he named Daulatabād (which is known by the name of Baroda)

Mirāt-i-Sikandari translated by
Fazlullah Faridi, p 92

P 65

ہمدیں اثنا تکسری عارض سلطان شد - آخر الامر در همان
بیماری در سہ ۹۳۳ ہجری از شہر محمد آباد بہ رودہ عرف دولت
آباد آمدہ ۵

Translation —

Meanwhile the Sultan fell sick At last in that sickness he came from Muhammadābād to Baroda *alias* Daulatābād in the year 932 H

From the above extracts it seems that Baroda was called Daulatabād and some coins were minted there There is another Daulatābād near Aurangābād which was the new Capital of Muhammad Tughlaq But this Daulatābād has nothing to do with the Sultans of Gujarāt and so we must find out a place which was within their dominions

Mahmūd Shāh III, 943-961 A H

No 8 Copper : 145 grs , 6 size, Mint Daulatābād ?—

Obv. : الوراق بالله المان ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابو الفتح .*Rev.* : In circle. محمود شاه بن لطف شاه السلطان .

Top Margin دولتآباد .

C. R. SINGHAL

Note—The reading 'Burhānpur' may be wrong or right but it is certain that Khanpur Wankāner was not 'an ordinary village'. It was the most frequently used ford on the Mahi, and as such occupied an important strategical position on the Gujrat Malwa frontier. Qutbuddin Ahmad Shah crossed the Mahi at Khānpur Wankāner when he marched to repel the invasion of Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa (*Virat & Silandari*, Tr Fazal, 27, 30) and Bahadur Shāh did the same in 932 A H and again in 937 A H (*Ibid* 153, 164). During the Gujrat rebellion of 991 A H the Mughal general 'Qutbuddin Muhammad Khan sent a strong detachment to occupy and hold the ford of Khānpur Wankāner against the advance of the enemy' (*Ibid* 318). Muzaffar II invaded Mālwa in 923 A H and took Māndū in 924. A mint may have been established at Khanpur as the Sultan is said to have been making preparations for driving out the Hindus who had acquired great power in the province ever since 918 H (*Ibid* 95-96) [S. H. H., Editor]

SOME NEW MINT TOWNS OF THE SULTANS OF GUJARAT



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



326 CATALOGUE OF COINS IN THE PUNJAB MUSEUM, VOL. III
 COINS OF NADIR SHĀH AND THE DURRĀNĪ DYNASTY,
 BY R. B. WHITEHEAD, I. C. S. (RETD.)—A
 REVIEW

The monetary issues of the Durrānī rulers of Afghānistān are modelled on the currency of their predecessors, the Safavīs of Persia and their contemporaries, the Timūrīdes of Delhi. In design, style, and execution, in effective and artistic arrangement of the legends, in standard of weight and purity of metal, they are as a rule, equal to the mintages of the 'Great Moguls' which have been sought after and studied with such ardour and enthusiasm during the last half century. Ahmad Shah's grandson Zamān was, like Muḥammad Tughlaq, a 'great moneyer', and struck coins with a variety and profusion which would be inexplicable, if it were not remembered that the short-lived opulence and prosperity of the Abdālī dominion was founded upon the spoliation and pillage, the blood and tears of Hindustan. The double rupees of that ruler, the Bahāwalpur issues of Mahmūd and also of his rival Shujā, the double Muhrs struck at Kashmir in the name of the provincial sultan, Nūr-ud-dīn, are all coins of arresting beauty and worthy of the palmy days when Mughal artistry was at its zenith. It is therefore a matter of surprise and regret that these mintages have not received anything like the study and attention they deserve. The first serious attempt to describe them was made in 1885 by Mr. Rodgers who confined himself to the issues of the founder of the dynasty. This was followed by an article in the 'Numismatic Chronicle', 1888, in which Mr. Longworth Dames listed the coins of Ahmad's successors. The Catalogues of the Durrānī Cabinets of the museums of Lahore (1891-1894) and Calcutta (1896) and of the private collections of Dr. White King and Mr. Eugene Leggett almost complete the scanty and scattered bibliography of these issues.

The preparation, therefore, of a Corpus of all the known mintages of this type was a desideratum and thus useful and laborious task has been performed, with his characteristic thoroughness, scrupulous accuracy, and meticulous attention to every detail by Mr. R. B. Whitehead in the third volume of the 'Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum'. The nucleus of this Collection was the Durrānī Cabinet of Mr. Rodgers, which was purchased by the provincial government in the nineties of the last century. It remained stationary and very few additions were made until the fortunate discovery of the huge Bahāwalpur hoard in the old Bhatti stronghold of Derāwal. This lucky and phenomenal find contained 50,000 Muhrs and 400,000 Rupees and

was first examined and reported on by Mr Whitehead in 1909 (N S XI 69) It contained coins of all sorts but its preponderating constituent was the Durrani money Almost every type year and mint of the three first rulers was represented in it and though the issues of the later Abdalis were not quite so abundant it contained many extremely rare or unique pieces which were first discovered there The mintage of the Pretenders Sulaiman and Humayūn the Kabul and Ahmadshahi rupees of Qasr all the known specimens (except one) of the scarce 'Rikab' or Camp Mint and several other unique pieces came originally from Bahawalpur The Punjab Government was not slow to avail itself of the happy opportunity and made its Collection representative by acquiring as many of the rarer types and varieties as was possible The Lahore Cabinet can now boast of possessing 55 gold 559 silver and 59 copper strikings of this dynasty The volume before us however is not a Catalogue of this Collection only though it is a very fine one The local Government have wisely authorized the incorporation in it of Durrani Coins from all existing sources public and private and the inclusion also of the coins struck in the name of Ahmad Shah's master and precursor—Nadir—from the Mughal ateliers in India The result is that Mr Whitehead's book is not a Catalogue but a Corpus in which no less than 1327 coins—167 gold 1007 silver and 153 copper are described It must be said however that 66 of them are numismatic records of the devastation and terror spread by the invasion of the ferocious Afghans

This is undoubtedly an enormous advance and its immensity is easily realized when it is borne in mind that the total number listed by Mr Dames was 156 by Mr Rodgers in the Fourth part of the Indian Museum Catalogue 96 by the same enthusiastic coin collector in the second part of the Catalogue of Coins collected by himself 117 and by the compiler of the White King Sale Catalogue 89

The descriptive list is accompanied by an informative Introduction and fourteen beautifully finished plates This Prolegomena is in four sections (1) a carefully compiled summary of the history of the Sadozais which was like that of other Asiatic dynasties a succession of valour ambition discord degeneration and decay (2) a connected account of the legends inscribed on the Coins (3) an exposition of the metrology of the series and (4) elaborate notes on the mints from which the Currency was issued The number of mints dealt with in these Notes is no less than 27 and this fact provides another striking illustration of the progress that has been made in our knowledge of the Series The total number hitherto known was (not reckoning the issues of Mashhad Khoi Dera Fath and the Kalhora *fulus* of Shikarpur which Mr Whitehead has for good reasons excluded) about fifteen

The legends inscribed on the Muhrs and Rupees of the Durrānis are, as a rule, in verse, grandiloquent doggerel 'full of sound and fury, signifying nothing'. But they are occasionally neat and clever, and embody some quaint conceit learned allusion or ingenious play upon words. Hitherto we were acquainted with only twelve or thirteen of these couplets, but Mr Whitehead has raised the number to twenty five. Ten of these unpublished 'Bauts' it is true have not been completely deciphered and two or three words in each of them, it has not yet been possible to read but these lacunæ are sure to be filled up when more specimens come to light. Five out of these ten partially deciphered 'Bauts' relate to the extremely rare issues of each of the 'Pretenders' Humāyūn, Qaisar, Kāmran Tath Jang, and Shāhpūr Shāh. Three appear on those of another claimant, Sulaimān. There is one also of Zamān (No. 759) and another of Shuj'ā (No. 1052) which it has not been possible to satisfactorily elucidate. But two new poetical legends of the same ruler—one of which (No. 1029) is an imitation of a distich of Farrukh siyar (Whitehead P.M.C. No. 2130) and another resounding couplet (No. 1220) which could be made out only after comparing and collating four exceedingly rare specimens—have been published in full for the first time.

It will be seen that the volume before us is the most complete account of the Durrāni Coinage and incomparably superior to anything and everything that has preceded it. It is the product of thirty years of patient and devoted labour and it may be safely said of Mr Whitehead that as regards the knowledge of these coins, he has no equal or peer, that Eclipse is first and the rest nowhere. It may therefore savour of temerity to dare to differ from him or propose emendations or corrections. But the task must be nevertheless undertaken and the risk has to be run.

In the first place then may I venture to suggest that the rendering of 'the tedious Timūr Shāh distich' is susceptible of improvement. It runs thus —

چرخ می آرد طلا و نقره از حورشید و ماه
تا کس در چهره قش که تیمور شاه

and is rendered as follows —

'The revolution of heavens brings gold and silver from the Sun and Moon

In order that it may make on the face of the metal the design of the stamp of Timūr Shāh'

It will be seen that the second word of the second hemistich has been read as 'Kunad'. But the fact that رد takes its

place on the Kashmir issues and that the line will not scan if the *izāfat* is not read after 'Naqsh', shows that the right reading is 'Kanad' from کد 'to dig, to carve, or engrave' (q v Richardson's Arabic Persian Dictionary) In other words my submission is that as in 'izāfat' must be put after Naqsh the prose order is *Naqsh i Sikla Kanad* (or *Zanad*), not *Sikla Naqsh Kanad* (or *Zanad*) It may be also noted that 'Sikla Naqsh Zanad' would be nonsense

The couplet on the rupees struck in the name of the Saint Nuruddīn is as follows —

سکه شد روش ر شاه نور الدین
راخ ار محوم قطب العارفين

'Com became bright through Shāh Nūru d dīn
Current by the Lord of the Pole of Wise Men

May I say that محوم here does not govern قطب العارفين but is in apposition with it? Nuru d dīn is styled محوم master, lord as all Saints and great Spiritual Guides or Teachers are, not only by their disciples but the laity in general by way of reverence He is also entitled the 'Pole Star (or North Pole) of the Wise in God', to signify that he had reached the highest stage or zenith of spiritual knowledge He was not the master of the (قطب العارفين) 'Pole Star of mystic wisdom', but the 'Master' who was also such a 'Pole Star' himself Mr Whitehead says following Richardson's Dictionary, that Plato is sometimes styled قطب العارفين by oriental writers but surely it is not meant here that Nuruddīn was the master of Plato

I should like to say a word also about the hitherto unelucidated couplet of the third reign of Shah Shujā which is published for the first time in this volume

Mr Whitehead arranges the words as follows —

سکه رد ر سیم و در روشت ار حورشید و ماه
سلطان حامی دین بی شجاع الملک شاه

It is evident that the 'Bait' is modelled on the Shah 'Ālam II Couplet (Whitehead, P M C 2858), and the second lines of both are exceedingly similar But the second hemistich of the Shāh Shujā Couplet in its present form is halting and does not scan I propose to slightly alter ~~تجلی~~ of the words and read it thus —

سلطان شاه
ماه

One of the most striking novelties in this work is the new reading which Mr Whitehead proposes of the first word in the second couplet of the Kābul and Pashāwar Rupees of the second reign of Mahmūd Shāh. Mr Dames and Mr Rodgers read the couplet thus —

سکه دولت در و سیم فرود
حسرو دیگر سلطان محمود

Mr Whitehead says that it is impossible to read 'Khusru' on the coin figured by Mr Dames and he suggests that we should read 'Hasan' "The Shāh's title on the Coins Pl XIII, 1 and 3 and other pieces is written", he observes "حس, the name Hasan should be حس, on the face of it, one would expect one of the four letters ح followed by س or ث, no word of this kind suits either context or metre. The word حس 'time' or the name حس do not seem likely. I cannot suggest any thing better than the 'Second Hasan' Mahmūd Shāh's strength lay on the Persian side of the border" (p 190). Else where, he states that 'the Couplet is of a Persian complexion, on which the King is called by a Shi'ā title' (Introd, xxxiii). Mr Whitehead has stated fully the difficulty in which the matter is involved. He admits that neither حس nor حسرو is distinctly inscribed on the coins. He thinks it must be حس, only because no other name will suit and because he 'cannot suggest anything better'. He postulates that Mahmud was at this time anxious to secure the support of the Shi'a populations on his border and that he styled himself the 'Second Hasan' with a view to appeal to their religious feelings and prepossessions. But this conjecture rests on a supposition or assumption which is more or less problematical. The love and admiration, the fanatical devotion and veneration of these sectaries for 'Alī and his sons borders upon idolatry and the honours paid to them by the more violent and ignorant enthusiasts are almost divine.

The assumption of such a title by a Sunni like Mahmud the comparison of himself with the martyred grandson whom the Prophet had so deeply loved, was more likely to have annoyed and enraged than to have drawn them to his side. They could not have been blind to his motives and his hypocrisy and opportunism was more calculated to disgust than to flatter them.

It may be also pertinent to ask if 'Hasan i Digar' is a Shi'ā title at all. The Safavi Kings of Persia used to assume on their coins several metaphorical and picturesque epithets to

demonstrate their zeal and passionate devotion to the religious tenets to which Isma'il the founder of their house had owed his rise to power and greatness. They used to style themselves *Slaves of the King who was Beloved of God* (Ali) *Dogs of Ali* *Dog of the thresh*

old of Husain', R. S. Poole, *Coins of Shahs of Persia*

These were true Shi'a titles'. It is scarcely possible to assert that Hasan i Digar is a Shi'a title in the sense in which these expressions are Shi'a titles.

The title certainly does not mean that Mahmud entertained any respect or even any friendly feelings for Ali's sons or descendants. So far from declaring that he was the dog or even the slave or servant of Hasan he had arrogated equality with that beloved Saint and Martyr and called himself a second Hasan though there was no point of resemblance between himself and that revered personage. And if Mahmud struck the coins with this title because his strength lay on the Persian side of the border one would expect them to have issued from some mint in that part of his dominions and not from Kabul and Pashawar.

Both Mahmud and Shuja had before these pieces were first uttered in 1224 H styled themselves *Khusru i Giti Sitan* and the *fainéant* Shahpur Shah also afterwards called himself *Khusru i Alam Sitan* (No 1229A). Mahmud had issued the *Giti Sitan* Coins from Herat in 1216 H. Shuja assumed the identical title when he ousted Mahmud from Kabul in 1218—the first year of his second reign. It looks as if Mahmud now called himself *Khusru i digar*—another *Khusrū*—when he in his turn defeated Shuja at Nimla in 1224 H (p xxvii) and once more occupied Kabul. It was a sort of *tu quoque*—as if to say that if his half brother had been during the preceding six years a *Khusru* he was so no longer he was now a wanderer and a fugitive and had been supplanted by another *Khusru* who was more worthy of the title.

But all *a priori* reasoning on such a question is really futile and the coins only can decide the matter. The reading Hasan is as uncertain as its rival because the *س* has an elongated tail or flourish which Mr Dames and Mr Rodgers supposed to be the short form or symbol in cursive writing of *ر* and which Mr Whitehead thinks must be a *و*. The best course seems to be to suspend judgment until the discovery of clearer specimens.

The bombastic sobriquet *Khusru i giti Sitan* is rendered 'World Conquering Cyrus' by Mr Whitehead but this is not quite accurate.

The Arabic and Persian historians know really nothing of the historical Cyrus. The *Khusru* to whom Nadir Shah Mahmud

and Shujā compared themselves was either the Kaianian Kaihusru of Firdausi's *Shahnama* the Kavi Husrava of the Avesta (Darmesteter *Sacred Books of the East* VIII 222 278, 303) or the Sassanian Khusru Anushirvan (Naushirvan i Ādil) or his grandson Khusru Parviz or Abarviz as the Arabs call him) The Kaihusru of the Iranian national Epos is not Cyrus but a prehistoric and legendary or semi mythical personage who did not die but miraculously disappeared after a reign of 120 years near Lake Chachasta who left no son and whose father is the hero of a folk tale like that of Joseph and the wife of Potiphar The two Sassanian Emperors who have been mentioned reigned a thousand years after Cyrus

Advocates of the conventional mode of orthography will be surprised at and perhaps protest against Mr Whitehead's spelling of the name Pashawar but he is justified by the coins and also by ancient usage The town is called Parshawar or Farshawar by Utbi Alberuni Muhammad Awfi and Minhajus Siraj Elliot and Dowson *History of India* II 23 I 47 63 and II 196 294 This is quite right but most readers will be puzzled by the Babath of which Utbi is said to have written that the top of its fort was equal in loftiness to Heaven's height and parallel to Pisces' (Introd xxv) The fact is that this Babath is a misreading or mistranscription of some sort The place really referred to is Bhatiya and there is no doubt whatever about it as the toponym is spelt بھٹی or بھٹی by Utbi (E D II 28) Gardizi (Zainul Akbar, Ed Nazim p 66 last line) and Alberuni (Elliot Dowson I 61) The last of these contemporary writers gives even its latitude and longitude as 28°-40' and 96°-0' in his *Qinun i Mas'ud* (India Tr Sachau II 317) But though there is little or no doubt about the name its position has not been fixed Elliot thought it was Bhera on the Jhelum (E D II 439-41) Bird said it must be Bhatnir Raverly (J A S B 1892 p 247 note) and Sir Wolsley Haig (*Cambridge History of India* III 14) are in favour of identifying it with Uchra and Dr Muhammad Nazim has contended recently that it is Bhatinda (Mahmud of Ghazni pp 197 202)

It will be seen from the title of this work that its first part consists of a list of all the known coins which commemorate the invasion of India by Nadir Shah Mr Whitehead has described 66 of them—10 gold 52 silver and 4 copper Of the four *fulus* three are from the atelier of Bhakhar and one from Pashawar Mr Whitehead does not seem to have come across any copper coin issued from the mint of Sind though there is a Sind Muhr in Vienna and seven Rupees in the British Museum It may be therefore permissible to take this opportunity of stating that I picked up several years ago in the Junagadh bazar two *fulus* struck in the name of Nadir in the mint of Sind They are entirely different in style from the Bhakhar and Pashawar issues as

they do not display as these coppers do only the Shāh's name the Hijri date and the mint. These two *fulus* on the contrary, exhibit fragments of the *Hast Sultan* Couplet on the obverse as Pl I, 6 and the words *مرسد* in a central circle on the reverse as Pl I 8. The date (1160 H) is in the left hand corner of the obverse. The weights of the two coins one of which is worn are 197 and 196 grains and the sizes 8 and 7. Both are now in the Prince of Wales Museum Bombay.

The coin is figured below



ANDHERI

S H HODIVALA

5th June, 1934

327. THREE RARE KUSHAN GOLD COINS.

Of the three rare Kushan coins described below, the first two are probably unique as they are not described in the British Museum Catalogue, which albeit is now quite out of date, and



1



2



3



are not recorded in any other publication. The cabinets of the museums in India, which are regrettably deficient in the Kushan series in gold, do not possess any of these coins.

1. Huvishka: AV. *Obv.*: Half length figure of king facing right, wearing coat of mail and round crown bound with fillet, and holding in right hand sceptre and in left elephant goad. *Inscription*: ..NANOPA OOOHPKIKOPANO.

Rev.: Sun god facing left, with sun ray halo, wearing chlamys, right arm outstretched and left on waist touching short sword at side. What Cunningham styles the 'Huvishka symbol' on left and inscription on right: *MIPO*.

S. '8.

W. 106 grs.

The obverse of this coin is the very rare bust D of Sir Alexander Cunningham's classification, which is not represented in any of the Indian museum cabinets. The rarity of the coins with bust D is shown by the fact that Cunningham records only two coins with bust D, both now in the British Museum, namely, Nos. 2 and 7 on pp. 99-100 of the *Coins of the Kushans or Great Yue-Ti*, the coins being illustrated under their respective numbers on Pl. XIX, *Num. Chron.*, Ser. III, Vol. XII. My coin can, however, be differentiated from these two coins, for in Cunningham's No. 2 the Sun god faces right, while the inscription on his No. 7 is *MIPO*. My coin is thus a third and unrecorded variety.

- 2 Vasudeva AV *Obv* King numbate clad from head to foot in full armour standing to the left holding a long staff with his left hand and apparently fixing with his right hand a trident to an altar but more probably offering with his right hand an oblation on a small fire altar behind which rises a trident bound with a fillet. Inscription *PAONANOPAO[B]ZOAHOKOPANO*

Rev Siva with three heads and four arms standing facing holding in his two right hands noose and blue lotus and in the two left hands trident and waterpot behind Nandi with bell facing right. Symbol on right. Inscription on left *OHPO*

S 8

W 122.5 grs

Only one specimen of Vasudeva with Siva's bull facing right has hitherto been recorded being Cunningham's Coin No 9 of Vasudeva illustrated on Pl. XXIV 9 of *Coins of the Kushans or Great Yue Ti* and now in the British Museum. While the reverse of both coins is identical the present coin differs from Cunningham's as regards the obverse the trident being absent from his coin.

- 3 Huvishka AV *Obv* Upper part of king facing left emerging from clouds wearing round crown bound with fillet and holding in right hand sceptre and in left elephant goad. Inscription *[P]AONANOPAO OOHPIAKOPANO*

Rev Two figures Skandya and Visalhya standing facing each other on a platform both numbate and dressed in loose flowing robe and holding a spear probably representing the Sakti in one hand while the other rests on hip grasping short sword at side. Huvishka symbol between the two figures. Inscription *CKAN* (below platform) *AOHAN* (on left) *AP* (above) *OBIZATO* (on right)

S 8

W 121.5 grs

The fabric of this coin the execution and state of preservation are similar to the small coin illustrated in the *British Museum Catalogue* Pl. XXVIII 23 moreover in these two coins the inscription runs round the coin and no part of it is broken up into two lines. The two large coins in the British Museum one of which is illustrated in *BMC* Pl. XXVIII 22 differ from both these coins which are undoubtedly genuine in all these important particulars.

NUMISMATIC SUPPLEMENT No. XLVI

ARTICLES 328-340

*Continued from 'Journal and Proceedings', Vol XXX,
New Series, No 3*

328 SOME COINS OF THE NAPIKI MALKA CLASS RESTRUCK BY SHAHI-TIGIN

Coins of Shahi-tigin are well-known both for their extraordinary trilingual legends and for their unusual design. Among the more readily available illustrations I would cite Cunningham 'Coins of the Later Indo Scythians', Pl X, No 9 and Vincent Smith, 'Indian Museum Catalogue, Vol I, Pl XXV, 1. The obverse portrait is a three quarter face,—an unusual representation, and the reverse design is a bust of a male deity possibly the sun god, to front with flames springing from behind the head and rising to a point.

The findspots of the Shahi tigin Coins have been carefully recorded by Cunningham (in *Num Chron*, 1893, page 268) as follows —

'Two specimens were obtained by Ventura in the Manikyala Stupa. Dr Lord got forty to the north of the Caucasus (i.e. Hindukush). I have received some twenty or thirty from Kabul, and I am aware that a few have been found in Sindh and Kacch.'

The latter, presumably, are strays—perhaps brought down through Kandahar, Quetta and Shikarpur, the well known Sindh entrepot for Central Asian trade—and the seat of Shahi-tigin's power should, therefore, be searched for in Northern Afghanistan and not in Multan as erroneously supposed by Cunningham. Dr Heinrich Junker has made a recent study of the coin legends on these and similar coins, in 'Die Hephthalitischen Münzschriften' (Berlin, 1931), and has found an interesting series of place names. Those on the coins showing the sun god are specially important —

Dāwar (Zamindāwar) on Cunn. X 9 and 10

Rōšnān (?Rudbar on Helmand) on X, 9 and 11

Zābulistān on X, 9 and 10

Farzān (?Idrisī Fīroz and on Helmand) on X, 10

and Sakāwand (between Ghazni and Kābul) on X, 11

This is sufficient indication for the geographical position of the shrine of the sun god but the findspots of the coins of Shahi

igin suggest a more Northerly position for the centre of his power

The coins showing this full face bust of the sun god can be dated with great accuracy as two of these issues were struck by Khusrau II of Persia and dated in years 26 and 37 of his reign corresponding to 616 and 627 A D

We have fortunately an invaluable document describing Afghanistan at this period in the Life and Travels of Yuan Chwang the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim whose travels lasted from 629 to 645 A D and who passed twice through Afghanistan. Reference to his writings makes it fairly certain that Shah-igin was the King of Kapisi an area north east of Kabul, and that the sun god was Shuna or Chuna whose shrine was on a mountain in the south of the Tsao ku ta country, roughly in the neighbourhood of Zamindawar and Kandahar

Watters in his edition of Yuan Chwang, states —

‘ Our pilgrim reports this god as being held in great awe as having rich offerings presented to him and prayers made to him not only by the inhabitants of Tsao kuti but also by votaries of all classes from other countries

The great diversity of style and script on coins bearing this bust indicate that the deity portrayed was of more than local or provincial importance and as Cunningham's suggestion that it was the sun god of Multan has been discredited I have no hesitation in putting forward this alternative proposal. He was apparently a Turkish god whose cult was imported from Central Asia by the Western Turks who ruled in various portions of Afghanistan from 567 A D to 658 A D when they were absorbed in the Chinese Empire. Watters states that Shuna was a sun god and the bust on the coins is unmistakably that of a solar deity. Yuan Chwang tells us a curious story of how, when this god was travelling from Central Asia to Tsao ku ta he wished to halt in the kingdom of Kapisi but, the guardian spirit of Mount Aruna proved inhospitable and was punished by having to do annual obeisance to Shuna in his new home (see Watters pp 126 7)

We therefore find in this legend a direct connection between Shuna and the kingdom of Kapisi which considered in conjunction with the coin findspots make it probable that Shah-igin was ruler of Kapisi

This probability is strengthened by the fact that General Ventura obtained two of these coins from the relic chamber of Manikyala stupa near Rawalpindi. The king of Kapisi at the time of Yuan Chwang's travels was a great conqueror, but had recently lost Taxila to the Kingdom of Kashmir. The coins must have been deposited at Manikyala before this change of rule

Further statements by Yuan Chwang show that this king was ruling over the following areas at the time of his visit —

- (1) Kapisi—which according to Watters and Cunningham must have then included the whole of Kafiristan as well as the two large valleys of Ghorband and Panjshir
- (2) Nagar—the district round Jalalabad
- (3) Gandhara—west of the Indus corresponding to Peshawar Dist
- (4) Varma—which Sir Aurel Stein has proved to be Bannu Dist as previously conjectured by Cunningham
- (5) It appears from Yuan Chwang's Life that Tzu ku ta may also have been included in his empire but this is by no means certain

Having fixed Shahi tigin both in time and place I am now able to publish three countermarked coins which have not been previously ascribed to him

These coins were struck prior to the period of their countermarking by one of Napki Malik's later successors who probably lived in the Kabul area or perhaps further north as prior to the invasions of the Western Turks the Greek Kushan script which is found on these coins appears to have been almost totally confined to the countries north of the Hindukush

The legend on these coins has been read by both Herzfeld and Junker as Sri Shahi. Turning now to the countermarks two of my coins have a countermark containing two Brahmi characters and are therefore duplicates of Cunningham, Later Indo Scythians plate IX 19. Cunningham read these as Tiri but a closer study shows them to be Tigi. I am indebted to this discovery to Mr Majumdar who at once agreed with my suggestion that this was short for Tigin a common title for a chieftain among the Turks. Cunningham mentions having three similar coins with an insect as countermark and these two show this as an additional mark. My third has it as a sole countermark. On a close study however I cannot agree with Cunningham in calling it an insect. It is a facing bust of the sun god Shuna!

We have now two clues pointing to the Turkish origin of the countermarks—the bust of Shuna and the title Tigin. Further the use of Greek Kushan legend on the coins before this being countermarked points to the neighbourhood of Kapisi as their provenance. We should therefore compare the coins with those of Shahi tigin the Turkish ruler of Kapisi. Both have the Greek Kushan legend Sri Shahi in front of the face on the obverse (perhaps Shahi tigin copied this from the late Napki Malka coins). Both have the bust of the sun god and

while one class has *Shahī tigin* in the long Brahmi legend the other contains 'Tigin' as a countermark.

Finally, and for this finishing touch to the argument I am indebted to Mr Dikshit two minute Brahmi letters which appear in the same oval countermark as the bust of the sun god can only be read as *Shahī*. This, with the *Tigin* countermark completes the name *Shahī tigin* on the countermarked coins.

Baladhuri tells us a curious story in his description of the campaign of A H 33 (=653 A D) in which Ibn Samurah governor of Sijistan overran Zamindawar —

When he got as far as the provinces of ad Dawar he surrounded the enemy in the mountain of Az Zur. They soon surrendered to him. Ibn Samurah went into the temple of the Zur an idol of gold with two rubies for eyes and cut off the hand and took out the rubies. Then he said to the Satrap. Keep the gold and the gems. I only wanted to show you that it had no power to harm or help.

It appears that this idol is the Shuna of Yuan Chwang and the sun god of our coins. Shuna lived on a mountain in the south of the Tsao ku ta country (which included the Helmand Valley and the country from Ghazni to Kandahar). The idol mutilated by Ibn Samurah was on a mountain in the neighbourhood of Zamindawar and the rubies and gold of the idol indicate by their brightness that his may have been a solar cult.

Though the Western Turks first appeared on the Iranian borderlands between 563 and 567 A D they did not advance to Herat till 588 A D and a general of Khusrav II was able to force his way as far as Balkh as late as 597 A D. It appears therefore that they did not establish themselves round Kabul, Ghazni and Kandahar and there is nothing improbable in the theory that *Shahī tigin* was among the first to rule in this area and that it was he who imported the god Shuna and established him in Zamindawar.

M F C MARTIN

In this paper my object is to illustrate some cast and single die copper coins originally hailing from Rajgir, and now in two private collections. Mr Prithwi Singh Nahar the well known coin collector of Calcutta owns Nos 2, 4 5 6 9 and 11 while the rest belong to me. I am grateful to Mr Nahar for placing his coins at my disposal. Cast coins of the type of No 1 have long been known and were first described by Cunningham. They are also found at other sites, but as they are found in particularly large numbers at Rajgir I thought it best to include them under 'THE COINS OF RAJGIR'. Early cast and die struck coins were widely prevalent throughout North India and had many features in common. The so called Taxilā and Ujjain symbols were not confined to coins originating from these cities, but were well recognized symbols throughout India.

In spite of the existence of this community of symbols each provincial currency in ancient India had its own characteristics and local peculiarities noticeable in the fabric of the coins, as also in the grouping of the symbols. The symbols play a very important role in the assignment and interpretation of Ancient Indian Coins, including punchmarked as well as cast and die struck coins. These symbols have from the very beginning exercised eminent numismatists such as Cunningham Theobald Ripson and V A Smith who have arrived at different conclusions as to their interpretations. Here I wish to add a few remarks about the so called 'sq cross' and the 'triangular headed' symbol.

The square cross is almost invariably present in all the cast coins from Rajgir and has been explained by Theobald as 'a variant of Swastika'. Apart from its very close association with the coins of Rajgir, the symbol appears along with a three arched *chaitya* in a coin from Taxila¹. In a two *pana* piece from Taxila it occupies the whole of the reverse². Outside India a symbol similar to this has been found in an ancient tomb at Mycenae³. It is very difficult to say what this symbol stands for. Theobald's Nos 225 and 269 appear to have a very close connection⁴. Theobald would interpret No 225 as a cross having within it a *śrīvate* lotus. The symbol within the cross appears to be a lotus but the compound symbol can be very appropriately explained as a tank or step well with four approaches and a lotus within.

¹ C.A.I Pl II 16
² J.A.S.B. 1890 p 260

* C.A.I Pl II 15
⁴ *Ibid* Pl XI

The so called triangular headed symbol is yet another mystery According to Theobald in whose article it is numbered 119 it is a raised receptacle of food for birds This symbol occurs singly on punchmarked cast and die struck coins Sometimes it is also represented in a railing¹ The antiquity of this symbol is proved from the fact that a gold leaf representation of it has been found among other relics from the famous Piprihwa vase² It also appears to be a Jaina symbol appearing in an *Āyagapita* of the 1st century A D from Mathura³ A marked similarity exists between this symbol and another which appears on some coins of a king Suyamitra of the so called Pancala Mitra Dynasty where a rayed sun surmounts this symbol making it its stand⁴ That these two symbols represent one common object and serve a common purpose by holding a swastika over them is proved by the substitution of one for the other in some of the copper coins of the Kunindas In the light of this evidence it will not be inadequate to interpret it as an altar Curiously enough while describing the coins of Suyamitra Rivett Carnac termed it to be a triangular shaped altar⁵

A group of common symbols arranged in a particular order distinguish the cast coins from Rajgir Generally the common symbols are a tree in railing⁶ a three arched chaitya with a crescent a square cross a swastika a taurine a triangular headed symbol and an elephant One or two of the above mentioned symbols are sometimes replaced by others and sometimes also the arrangement is different The chief feature of these coins is the presence of an animal on one side and a tree in railing on the other (Pl No 1) The animal is generally an elephant but a bull or a lion also occurs in rare instances In some coins of this series (e g No 2) animals different or identical appear on both the sides

No 3 is another interesting coin widely differing from the ordinary type of cast coins from Rajgir It has on one side a railing enclosing a tree with prongshaped branches in two tiers depicted just opposite to the manner in which they are found on the coins of the Kunindas The tree here may be compared with that on some coins of the Saka satraps of Mathura⁷ There is to the left of the tree a wheel on a stand made up of two inclined spokes and an arc Similar wheels on stands are

¹ J R A S 1900 p 101

² J R A S 1898 p 596

³ Coomaraswamy—History of Indian and Indonesian Art Pl XIX,

⁴ J A S B 1880 p 89 Pl IX 24

⁵ *Id* 1

⁶ Two distinct varieties of tree are found one with three branches and another having more than three branches with foliage

⁷ C A I Pl VIII Nos 16 17

to be found in the famous reliefs of Bharhut and Mathura¹. The wheel has a very close resemblance with similar wheels in a coin from Kosam² and in the only known coin of the Kulutas³. To the right of the tree appear traces of another indistinct symbol. On the reverse occurs the Ujjain symbol and an elephant standing to left with its trunk and tusk so clearly visible. The elephant here is much superior in execution to the representation of the animal elsewhere on the cast coins. As regards the so called Ujjain symbol Rapson agreed with Cunningham that this symbol occurs on nearly all the coins of ancient Malwa wherever found—at Eran, Besnagar and Ujjain—and preferred to term it Malava symbol⁴. But this symbol also appears on several ancient Indian coins from places far beyond the limits of ancient Malwa as for example on several coins of the Hindu satraps of Mathura⁵ on coins of Kosam and on the present coin from Rajgir.

The rectangular single die coins from Rajgir which are comparatively rare conform to some definite types rather than exhibit a number of symbols regularly arranged as on the cast coins. Their style of execution is superior to that of the cast coins (cf Nos 4, 5 and 10).

No 4 is a beautiful coin showing an ornamental border made up of fine leaves and a shallow incuse two seated figures within. The one to the right (apparently a monkey) with its tail coiled up at the back extends the right hand to receive some object from the other figure to its left which is apparently seated on a semi-circular stool with the legs hanging down. There are distinct traces of a head dress which may indicate the superiority of the figure to the left. The object which is being delivered closely resembles a lotus with a long stalk. The significance of the whole of this unique scene is unknown but it may be some well known story from the Ramayana.

Another beautiful and unique coin is No 5. Within an ornamental border made up of fine leaves and in a shallow incuse stands a symbol composed of four crescents round a central boss. A variant of this symbol is found in the famous reliefs of Bharhut and another is the so called Taxila symbol. Mr V. A. Smith would describe it as solar symbol composed of crescents applied to a central boss⁶. This symbol is numbered 161 in Theobald's article⁷ where it has been described as four taurines united together in cuniform fashion.

No 6 has a border of ten taurines arranged along the edges with a single sickle shaped symbol within the significance of which is unknown.

¹ Coomaraswamy—H story of Indian and Indonesian Art Pl. XIX

² IMC Pl. XX 5

³ J. R. A. S. 1900 p. 108

⁴ IMC p. 157n

⁵ C. A. I. Pl. IV 14

⁶ I. H. Q. Vol. X No. 4 p. 725

⁷ J. A. S. B. 1890 Pl. X

The next interesting group Nos 7 and 8 show a three arched chaitya with a crescent and a taurino by the side. These symbols appear to have been struck on a blank field by means of a single die containing both the symbols. The chief point of interest in respect of these coins are in the unusual way in which the symbols have been depicted.

No 9 shows a beautiful representation of the *pīpal* (*bodhi*) tree within a latticed railing on the upper edge of which are seen a bud (?) and *chaatra*. On either side of the tree is a *crux ansata* and an inverted taurine.

No 10 shows scales hanging from a taurine by means of a cord and a vertical bar standing to the left. The whole device is within a shallow incuse and has an ornamental border.

No 11 is exactly similar but thinner and the vertical bar stands to the right instead of left of the scales. The association of the bar with the scale may perhaps be taken to represent a sceptre, but the scales as symbolising royal justice are not met with in ancient India. Mr Jyāswal would like to explain the bar as Brāhmi 'ra' ¹.

Most of the Rājgir coins do not conform to the indigenous weight system of India, unlike the single die coins from Taxilā which nearly always conform to that system. Finding that the Taxilā coins constantly maintain a weight of 140-144 grains Cunningham designated them as *panas*. Only three of the Rājgir coins agree to the indigenous standard in weight, viz Nos 1, 7 and 9 weighing respectively 68.8 grains, 34.5 grains and 14.6 grains. They may therefore be called *ardhapana*, *Kakini*, and *ardha Kakini* respectively.

As regards the age, the cast coins of India may be assigned to the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. and 1st century A.D. Some of them have been found from the lowest stratum in course of excavation on the site of the New Rajagriha along with some stone fragments containing Brāhmi inscriptions assignable to the pre-Christian epoch ². According to Cunningham native copper coins were contemporary with the similar shaped copper coins of Pantaleon and Agathokles ³. He has been corroborated by the discovery at Taxilā of a hoard of copper coins which contained 9 pieces of Pantaleon, 15 of Agathokles, 84 single die pieces, and 27 double die coins ⁴ which prove that these single die and double die coins were together in circulation along with the coins of Pantaleon and Agathokles. That these single die coins are older than the double die issues is proved by the fact that they conform to the indigenous weight system of India whereas the weights of the double die coins are influenced by the Greek standard. If Pantaleon and Agathokles were ruling in Gandhara

¹ J B O R S June 1936

² A S I A R Vol V—Explorations at Rajgir

³ C A I p 53

⁴ A S I A R Vol XIV

in cir. 200 B.C., the single-die coins must have been current considerably before that time. It is not improbable, that they were in circulation along with the silver punchmarked coins, a view which is supported by Cunningham, when he says, 'from the scarcity of copper punchmarked coins, I am led to believe that they (the cast) must have been current together with silver coins'¹ The cast coins must have been driven out of circulation when they were replaced by the large number of Kushan copper coins during the 2nd century A.D.

S SINGH ROY.

¹ C.A.I., pp 59 60



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



10



11



9



8

THE COINS OF RAJGIR

The two coins described in this note were obtained from a shroff at Karad in Satara district, and are said to have been recovered from the bed of the Krishna at Karad, where people usually search for coins and ornaments after the annual floods have receded. The provenance of the coins being Karad, they may be taken to have been current in Satara district.

(1) Coin of Mula Sa(dakani)



Obv



Rev

Metal, lead, size roughly circular, 8", weight 142.7 gr.

Obv Maned lion to the l, circular legend with considerable space between the consecutive letters, *Mula Sa (dakni)sa*. It commences near the front feet of the lion.

Rev Above to the r tree in railing, to the l *Chaitya* with two small arches, surmounted by a larger arch, each having a dot within. Below Wavy line (signifying a river?) between straight lines.

From the metal and type it is clear that the coin belongs to some ruler (or feudatory) of the Andhra dynasty. Its precise attribution is however difficult. The legend is fragmentary and the type does not agree entirely with any one known so far.

The obverse type, lion to the right, is so far known to appear on the Andhradeśī variety of the Satavahana coins (see Ripson, *A catalogue of Indian coins, Andhras, etc.*, pp lxxviii-lxxix), these, however, have no *Chaitya* and tree in railing on the reverse. The reverse of the present coin bears some affinity with the lead Andhra coins found at Kolhapur, on which we have a *Chaitya* and a tree in railing standing side by side, with this difference that the *Chaitya* has only four tiers instead of two, as in the Karad specimen.

The two coins described in this note were obtained from a shroff at Karad in Satara district, and are said to have been recovered from the bed of the Krishna at Karad, where people usually search for coins and ornaments after the annual floods have receded. The provenance of the coins being Karad, they may be taken to have been current in Satara district.

(1) Coin of Mūla Sa(dakṇi)



Obv



Rev

Metal, lead, size roughly circular, 8", weight 142.7 gr.

Obv Maned lion to the l, circular legend with considerable space between the consecutive letters, *Mūla Sa (dakṇi)sa*. It commences near the front feet of the lion.

Rev Above to the r. tree in railing, to the l. *Chaitya* with two small arches, surmounted by a larger arch, each having a dot within. Below Wavy line (signifying a river ?) between straight lines.

From the metal and type it is clear that the coin belongs to some ruler (or feudatory) of the Andhra dynasty. Its precise attribution is however difficult. The legend is fragmentary and the type does not agree entirely with any one known so far.

The obverse type, lion to the right, is so far known to appear on the Āndhradeśa variety of the Śātavahana coins (see Rapson, *A catalogue of Indian coins, Andhras etc.*, pp lxxviii-lxxix), these, however, have no *Chaitya* and tree in railing on the reverse. The reverse of the present coin bears some affinity with the lead Andhra coins found at Kolhapur, on which we have a *Chaitya* and a tree in railing standing side by side, with this difference that the *Chaitya* has only four tiers instead of two, as in the Karad specimen.

Other analogous coins are the issues of Chutukalananda and Milananda found in North Canara district (Rapson *Ibid* pp 59 60 Pl VIII G P 2 to G P 4) on which the arched *Chaitya* and the tree in railing are found but on different sides and not on the same as on the present coin

The closest resemblance to the present coin is found on the issues of Sadakana Kalalaya Maharathi from Chitaldurg district (*ibid* pp 57 8 and pl VIII Nos 233 4) In both cases the reverse side has a *Chaitya* and tree in railing side by side the former consisting of two small arches surmounted by a bigger one But on the coins of Sadakana Kalalaya there is a crescent on the *Chaitya* and there is no common platform for the *Chaitya* and the tree On the obverse of the coins of Kalalaya Sadakana there is a bull (instead of a lion) but the style of the circular legend around the animal is identical

To judge from the spacing of the preserved letters on our coin its legend could have consisted only of seven or eight letters The extant letters are *Mula Sa sa* After the first *sa* there is a remnant of *da* I would therefore complete the legend by inserting *dakani* the whole legend thus reading *Mula Sa(lani)sa* (The coin) of Mula Sadakani

It is difficult to identify this Mula Sadakani with any known ruler or feudatory of the Andhra dynasty The name of the third ruler of the Andhra dynasty is spelt as Mallakani in the *Matsya Purana* while all other Puranas spell it as Satakani If the medial *u* mark of *Mu* were not clear it would have been possible to attribute our present coin to the third ruler of the Andhra dynasty and the palæography of the coin would have been in favour of this view It is also proved that Maharashtra had passed into the hands of the Andhras earlier than the time of this king and a coin of his could well be found in Satara district But the medial *u* mark of *Mu* is quite clear on the coin and the majority of Puranas spell the name of the third king as Satakani and not as Mallakani We cannot therefore support this identification

The next alternative is to identify Mula Sadakani of this coin with Mulananda of the Chutu family (Rapson *ibid* p 60 pl VIII 236 and G P 4) The names of the rulers of the Chutu family however ended in Ananda and it is absolutely clear from the extant portion of the legend on the present coin that king Mula did not add that affix to his name The second letter on the present coin is spelt as *la* and not as *la* as on the coins of Mulananda The palæography of the present coin indicates that it belongs to an earlier period and the resemblance between their types too is not very close as shown already

The closest resemblance of the present coin is as shown above with the coins of Sadakana Kalalaya Maharathi found in Chitaldurg district Rapson has suggested with some hesitation that

Kalalāya Sadakana of the coins was probably the father of Queen Nayanikā, wife of Sātakarni I (*ibid*, p lxxxiii). The close resemblance in type suggests that Mula Sadakani of the present coin very probably belonged to the same family. Paleography shows that Mula could not have come much later than Kalalāya. Probably he was a son of the former. The coins of Queen Nayanikā's father have so far been found only in Chitaldurg district. That the present coin should have been found in Satara district, about 350 miles north of Chitaldurg does not go against the proposed identification as coins travel long distances with their owners. We know further from the larger Nanāghāt inscription that when Satakarni I died, his sons were very young and that the administration was being carried by his widowed queen as the regent. It is quite probable that she may have taken help in the task from her brother, entrusting to his care the western portions of her vast dominions. Maharashtra may well have been entrusted to his care, and it is therefore quite natural that his coins should be found in Satara district so far away from Chitaldurg. I would therefore tentatively suggest that the present coin should be attributed to a member of the Sadakana family, who was very probably a son of Kalalāya of Chitaldurg coins.

(2) A coin of Vāsishṭhīputra Vīlīvāyakura



Obv. Bow and arrow, circular legend commencing (VII)
Rano Vasi (thiputasa Viliva) yakurasa

Rev. Chhatra of four tiers with a dot in each arch, surmounted by a crescent and a tree, standing on a railing ornamented with scroll and dots, left, Nandipada, right, a damaged symbol

Metal, potin, shape, circular with a diameter of 7", weight, 45 gr

Though the legend is fragmentary, the attribution of this coin presents no difficulty. It is undoubtedly a coin of King Vāsishṭhīputra Vīlīvāyakura, whose coins were discovered in the Kolhapur hoard. Only six of the potin coins in that hoard were of some use for the purpose of decipherment (*J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XIII, p 303), the present coin showing half the legend in a legible condition is therefore a rare one. Most of the

bow and arrow type of coins published so far have come from the Kolhāpur hoard. The present coin was discovered in the bed of the Kṛishnā river in Satara district and would show that if Vāsishṭhīputra Vihvāyakura was a feudatory, his sway extended over the Satara district as well.




A S ALTEKAR

331 NOTE ON AN ALLEGED COIN OF RUDRASENA

It has been suggested recently by Mr K P Jayaswal that the coin published in the Indian Museum Catalogue of Coins, Plate XX, No 5, should be attributed to the Vākāṭaka ruler Rudrasena I (*J B O R. S.*, Vol XIX, pp 72 73 and plate III) This view, however, does not seem to be a correct one It is very doubtful whether on the obverse of this coin we can read above the wheel the letters *Rudra* Several other coins of this very type have been published and we naturally expect them to show the legend *Rudra* in the place concerned Cunningham is said to have possessed seven coins of this variety, all of which were picked up in or near Kosam (*I M C.*, p 146) We, however, possess only three more facsimiles of other coins of this variety, published in Rapson, *Indian Coins*, pl III, No 12, Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, pl V, No 7 and Prinsep, *Essays*, Vol II, pl 44 No 6 A glance at these facsimiles will show that they are all identical coins issued from similar dies Above the wheel there are no traces of the letters *Rudra* but another symbol which looks like a trident or *triratna* In the facsimile of the coin in the Indian Museum this symbol is but imperfectly seen, but it is quite clear in the three other facsimiles mentioned above It thus becomes clear that we cannot read the name Rudra above the wheel as has been suggested

A S ALTEKAR

I *The So called Gold Token of Kumāragupta I*

In Numismatic Supplement, XLIV, No 309, Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal has described five thin gold plaques which he found in the cabinet of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow. The most intriguing of these curious pieces has been identified by him as a gold token of Kumāragupta I. I propose to consider here this identification. A cogent objection to the ascription to Kumāragupta I would be that it seems highly improbable that Kumāragupta I, who issued a very large number of gold coins of a great variety of types and also issued silver coins in considerable quantities, should have issued in addition any tokens. We know that he had occasion to order a special issue to be struck, namely his Aśvamedha issue, which in fabric and weight is like the coins issued by him and his predecessors of the Gupta dynasty. The thin piece of gold which Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal describes as a token of Kumāragupta I is very unlike the issues of the Gupta Emperors up to and including Kumāragupta I. The fabric and style are entirely dissimilar. Again the attribution of the piece to Kumāragupta I cannot be justified on paleographical grounds. The style of writing and the formation of the letters are unlike those of his numerous known coins. Taking individual letters into consideration the 'ha' in 'Mahendra' on his gold coins is shaped thus  but on this plaque  which although a fifth century form, does not occur on any of his coins. On a large number of Kumāragupta's silver coins issued for his western provinces and on his silver plated coins of Valabhi fabric the letter 'ha' takes the form peculiar to the western Gupta script thus  while its shape on the plaque is different as we have just seen. Apparently Prayag Dayal has based his identification of the piece solely on the ground of the occurrence on it of the words 'Śri Mahendrāditya'. This, he says, is a name of Kumāragupta I which 'appears on his silver and silver plated coins'. To be strictly accurate it is only on the silver coins of his western issues and on his coins of Valabhi fabric that he is styled 'Kumāragupta Mahendrāditya' but never simply 'Mahendrāditya'. The legend 'Mahendrāditya' does not occur on his other silver coins or on any of his gold issues. As regards the letter 'ru', which is found next to a cluster of seven dots, Prayag Dayal states that it has 'not been met with so far', 'ru' does not occur on coins of Kumāragupta I, but is

to be found in the field on the coins of Prakāśāditya and Vishnugupta two later rulers, and this fact alone would leave no room for doubt that a later date than the reign of Kumāragupta I, must be assigned to the plaque. It does not seem possible to explain with certainty the device on the coin in all its details although Ru Bahadur Prayag Dayal sees in the figure on the plaque Garudā in the usual attitude with his wings spread out. To his right are a crescent and an oval object encircled by dots which perhaps stands for the sun. What look like very small circular dots are not to be found round any motif on any known Gupta coin but are to be found on later coins e.g. round the elephants in the abhisheka scene on the reverse of Saśānka's coins (*vide* B M C, Pl XXIV, 1) and this also points to a later date. So also does the border of large dots, which is quite unlike the border of little dots to be found on Gupta coins but occurs for the first time on the late imitation Gupta coins found in Bengal and is a characteristic feature of the coinage of a number of rulers of mediæval India, e.g. Gāṅgeyadeva of Chedi.

If due weight is given to all the above considerations we cannot but come to the conclusion that the identification of the plaque under discussion as a gold token of Kumāragupta I must be rejected and the plaque must be assigned to some later king of the sixth or seventh century A D who may have taken the title of 'Mahendraditya', possibly the Kumāragupta of the Bhutari seal.

As regards the remaining pieces described by Prayag Dayal they are all very crude and can only be described as clumsy plaques, on which the design is a travesty of motifs occurring on numerous Kushan and Gupta coins. These pieces and the so called token are not unconnected, as the size is about the same and all have similar borders of dots and the execution is crude, although the so called token is of better workmanship than the others. Other points of agreement are the light weight and thinness of gold, which has been impressed on dies so that the design stands out in relief on one side only. Their broad style reminds one of the late imitation Gupta coins of Bengal but, in the absence of any recorded data of their provenance we cannot assign them to any particular locality. Probably they were intended for use as charms or ornaments, like the gold plaque with a head in profile embossed on it, found at Bhita by Sir John Marshall (Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, 1911, Pl XXXII, No 11).

II. *A Rare Variety of Samudragupta's Standard Type.*

There is a very rare variety of the Standard type of Samudragupta's coinage to which the attention of numismatists does not appear to have been drawn by the leading authority on the Gupta series, Mr. John Allan, the author of the British Museum catalogue, or by previous writers such as V. A. Smith and Prof. Rapson. This is a coin on which the king is shown wearing a dagger. I have a fine specimen in my collection and have noticed one in the British Museum (B M C., Pl. I, 12), but I find that this variety is not represented in the Indian Museum collection. Particulars of the coin illustrated above from my collection are .—



AV. S 8—*Obv.* Samaraśatavitatavi . . . ripuraji . .

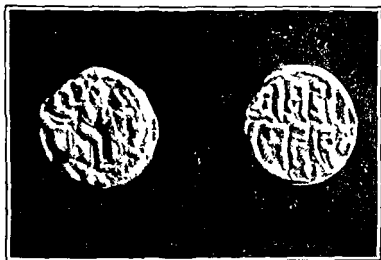
Wt. 121 0. *Rev.* Parākramah.

Symbols on reverse on right and left of throne as on B M.C., Pl. I, 12, but the die is different.

The importance of the coin for numismatists lies in the fact that it establishes a link with varieties of the Battle-axe type in which the king is represented as wearing a dagger (B.M.C., Pl. IV, 8–10, 15). The dagger variety, as we might call this coin, of the Standard type is earlier and the use of the weapon on the Battle-axe type is a development from it ; in the former the dagger is worn in an aslant fashion in front and in the latter like a short sword at the side.

AJIT GHOSE.

This coin is in the collection of Mr Ajit Ghose, the well known collector of antiquities and coins of Calcutta. It was obtained from Gwalior, and may, therefore, be considered as originating from its neighbourhood.



Its obverse shows an unusually spirited representation of a horse with a warrior riding it. The horse is in full gallop, the tail is up, the head bent down, on the crest there appears to be two feathers or similar ornamentation, and there are clear traces of a saddle, which is rather rare in representations of this period. The rider in his uplifted right hand seems to be carrying some weapons, while his left holds the reins. On the whole the horseman compares very favourably with the stereotyped linear representations familiar on the coins of the Shahiyas and their imitations which lack the strong relief of the present coin. On the reverse the legend in two lines is written in characters of about the 12th century A D, line 1, *Srimad Vira*, and line 2, *Simhadeva*. There are traces of some device, apparently a lotus below the second line. The border of dots can be discerned on the obverse and also possibly on the reverse. The gold appears to be quite yellow and pure, but the size is very small (45' in diameter) and weight only 13.8 grain.

The only king of the name of Virasimha, of whom we have any record about this period, is the prince who is the donor of the copper plate published in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol VI, pp 542ff. It refers to the gift of this

king from his fort of Nalapura (the modern Narwar a District in Gwalior State) in the year V S 1177=1120 A D The king who calls himself Maharajadhiraja belongs to the Kachchhapaghat Dynasty his predecessors being named as Gaganasimha and Saradasimha It is this king to whom the present coin can be attributed with certainty Gold coins weighing from 66 to 68 grains were issued about this period by the Rathor king Govinda Chandra whose dominions lay to the north east the Chedi Kings to the south east had their own coinage while the Tomara King Mahipala who ruled over Delhi and Ajmer to the north and north west issued copper coins Virasimha however seems to have designed an original type in which the horseman was adopted on the obverse and a legend more or less on the lines of the coins of Chandellas and Gaharwars on the reverse

The present coin is almost similar in weight to the base issues of Jajalladeva which appear to be about one fifth the weight of the bigger pieces or *drammas* In Vincent Smith's Indian Museum Catalogue p 251 the coins of Gangeyadeva weighing 7 grain were supposed to have been equivalent to one eighth *dramma* I should however think that as most of the coins weigh from 60 to 64 grain and some coins of Govinda Chandra weigh even as much as 68 grain it is likely that the standard weight was about 70 grain and the small coins weighing from 13 to 14 grain may be considered as one fifth and those weighing 7 grain as one tenth of a *dramma* It is however likely that there was no uniformity in the standard of the issues of the various dynasties of the Central and Northern India at this period

A class of gold coins with the legend *Śrīmad Virasimha Rama* is known One specimen exists in the Lucknow Museum and another found in the Gorakhpur District was published by Vincent Smith in *J A S B* Vol LXVI Pt I 1897, p 308 The reverse side shows a seated god almost like that on the coins of Gangeyadeva but the deity is a male figure holding *clakra* and *gada* in the hands and thus appears to be a form of Vishnu instead of the goddess on other coins of this period Vincent Smith regarded this coin as a puzzle as he could not find any king with the name of *Virasimha Rama* in the lists of the Kalachuri Chandela Rathor Tomar or Chauhan dynasties It does not seem probable that Virasimhadeva and Virasimha Rama were names of one and the same individual as the locality where the present coin was acquired is situated far away from the eastern United Provinces where the other two coins were collected and the types are quite different But the kings appear to belong to the same period viz the 11th 12th century A D

The coinage of Narwar was continued in the 13th century by two rulers named Malavavarman and Chahadadeva both of whom issued copper coins with the horseman type on the

obverse It is, however, remarkable that neither of these rulers belonged to the Kachchhapaghāta Dynasty of Virasimha, the former being a Pratihāra and the latter a Jajapella It will thus be seen that the present coin is a unique example of the numismatic issue of a dynasty known only from their epigraphical record in Gwalior territory

K N DIKSHIT

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
1 Introduction	31
2 The Weight-Systems	35
3 The Metals	41
4 Shape Size and the System of Manufacture	43
5 The Legends	47
6 The Symbols	53
7 The Types	64
8 The Provenance and Description of Coins	68
9 Abbreviations	94
10 The Tribes—their Types and Symbols	94
11 Bibliography	96

INTRODUCTION

Monarchy was the form of government that prevailed in the Vedic period. It was in post Vedic times that experiments in constitution making began and republics and aristocracies came into existence. Mr K. P. Jayaswal in his monumental work on Hindu Polity has given us all the available data about them. The Republics were generally designated *Ganas* as these states or *Sanghas* were governed by assemblies so called because of the number or numbering of the members present.¹ Panini (C. 500 B.C.) refers to a number of republics which are designated *Ājīdhajum Samghas* i.e. the Samghas which observed the practice of arms or military art. These are (1) the Vriha (2) the Damani (and others) (3) the Trigartta Shashtha or the League of the six Trigarttas (4) the Vaudheyas and others and the Parsva and others. The six Trigarttas were the (a) the Kaundoparatha (b) the Dandaki (c) the Kaushthaki (d) the Jalamani (e) the Brāhmagupta and (f) the Janaki.² These republics according to Panini were situated in the Vahika country which is interpreted by Jayaswal to mean the country of the rivers and comprised the Sindh valley and the Punjab. Panini also names six other communities which are known to be republics—(1) the Madra (2) the Vriji (3) the Rajanya (4) the Andhaka Vrishni (5) the Maharaja and (6) the Bhargava. Buddhist Literature also records the names of a

¹ Jayaswal—Hindu Polity p. 97

² *Ibid* p. 30

number of republics—(a) the Sākya of Kapilāvastu, (b) the Koliyas of Rāmagrama (c) the Licchavis of Vaiśālī (d) the Videhas of Mithilā, (e) the Mallas of Kuśīnagar and Pāvā, (f) the Moryas of Pippalivana, (g) the Bulis of Allakappa and (h) the Bhaggas or the Bhargas. The Licchavis and the Videhas were jointly called the Vrijis or Vajjis. These states extended 'from the districts of Gorakhpur and Ballia to the district of Bhagalpur, to the north of Magadha and the south of the Himalayas' ¹

Another group of republics is referred to by Kautilya. Of the *Rājasabdopajivin* Samghas i.e. the republics in which the leaders had the title of kings Kautilya 'enumerates (1) the Licchhivikas (2) the Vrijikas (3) the Mallikas (4) the Madrakas, (5) the Kukuras (6) the Kurus (7) the Pañchālas and others' ². The other class of republics the *Sastropajivin* Samghas were (1) the Kambojas (2) the Surashttras (3) the Kshatriyas, (4) the Śrenis and others ³. The Vrijis here perhaps refer to the Videhas only. Some of these states changed from monarchy to republic e.g. the Kurus the Videhas and the Pañchālas. The Licchhavis are famous in Buddhist Literature and had a long history, but the Mallas perhaps did not survive the Mauryas, so also was the case with the Kurus. The Pañchālas however came down to the time of Patanjali i.e. after the Mauryas. The Kukuras were members of the Andhaka Vrishni League. The Kāmbhojas lived in eastern Afghanistan, the Surāshtrās in Kathiawar and the Kshatriyas and Srenis in Sindh. Jayaswal's identification of the Kshatriyas, the Xathroi of the Macedonian writers as a political body and not a caste denomination is fully justified. The *Argesinae* with its variants *Agasinae*, *Acensoni* etc. can surely be identified with the *Agra Srenis* or the First Sreni, i.e. one of the branches of the republican people the Śrenis which had perhaps a number of divisions, like the 3 sections of the Yaudhayas, of which the 2nd and the 3rd sections are referred to specifically, on their coins.

The Macedonian writers give a long list of aristocratic and republican states with which the Greeks under Alexander came into contact. The *Katharians* (the *Kathas*) lived to the east of the Ravi or the Hydraotes including the districts of Lahore and Amritsar, and their capital was Sankala. Alexander met with a number of republics before he reached the Katharians. At a little distance from the Ravi dwelt the *Adrestai* who had been identified by Jayaswal with the *Arishtas* of Panini. The *Sabhuhi* state, was situated near the Katharian territory and extended to the Salt Range. On the east of the Hyphasis or Beas dwelt a people with an aristocratic form of government and Jayaswal suggests from the discovery of the *Yaudheya* coins in the locality

¹ *Ibid*, p. 48

² *Ibid*, p. 60

³ *Ibid*, p. 57.

that they were really the Yaudheyas of old who were good agriculturists brave in war and had an excellent system of government

Alexander during his retreat met with a number of republics which covered the region down the Indus to the Baluchistan frontier. The most powerful states were the *Oxydras*, the *Malloi* and the *Siboi*—the Kshudrakas the Malavas and the Sivas or Subyas. The Malavas dwelt on the Jhelum below its confluence with the Chenab while the Kshudrakas had their territories higher up. The Sivas also dwelt near the Malavas. Nearby lived the Agsaias who have been identified with the Agra Srenis by Jayaswal and the next republican people were the *Ambasthas* who are referred to by the Greeks as *Sambastai* or the *Abastanoi*. The *Yathrai*, the *Ossadii* and the *Musican* have been restored to their Sanskrit forms by Jayaswal as the Kshatriyas the Vasatis and the Muchukarna. The *Brachmanoi* were the Brahmanas who had a little republic to the north of *Patala* which was situated in the Indus delta identified with Hyderabad in Sindh. The *Phegelas* and the *Glaukanikoi* have been identified with the Bhagala of the Ganapāthi and Glauchukayanakas of the Kaśika. It is thus evident that in the 4th century B.C. the Punjab and Sindh region was covered by a large number of republican and aristocratic states and we have no reason to take the list of the Greek writers as exhaustive. Alexander did not traverse the whole Punjab so it is reasonable to expect that there were other republics in the Vahli a country and Jayaswal mentions the names of the *Iaulhejis*, the *Arattas*, the *Sayandas*, the *Gopilatas* and the *Ka indibrissas*.

The establishment of the Maurya Empire sounded the death knell of the smaller republican or aristocratic states. Only the bigger states like the *Kshudrakas*, the *Malavas*, the *Pistritas*, the *Bhojals* and the *Lrijis* survived the imperial domination. A few are also mentioned by Asoka in his Rock Edicts. There is no doubt that the *Rastrita Bhojis* and the *Pitukis* had republican constitutions. The *Gindharas*, the *Nibhakis* and the *Nabla panktis* and the *Laiinas* had perhaps a similar system of government. But as regards the *Indhras* and the *Pulindas* we have no definite data though Jayaswal would like to infer that as *Riyaslayas* i.e. ruling (or sovereign) countries (or districts) they were of the same category i.e. republican.

Only the stronger republics outlived the imperial domination of the Mauryas. But a few new states came into existence under the Sungas. In Mr Jayaswal's opinion the establishment of the Northern Satraps at Mathura compelled the stronger republics to migrate to Rajputana. The Yaudheyas the Madras, the Malavas and the Siboi left their original homes in the Punjab and migrated to the desert region of Rajputana for comparative safety. It was their love of independence that constrained them

to exchange their fertile lands for their new homes. The *Ārjunayanas* perhaps came into existence during the Sunga times and they also migrated to Rajputana. The *Īamathas* and the *Sālanāyanas* are also supposed to have been founded in the closing and weak period of the Mauryas.¹ The *Kukuras* and the *Sudras* remained in their original homes in the Punjab and the *Vrishnis* are found in Mathura where they lived as of old. Jayaswal has succeeded in rescuing the names of a number of such states but it is evident that the republican and aristocratic states were very large in number and scattered over the whole country and they passed through various changes in constitution. The non-monarchical states disappear in the 5th century A.D. and for this perhaps the Imperial Guptas were mainly responsible.

It is absolutely certain that these non-monarchical states or at least many of them issued coins when the new invention came into existence in this country perhaps early in the 8th century B.C.¹ But the earlier coins were of the punch-marked variety. So it is not possible to ascribe these coins with symbols impressed on them to the different republican or aristocratic states. If we could identify these symbols which served as emblems or insignias of the different states a correct identification of the coins would be possible. But the data available are not sufficient to identify the old punch-marked coins issued by the tribal states. Even when the system of die-struck coins with legends on them came into use some of the tribes refrained from adopting the innovation. The Madras were the contemporaries of Samudragupta but they left no inscribed coins. We cannot therefore expect to identify all the tribal coins even of the latest period.

The Tribes and Peoples with non-monarchical constitutions which issued inscribed coins and about whose identity there is absolutely no doubt are the following—the *Ārjunayanas*, *Aśvakas*, *Audumbaras*, *Kulūtas*, *Kunindas*, *Maharaja Janapada*, *Malavas*, *Nagas*, *Sibis*, *Rajanya Janapada*, *Vimakas*, *Vrishnis*, *Uddehikas*, and the *Yaudheyas*. In the case of the *Vimakas*, their coins only testify as to their existence; we have no reference to them elsewhere and this is the only source of information about them. A discussion about the tribal coins of die-struck variety might enable us to identify their punch-marked coins also, as a result of the recognition of their special symbols.

The forms of the coin legends incidentally point to their political organisation. Some of the republics issued coins in the name of the *Gana* e.g. the *Yaudheyas*, the *Mālavas*, the *Ārjunāyanas* and others. Some of the *Yaudheya* coins were

¹ S. K. Chakraborty—A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics Chapter II

issued in the name of the *Gana* and then *Mantra dharas*¹ or the Executive Council. The *Vṛishni* coins were perhaps issued in the name of the *Rajanya* and the *Gana*. Jayaswal has determined the 'constitutional significance of the word *Rājanva*' and takes it to mean 'the leaders of the families consecrated to rulership' among the *Vṛishnis* who had perhaps an aristocratic constitution. There is nothing improbable in the issue of coins by the republican states in the names of their executive heads e.g. *Rājanva Mahamitra*, (of the *Rājanva* or President *Mahāmītra*)² and such others.

THE WEIGHT SYSTEMS

The punch marked coins of copper and silver are the oldest coins of this country. These are based upon two weight systems—one for silver, the *Puranas* or *Dharanas*, and the other for copper, the *Kārshāpana*,³ both however dependent upon the *ratī* or *ratīṭila* 'the red and black berry of the *Guñja* plant' also known as *Kṛishnala* or the 'black'.⁴ The silver *Purana* weighs 32 *ratīs* while the copper *Kārshāpana* was of 80 *ratīs* and these coins had their sub multiples—the *ardha*, *pāda* and so on. The *Purāna* is equated to 56 and a *Kārshapana* to 140 grams by Prof. Bhandarkar.⁵ The extant coins however fall far short of the standard weight and this will be evident from a comparison of the weights of the coins catalogued by V. Smith.⁶ In the case of the copper coins the variation from the standard weight seems to be greater than in the case of the silver ones. In determining the amount of variation from the standard weight, we have to grapple with some uncertain factors. First of all the weight of the *ratī* is not fixed. It is the seed of a tree and the ripe fruits are sure to vary in size and weight. As a matter of fact some of the scholars who took the trouble of weighing a large number of ripe *Guñja* seeds arrived at different averages. Cunningham takes a *ratī* as equal to 1.83 gr., Elliot as 1.68 gr., Smith as 1.825 while Bhandarkar equates a *ratī* to 1.75 gr.⁷, it is likely that the *ratī* weight was not the same throughout the country. Moreover we have to take into account the wear and tear to which the coins were subjected throughout the centuries that they were in circulation, the corroding influence

¹ J.H.P. I, pp. 40, 83, 151, 181

² *Ibid.*, p. 160

Cunningham, Sir A.—Coins of Ancient India, p. 69 (pl. IV, figs. 8 and 9)

³ Chakraborty, S. K.—A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics, Chapter III—'Weights and Coin Denominations'

⁴ Cunningham, Sir A.—Coins of Ancient India, p. 45

⁵ Bhandarkar, D. R.—Ancient Indian Numismatics, p. 212

⁶ Smith, V. A.—Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum, pp. 136–142

⁷ Chakraborty, S. K.—A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics, p. 51

of earth and climate and the inveterate habit of clipping a vice which was very prevalent before the introduction of milled edge to the coins in recent times. It is difficult however to determine upon the percentage of variation that must be allowed for the different factors but the cumulative result is a marked difference from the standard weight which seems to be greater in the case of copper. Cunningham took 800 punch marked silver coins from all parts of India and found the average weight as upwards of 47 grains that is a loss of 9 grains taking 56 grains as the standard weight of a Purana (or 19 p c). He also hazards that the average loss of these punch marked coins was not more than one grain and a half in a century¹ if these coins are taken to be in circulation for 600 years from 450 B C to 150 A D. But his conclusion is vitiated as it is impossible to take for all these coins a life of 600 years some of them might be recent issues minted just before the punch marked coinage went out of use. So Cunningham's estimate of loss seems to be the lowest for the silver coins actually the loss must have been much greater while in the case of the copper coins taking into account the nature of the metal itself the loss must have been heavier. The conclusion therefore that we cannot expect the extant coins to be exactly of the standard weight whether of indigenous or foreign origin is well attested and admits of no doubt but the greater the variation from the standard weight the less reliable are our conclusions about the identification of the weight standard.

A new standard weight was introduced by the Persians with their occupation of the Punjab by Darius I Hystaspes. His gold coins the *Darics* weighed about 130 grs and the silver coins of the Persian Empire the *sigloi* were equated to 86.45 grs.² Very few gold *Darics* came to this country but the silver *sigloi* came to this country in the course of commerce in comparatively large numbers. India though a producer of the precious metal had no gold coinage before the Kushanas and the difference in the price ratio between gold and silver in India as compared with the West facilitated the export of gold from India and made it highly profitable to bring in silver either in specie or in coins from outside.³ The Athenian owls the Seleucidan coins and their Indian imitations were based upon the Attic drachm of 67.5 grains.⁴ The multiples of the drachm were the tetradrachm didrachm and the sub multiples were the tetrobol diobol trihemibol and the obol. The Graeco Bactrian kings also adopted the Attic standard and their coinage was based upon the Attic drachm of 67.5 grs. But the later Indo Greek kings gradually swung on to the Persian standard and gave up the

¹ Cunningham S r A — Coins of Ancient India p 50

² Cambridge History of India Vol I pp 342-44

³ Ibid p 343

⁴ Ibid p 387

Attic weight standard¹ Hecleus was the first to adopt the new standard and he as also his successors Apollodotus and Antialcidas used both the Attic and Indo Persian standards. The later Greek princes used only the Indo Persian Standard a step which cannot be satisfactorily explained. The argument is put forward by Gardner that the change was due to the change in the relative value of the two metals gold and silver but this is not a cogent reason. Von Sallet regards it as reduced from the Attic standard². The acceptance of the new standard was perhaps facilitated by the fact that the region where the Indo Greek kings ruled had been habituated to the Persian standard when it was under Persian domination. The weight of the extant drachms of the Indo Persian standard naturally varies but there is no doubt that it was substantially the half of a siglos of 86.45 grams or perhaps a little less. None of the hemi drachms of the Indo Greek kings in the Indian Museum exceed 40 grams in weight. One coin of Antimachus II Nil ephoros weighs 39.8 grs³ another coin of the same king in fine condition weighs 37.1 grs⁴. Of Nahrinas coins in the British Museum of the same standard weight the heaviest weighs 39.3 and the lightest 25.5 grs⁵. So it is practically certain that the Indo Persian standard was a little less than the pure Persian standard and 40 grams may be approximately taken to be the maximum weight of these hemi drachms of the Indo Greek rulers and those Indian states or tribes or foreign rulers who followed in their wake. However the influence of the Indo Greek kings was so great that their hemi drachm of Indo Persian standard was not only adopted by the people in the western half of Hindustan but also by the Western Satraps of Saurashtra and Malwa and Rajjubala the satrap of Mathura.

Of the tribal states the Audumbaras Kunindas Vimalas Vrishnis and the Yaudhevas used silver coins. The Audumbara coin of Dharaghosha (C. C. A. I. p. 67) weighs 37.5 grams. The eight Kuninda coins in Smith's catalogue vary in weight from 30.8 to 34.2 the Vrishni coin has a weight of 3.2 grams while the weight of the Yaudheya coins in Cunningham's collection is only 26 grams much below the average. However there is no doubt that these tribal silver coins are based upon the Indo Persian standard weight and not on the indigenous weight system of the Puranas or Dharinas. As regards the copper coins the identification of the weight standard is exceedingly difficult and in some cases practically impossible. The copper coins may be divided into two sections those of the monometallic tribes and those of

¹ Rapson E. J. — Indian Coins p. 6

² *Ib.* p. 3

³ Smith — Catalogue of Coins in I. M. p. 29 (No. 19)

⁴ *Ib.* p. 29 (No. 1)

⁵ Rapson E. J. — Catalogue of Coins of the Anihra Dynasty etc

people who adopted bimetallism the two classes being influenced by different monetary principles. Monometallism issues stand apart by themselves but in the case of bimetallism variations in the relative value of the two metals introduce certain complications in working the monetary system. In India the monometallism of copper can be regarded as more natural than that of silver not only because the white metal was rarer and imported from abroad¹ but because copper seems to have been coined earlier in India. Even copper appears to have fetched a good value in the beginning, but the advent of silver in larger quantities particularly after the introduction of foreign coinage under the Persian, Indo-Greek and Parthian influence threw copper to a subordinate position.

The Ārjunayanas, Śvākas, Kulutas, Mahārāja Janapada, Rajanya Janapada, Sibis, Uddehikas, Nāgas and Malavas issued copper coins only. If any one of them had silver issues these have not yet been discovered. It is evident that some of these tribes followed the traditional weight standard of the Karshapana of 80 ratas for copper coins and the variation in weight of the extant coins may be explained as due to the variation in the weight of the rata in the different parts of the country. The Aśvaka coin in Smith's catalogue (No. 13 p. 107) weighs 146.4 grs. and the other one reproduced by Cunningham weighs 147 grs. So it is clear that they are Karshapanas of 80 ratas. The actual weight might have been a little more and proves the rata to be a little heavy. The two Ārjunayana coins in Smith's catalogue weigh 61.3 and 14.8—the heavier is evidently a Half Karshapana and the lighter is one eighth Karshapana or Dva Masala. But there can be no doubt that the Sibis had a different weight standard. And of the ten specimens one has a weight of 18 grams and the others weigh from 63 to 84 grs. The 4 Rajanya coins of pure copper in Smith's catalogue weigh 57.5, 50.4, 79 and 76 grs. and the weights of the 4 other brass or pale bronze coins of this tribe are 22.4, 33.4, 34.5 and 68.2 grs. consequently these coins cannot be ascribed to the system based upon the indigenous weight standard e.g. Karshapana of 80 ratas. How much alloy was introduced in the brass pieces and what was the relative value of the metals we are not in a position to determine without the chemical examination of the contents. We have therefore no data to come to any positive and final conclusion about the identity of the weight standard adopted by the Sibis, the Rajanyas and also of the Malavas and Nagas. But a comparison of the weights of the Malava and Naga coins raises a strong presumption that there is some affinity, if not identity, in the weight systems adopted by these two peoples. Most of

¹ Cunningham S. R. A.—Coins of Ancient India p. 30

² Chakraborty S. R.—A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics pp. 76-78

the coins of the Nagas are very small and the weight varies from 6.3 to 26.2 grs. One coin (No. 15—Smith's catalogue) is unusually thick and weighs 42 grs. If we take the heaviest Naga coin of 42 grs. to be of standard weight then it is possible to arrange the other specimens as its sub multiples—three fourth, half and one fourth—in every case the diminution due to wear and tear etc. being left out of consideration. The weight of 42 grs. is almost that of the silver hemi drachms. Consequently it appears likely that these copper coins were made equal in weight to that of the silver coins on purpose and an attempt was made to facilitate the interchange of the copper coins with the silver ones from outside—so many copper coins for one silver coin fixed according to the market ratio of the two metals. The Malava coins are smaller still—the weight ranges from 1.7 to 40.3 grs. The coin No. 106 in Smith's catalogue is the smallest in the collection and Malava coins are among the most curious and enigmatical. It is impossible to arrange these coins according to any weight system and it is almost sure that the same weight system was not adhered to throughout the period these coins were in circulation. The standard must have varied for the different periods and it might have been due to the change in the relative value of copper and silver. However we have no sufficient data to come to any definite conclusion though we should always keep in mind the statement that the various systems of weight used in India combine uniformity of scale with immense variations in the weight of units.¹

The Audumbaras, the Kunindas and the Yaudheyas had the bimetallic system of silver and copper. The Vimalas and Vishnus perhaps had the same system but up to this time only silver coins of these two tribes have been discovered. The copper coins in the case of the bimetallic tribes may be taken to be token coins. But in ancient times the intrinsic and the face value of the coins must have been almost identical otherwise a great scope would be given to the forgers to enrich themselves. When we consider the ease with which the ancient coins could be manipulated it would have been not only foolish but highly detrimental to trade and commerce to allow any scope to dishonest persons to secure undue gains. Consequently the weight of the token coins must vary with the variation in the relative price of the two metals silver and copper.

In the first quarter of the 2nd century A.D. the ratio between gold and silver was 1:10² and there is no reason to believe that the ratio between silver and copper was 1:57².

¹ Rapson, E. J.—Catalogue of Coins of the Kushan Dynasty, etc.
p. CLXXXI—quoted from the Imperial Gazetteer of India.

² Ibid. p. CLXXXI.

³ Chakraborty S. K.—A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics
p. 8.

the average weight of the 8 silver coins of the Kunindas in Smith's catalogue is 32.6, while No 12, a brass coin weighs 177 grs and a copper coin No 13 weighs 144 grs. We know that the copper coins suffer more from wear and tear and we may take the copper coin approximately 5 times in weight and consequently equal in value to the contemporaneous silver hemi drachms. So the inference that the copper coins were equal in value to the standard silver coin may be accepted and the other copper coins of lesser weight must be considered to be its sub multiples. We know that the price of copper relative to silver cannot remain constant it must vary with the variation in the ratio. As time went on copper must be cheaper and more and more copper would be needed to equate a copper coin to the standard silver coin of constant weight. So we can expect the later copper coins to be heavier in weight.

The Chatraśvara type copper coins of the Kunindas (Smith—p 170) are surely much later than the Amoghabhūti type coins which were in circulation from 150 B.C. to 100 A.D. The coin No 36 (Smith's catalogue) weighs 221.6 and another in Cunningham's collection (Pl V fig 3, p 72) is 291 grs in weight. If we take 291 grs to be the unit then the other is a 3/4th piece. It appears that by this time the Kunindas gave up the bimetallic system and struck to one metal viz copper the consequent difficulty was obviated by increasing the weight of the coins, which was more than double the original standard (Smith No 13 and Cunningham, Pl V, fig 3).

The earliest class of Yaudheya coins—the Bull Elephant Type—dates from the 'beginning of the Christian Era', when the Yaudheyas were habituated to the monometallism of copper. The heaviest of the 7 coins in Smith's catalogue (No 4) weighs 71.1 grs and in Cunningham's collection the heaviest was also 70 grs. So these two coins must be identified as Half Kārshāpanas of 40 ratis each and the other coins may be deemed to be based upon the same standard. Bimetallism was introduced with the Brahmanyadeva type coins of the 2nd century A.D. These are later than the Amoghabhūti type coins of the Kunindas. The silver hemi drachm (Cunningham, Pl VI, fig 9) of the Yaudheyas weighs only 26 grs and was lighter than the lightest Kuninda coin in Smith's catalogue (i.e. 30.8 grs). The Yaudheya copper coins are however comparatively heavy, the heaviest No 15 (Smith's cat.) weighs 178.5 grs. If this copper coin be equated to the silver hemi drachm of 26 grs, the ratio between silver and copper is found to be 1 : 6.8 which in the circumstances is the most reasonable conclusion. This increase in weight is continued in the copper Yaudheya coins of the Warrior type of the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. But as no silver coin of this type has yet been discovered, the conclusion is irresistible that like the Kunindas the Yaudheyas also, after the 2nd century A.D. fell off from silver. It thus appears that the

Kunindas and the Yaudheyas who were already habituated to the bimetallism of silver and copper reverted to the older practice of issuing only in copper. This might be due to the paucity of silver and consequent increase in its price. But a consideration of the monetary condition of the time suggests another explanation which is plausible. The Kushan Emperors introduced the gold coinage in India and this was later adopted by the Imperial Guptas. So it is evident that from the second century India was being gradually acclimatised to the new system and the bimetallism of gold and copper was prevalent in the imperial territories. The poor tribal states were not rich enough to take up gold coinage in imitation of the Imperial coinage and the continuance of silver was a great hindrance and added an element of complexity to the merchants and others who had monetary transactions outside the individual tribal areas. So the simplest and the most convenient thing for them was to drop silver and to stick to copper which could be readily exchanged with the copper issues of the Kushans or linked up with the gold coinage of the Imperial power.

THE METALS

Various metals and their alloys were used for the purpose of coinage. In ancient India the earliest coins were of copper¹ but later on silver was also requisitioned for the purpose. Copper is found in ores throughout the country, though it is no longer extensively produced in India. But silver generally came from abroad and the production of this metal was very small indeed. Small quantities have been found though 'associated with lead in Kulu and Manbhum and at Deogurh in Santal Parganā'.² There is however no doubt that India had to depend mainly on foreign lands for her supply of silver. This is referred to in the *Periplus*³, and the relative price of silver was always high as compared with the West. The mint ratio between gold and silver in the Persian Empire was 1 : 133 while in India the ratio was 1 : 8.⁴ This naturally encouraged the importation of silver.

The tribal states naturally based their coinage on copper. Some of them—the Ārunāyanas, Aśvakas, Kulutas, Sibis, Uddehikas, Rajnyas, Nagas, Malavas and the Mahārāja Janapada confined themselves to copper only, and did not proceed to bimetallism, while the Audumbaras, the Kunindas and

¹ 'The most ancient Indian coins I believe are copper'—Smith's Catalogue p 133

² Elliot Sir Walter—Coins of Southern India p 51 (footnote No 1)

³ Schoff W H—The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea pp 38 42 44 and 287

⁴ Cambridge History of India Vol I p 343

the Yaudheyas used both the metals side by side. The coins of the Vishnvis and the Vimakras are only in silver but the coins of these tribes are very rare and it may be that their coins in copper have not yet been discovered or identified. It is not possible that the Vishnvis and the Vimalas had only silver coins while all the neighbouring tribes and states had copper coins alone or luled with silver. A monometallism of silver therefore seems to be economically unsound and I have a strong suspicion that the Vishnvis and Vimakras had also a bimetallism of silver and copper though our doubts can only be set at rest by new discoveries. It is however well known that in ancient India silver and copper coinages were often independent of each other and circulated in different districts. A copper currency was not necessarily regarded as merely auxiliary to silver currency but a copper standard prevailed in some districts as a silver standard prevailed in others.¹

A certain amount of alloy is needed in the manufacture of coins. Kautilya lays down that silver coins should be manufactured with 1/8 (31 2/3 p.c.) of alloy and the copper coins with 1/4 (padajivam) i.e. 25 p.c. of alloy.² Cunningham however found by examining 113 silver Karshapanas³ that the alloy varied from 13.8 to 24.8. The amount of alloy perhaps depended upon the comparative prosperity of the state or tribe. The earliest Indian coins of silver the Puranas or Dharanas contained about 90 p.c. of alloy.⁴ The easiest means of debasing the coinage is to increase the amount of alloy and this is generally due to the economic exigencies of the time (as in the reign of Shandagupta) or from the selfish greed of the ruling prince. But a consideration of the evil effects of debasement of coinage on trade would act as a check on the evil propensities of a prince.

The three coins from Almora have been ascribed by Prof. Rapson to a branch of the Kunindas. They appear to be of some alloy of silver and are heavier than any other Indian coins. The increase in weight was perhaps necessitated by the large amount of alloy in these coins and it may be that the issuing authority did not take the trouble of purifying the metal or was unable to do so. Our ignorance of the amount of alloy and the ingredients used for the purpose makes it impossible for us to start a comparison between the coins of the different tribes and the coins of the same tribe in the different periods of its monetary history with a view to come to any conclusion about their economic condition. The different articles which were used as alloys for silver coins were according to

¹ Rapson—Cat of Indian Coins—Andhras etc p CLXXIX.

² Kautilya's Arthashastra (trans. by Shamasastry) pp 98, 100 and 110.

³ Bhanjalkar—Ancient Indian Numismatics p 157.

⁴ Smith's Catalogue p 133.

⁵ Rapson—Indian Coins p 10.

Kautilya¹ tamra (copper) tikshna (iron) trapu (tin) sisra (lead) and anjana (antimony). The commentator of Kautilya's Arthashastra lays down that the alloy for copper should be made up of 4 parts of silver eleven parts of copper and one part of tikshna or any other metal.² But it is doubtful whether silver was used for the purpose. It will only increase the value of the copper coin and the purpose might be as well served by other cheaper ingredients like tin etc. Brass is an alloy of copper and zinc usually in the proportion of 2 : 1 or 4 : 3 and a cheap alloy of copper and tin is kansa or bell metal much used in this country. A few specimens included in Smith's catalogue—viz one Audumbara coin (No 1) six Kuninda coins are of brass and four other Rajanya coins are either brass or pale bronze. We are not in a position to determine the relative purity of the coins of copper or silver and their alloys and a chemical analysis of the contents of the Ancient Indian Coins is of urgent necessity for the Numismatists.

SHAPE SIZE AND THE SYSTEM OF MANUFACTURE

The punch marked coins are of various shapes and sizes. There is uniformity in one point only viz an attempt was made to approximate them to the standard weight. In shape they were very irregular—polygonal rectangular square circular and even triangular and generally no attempts were made to have the sides straight or regular. This was due to the system of manufacture. A hammered sheet was subdivided into strips and adjusted to the proper weight sometimes by clipping the sides.³ As pointed out by Smith the cutting of circular blanks from a metal sheet was more troublesome than cutting off short pieces of rectangular shape and they are evidently simplest in form. It is therefore clear that practically no attention was paid to the shape of the coins and their size would vary according to the thickness of the metal sheet. Some of the copper pieces however might have been manufactured from cast blanks. Symbols were then punched into the blanks and the devices were incised and not in relief and as a result stood wear well and the coins remained long in circulation.

In the West the Lydians were the first inventors of coinage.⁴ They began with globules or buttons of fused metal which were impressed with the rude unengraved punches between which the mallet was placed to receive the blow of the hammer. The

¹ Kautilya—Arthashastra (trans. by Shamastry) pp 93 103 107 and 110

² Kautilya—Arthashastra (trans. by Shamastry) pp 9 103 107 and 110

³ Wistecroft R. B.—The Pre Mohammedan Coinage of North Western India p 40

⁴ MacDonald C.—The Evolution of Coinage p 6

Grecks of Asia Minor introduced the next improvement when they substituted the engraved die for the primitive punches.¹ The Indians became gradually familiar with the western coins and by the 5th century B.C. they imitated the Gorgon Type coins of Persia (cf. the Rakshasa Type coins of Taxila)² and the Athenian owls and the Persian sigloi came to India in the course of commerce.³ Whether the Indians evolved the system of dies independent of foreigners or adopted it from foreign countries is a subject of controversy among the numismatists.⁴ There is no reason why the Indians should not have hit upon this device in the course of evolutionary processes as in the West though it is clear that in the Punjab region the influence of the foreign system must have been considerable. Moreover no general statement can be made about the monetary condition of the whole country for we find that even under the Mauryas the punch marked system prevailed in the eastern part of the country while in the Taxila region the die system had contemporaneously come into use. So we can very well infer that in some parts of the country such as the Punjab it was under the influence of the foreign coinage that the die system replaced the older practice of punching the coins. By the time the Northern Indian Tribes began to issue coins with regular devices and occasionally with inscriptions they had definitely adopted the die system. At first the device was on one side only but gradually the double die system came into vogue. The dies were at first square or rectangular the traditional shape of the indigenous Indian coins. Gradually however with the introduction of the circular shape for the coins the dies also were shaped accordingly. This will be evident by a comparison of the two Asvaka coins in Cunningham's Plate II figs 14 and 17.

The blanks were prepared either by casting the metal pieces or by hammering them which were then die struck either on one side or both. Another practice was to have the coins wholly cast the devices being sunk in the moulds. In the Kuninda coins we find the specimens of all the three processes. The general practice however was to have the coins die struck on hammered blanks. At first however the device did not cover the whole face of the coin and 'the impress of the die is enclosed in a deep incuse square or circle' (cf. the Asvaka coins Nos 9 10 13 and 14—Pl II Cunningham)⁵. This is due to the fact that the coins were struck with dies in a semi molten condition. It

¹ Head B V—Coins of the Ancients p 1

² Chakraborty S K—A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics p 21

³ *Cambridge History of India* Vol I pp 343 386 390

⁴ Bhandarkar D R—Ancient Indian Numismatics p 40

⁵ Rapson E J—Indian Coins p 14

is sometimes difficult to recognise the exact system of manufacture as regards individual coins

Casting was a very old practice in India dating from the 5th century B C ¹ and it was generally employed when the alloy was very poor and the blanks could not stand the shock of being struck by the hammer. The moulds as in other countries were perhaps of iron stone, or in most cases terracotta, the latter having been found in several excavations. Sometimes a number of coins were manufactured at a single casting, the different forms being joined 'by narrow channels for the passage of the heated metal' ² The ancient dies were perhaps of bronze, iron or steel like those of the Greek or Roman times and it is evident that the two types on the two sides of the same coin are not parallel to each other but lie at an angle to one another. This proves that the two dies were not held together in a hinge.

The chief means of depreciating the coinage was to increase the amount of alloy by the state, thereby bringing down the real value below the face value. The coins of brass or pale bronze, many specimens of which are included (in Smith's catalogue) among the Rajanya and Kuninda coins, are perhaps the result of a conscious attempt at depreciation. But this practice could easily be detected and a clever device was sometimes employed viz. of plating the coins. Copper coins were dipped in silver and passed off as silver coins. It is doubtful whether this device was adopted by the state, or dishonest forgers were guilty of such a practice. This was a very easy method of deception but the old bankers always tested the coins by striking them with a sharp piece of metal. As a result many coins are found covered with shroff marks which interfere with the correct reading of the legends or proper identification of the type. This practice seems to have been very prevalent during the Pathan period.

The *Āśvaka* coins and a specimen of the *Uddekha* coins are single die struck, the rev. being blank, consequently these are likely to be older than the other tribal coins which were double die struck. This new system of manufacture gradually stereotyped the shape of the coins as circular. The traditional rectangular shape gave place to the circular, the angular corners being always an inconvenience. The transition is exemplified by the specimens of the *Āśvaka* coins. The earlier ones (Nos 9, 11 and 14) are rectangular or roughly square, while the latest (No 17, Cunningham, Pl II) is circular. The coins of the *Audumbaras*, the *Kulūtas*, the *Kunindas* and their branch located near Almora, the *Sibis*, the *Vimākas*, the *Vṛishnis*, the *Uddekhas*, the *Rajanyas*, the *Māhārāja Janapada*, the *Nagas* and the *Yaudheyas* issued circular coins only. The *Mālavas*

¹ Brown, C J —The Coins of India p 18

² Cunningham Sir A —Coins of Ancient India Pl I figs 24 and 2,

however could not shake off their fascination for the rectangular or square shape. They issued circular coins side by side with rectangular ones of a very irregular shape. The square shape however now and then asserted itself even up to the late Muslim times. We have square coins of the Malwa Sultans of Shah Jahan and of Rajeśwara King of Assam in the 18th century A D (1751 1769 A D). But the comparative ease with which the circular coins were manufactured under the die system gradually led to the supplanting of the older shape and the commonest shape for coins became circular in India also. The Malavas had some circular coins too (Smith's catalogue—Pl XX and XXI) but it is evident that generally they did not care much about regularity of shape (cf Pl XX Nos 15 16 17 and 24 and Pl XXI Nos 2 3 4 etc).

The size of the coins was not uniform. The standard coins were generally 6 to 7 inch in diameter except those of the Malavas and the Nagas. The three Arjunayana coins (C CAI p 83 and S CCIM p 166) are 6 to 65 and 67 in diameter the circular Aśvaka coin in Smith's catalogue has a diameter of 9 inch and the Audumbara coins varied from 6 to 7 to the silver coin (Cunningham Pl IV fig 1) had a diameter of 7 inch. The Kuluta coin (Cunningham Pl IV fig 14) is 75. The silver coins of the Kunindas varied from 6 to 75 inch while the copper coins from 6 to 112 inch. Nos 13 and 36 in Smith's catalogue are the largest pieces one being 112 the biggest in the collection and the other of Chatresvara type 101 inch in diameter. The coin of the Mahariya Janapada (Cunningham Pl IV fig 11) has a diameter of 75 inch while that of the Vimalas (Cunningham Pl IV fig 6) is 7. The Vrishni coin (Cunningham Pl IV fig 15) is 6. The Rajanya coins had a diameter from 65 to 83. The Yaudheya coins are generally big in shape. The Bull Elephant type coins of the Yaudheyas in Smith's catalogue are 7 to 8 inch the Brahmanya type from 97 to 112 inch and the latest of the Yaudheya coins are generally big from 9 to 105 (Smith No 25). It therefore appears that the later coins are generally bigger in shape and heavier in weight. The coins of the Malavas and the Nagas however stand by themselves. The Naga coins in Smith's catalogue varied in size from 3 to 45 inch only. The Malava coins hold the record for their diminutive size and it is strange how they remained in circulation for centuries. These coins were 'confined to Nagar and the immediate neighbourhood' and testify to the low economic condition of the people and perhaps want of commercial intercourse with the neighbouring peoples and tribes. Some of the coins are mediocre in size e.g. No 3 in Smith's catalogue is 62 in diameter but the vast majority are very small and are generally only $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch

¹ Smith, V A.—Catalogue of Coins in I M p 162

One of the Mālava coins in the Indian Museum in Calcutta is only .2 inch in diameter and 1.7 grs. in weight and 'it may claim the honour of being one of the smallest coins in the world'.¹

deva) in Avodhya *Upatilyā* in Mathurā and *Tripuri* (in modern Tewar) The earliest inscribed coin from Ujjain dates from the 2nd century B C the legend being *Ujjenīye*— of Ujjain the name of the city in its Prakrit form So it is evident that legends began to appear in Indian coins in the 4th century B C and became common in the 3rd century B C In this connection the question arises whether the practice was indigenous or of foreign origin Prof Rapson is of opinion that legends on Indian coins appear as the result of Greek influence in the north west ¹ We know that the Athenian Seleucid and Bactrian coins came to this country in the course of commerce and coins of Alexander and Philip Arrhidaeus* have been excavated recently at Taxila When we take this in connection with the fact that the mighty Maurya Emperors went on with the traditional system of punch marked coins without inscriptions a strong presumption naturally arises that they looked upon inscribed coins as a foreign innovation Prof Rapson thus seems to be substantially correct in taking the inscriptions on Indian coins as due to foreign influence

The legends assume various forms—(a) genitive of a tribal or denominational (b) personal or (c) place name and the reference is to the nation or tribe the king or the place named On rare occasions the reference is undoubtedly to the Type or device To the first class pertain the following legends—*Āryuna janana* (of the Āryunayanas) *Maharaja Janapadasa* (of Mahārāja Janapada) *Malavaganasya* (of the Malava gṇa) *Malavanim* (of the Malavas) *Rajajña Janapadasa* (of the Rājanya Janapada) *Yodheyana* i e Yaudheyānam (of the Yaudheyas) *Olmbarisa* (of the Audumbaras) etc In some cases we have a reference to the chief town of the tribe e g *Majhimikaya Sibi Janapadasa* (of the tribe of the Sibis of Madhyamika) or a reference to the province where they dwelt e g *Bhupadhanusla* (of the Lord of the Desert) in the Yaudheya coins pointing out the region where the tribe was located In the second class we have the legends—*Sivadatasā* (of Sivadatta) *Rano Ajamitrasa* (of king Ajamitra) *Rāja Mahamitrasa* (of king Mahamitra) *Magajasā* (abb for Mahārāja Gajasa (of Mahārāja Guj)) *Malārāja Śrī Deva Nagasja* (of Mahārāja Deva Nagr) etc To the third class we may relegate such legends as—*Kadasa* (of Kadra) *Upagodasa* (of Upagauda) *Ujjenīye* (of Ujjain) etc Though the ordinary practice is to have the tribal personal or place names in the genitive there are many cases where the names are in the nominative e g tribal name—*Malaya Malaya* or *Malava* personal names—*Mala* perhaps the name of a king—the founder of the Malava tribe the names of the Malava kings or chiefs—*Bhāpamyana* or *Bhampayana* *Iama* or *Mava*

¹ Cambridge History of India Vol I p 61

² Archaeological Survey of India 1924 25 pp 47 and 48

Jamapaya, *Paya*, *Mapaka* (Mahārāja Paka ?) *Magachha* (Maharaja Gachha ?) and others, and Maharaja *Sri Ganendra* of the Nāgas etc., place names—*Tripura* and others. In the case of the Uddehikas the legend is peculiar, the prince of the tribe is referred to by a noun which is ultimately derived from the tribal name e.g. *Udehaki* (the Prince of the Uddehikas). The legend is thus connected with the coin 'in some vague sort of way'. While ordinarily we find the inscription by the side of the type in the case of the Mālavas perhaps for want of space, due to the small size of Malava coins the legends appear on one side, and the Type on the other. In some of the coins of the Aśvakas and the Yaudheyas, the legends directly refer to the coins themselves e.g. *Valasiaka* meaning the coin (vaṭa) of the Asvakas or in the Yaudheya coins—*Brahmanyaderasya drama* (the drama or coin of Brahmanyadeva) i.e. dedicated to the tribal god Karttikeya, whose figure serves as the type and appears by the side of the inscription.

The Audumbaras, the Kulutas, the Kunindas the Vimakas and the Vrishnis had their tribal names as well as the names of the ruling princes side by side in the legends e.g. the Audumbara legend—'*Mahaderasa Raṇa Dharaghoshasa Odumbarasa*', the names of the two kings Rudradasa and Sivadasa spelt as Rudradasa and Sivadasa are introduced in the legends without any change. The Kuluta inscription is *Rajna Kolutasya Virayasasya* (of king Viravaśas the Koluta) the reference might be to the coin or the Wheel Type by its side. Similar might be the interpretation of the Kuninda inscription which we may take to refer to the coin or the Type—*Amaghabhutasa maharajasa rajna Kunadasa*' (coin of Amoghabhuti Maharaja Rāja of the Kunindas). The Vrishnis had a peculiar legend—*Vrishni Rajajna ganasya tratarasya* (of the Vrishni Rajanya (and) Gana—the Protector of the country—Jayaswal)¹. Here the head of the state is not referred to by name but by the official title *Rajanya*. The descriptive word *tratarasya* is rather unique perhaps borrowed from the legends of some of the Indo Greek kings who took the title of Soter—Apollodotos Diodotus II Diomedes, Dionisios Hermaios Minander and Nikias. In the coins of Diomedes the reverse legend in Kharoshthi is *Maharajasa tratarasa Diyamedasa*² or *Maharajasa tratarasa Apaladatas*³ in the coins of Apollodotos, and similar such legends of other kings who were perhaps contemporaries with the Vrishnis.

In some cases the legends refer to the patron saint or the national god whose figures appear by the side of the inscriptions. In one class of the Audumbara coins, we have the full legend and across the field *Viśvamitra* (Viśvāmitra) which refers

¹ JRAS 1900 p. 416 (A. V. Bergny) JHP I p. 157

² Smith V A—Catalogue of Coins in I M., p. 16

³ *Ib id.* p. 18

to the standing figure of the Rishi with right hand raised and the left resting on the waist. Evidently Viswamitra was the patron saint of the Audumbaras. There are also some coins which are dedicated to the national gods by the tribes concerned. The Elephant and Bull Type coins of the Audumbaras have the legend— *Bhagarato Mahadevasa Rajarajasa* — in the name of the Almighty Mahadeva the king of kings. The Chatresvara Type coins of the Kunindas are dedicated to the national god Mahadeva in the form of Chatresvara. On the *obv* we have Śiva facing with Trisul in right hand and leopard skin hanging from the left arm and Brahmi legend *Bhagarata Chatresvara Mahatmanah* — of the Almighty Mahadeva (Chatresvara) the great souled there being evident connection between the legend and the Type. The Yaudheyas were warriors per excellence and Brahmanyadeva or Karttikeya the War god was taken by them as their national god and some of their coins were dedicated to him. The Brahmanyadeva Type coins have on the *obv* the six headed god (Karttikeya) standing on lotus facing with left hand on hip and right hand raised and a barbed spear on the left the full legend is *Bhagarata śamino Brahmanyaderasya*. Of the Divine Lord Brahmanyadeva. In some specimens *Brahmanyaderasya* is replaced by *Kumarasa* Kumara being another name of Karttikeya and all our doubts about the dedication of these coins to the War god Karttikeya are set at rest. So it is evident that whenever there was any risk of being misunderstood the die engraver added a descriptive title to clear up the point. In Rome and in some Greek cities the statues of divinities had their names attached. The best known example is *Kimon's Arethusa* in the fine Syracusan coins of c 400 B.C. In the tribal coins however we do not meet with the portraits of the ruling chiefs evidently portrait heads had not yet come into use though in the west the heads of the kings were already introduced on the obverse.

Another class of legends are put up on the coins as the mottos of the different tribes—*Arjunayanana Jaya* Victory to the Arjunayanas *Malaranam Jaya* etc *Malaraganasya Jaya* Victory to the Malava gana *Yadhayaganasya jaya* i.e. Yaudheya ganasya jaya or Victory to the Yaudheya gana. In some of the Yaudheya coins occur the numerals *Di* and *Tri* in letters and not in figures. These are supposed to refer specifically to the 2nd and the 3rd clans of the Yaudheyas who were obviously divided into three sections.

When the legends first came into use the coins were generally of the single die variety. Consequently the die engraver had two courses left to him either to put the inscription by the side of the Type or to shift it on the reverse to stand by itself the latter alternative being perhaps the later practice. In the *Aśvaka* coin (Cunningham Pl. II No. 17) the inscription—*Vatasaka* is put horizontally on the left hand side in the place

of one of the Hill Symbols. We find the same practice in the early coins of the 2nd or 3rd century B C e.g. in Mathurā, the coin with the legend, *Upātikyā*, below the *Siastila* Symbol, in the Tripurī coin, the legend—*Tripurī* accompanied by the 3 symbols *Siastila*, River and Hill, in the Upagauda coin, the legend *Upagodasa* with the symbols 'circle' and '*nandipada*'—in all these cases the reverse is blank. In a coin from Eran, occurs the legend alone without any Type, and the arrangement of the letters is peculiar—these are arranged from right to left, and this coin is supposed by some of the scholars to be the oldest inscribed coin in India as the letters in the legend *Dhamapālāsa* are in a very ancient Brāhmī script. The second device is found in a coin from Ujjain of the 2nd century B C—the Elephant on the obv. and the legend on the rev—*Ujjenye* (of Ujjain), the reference might be to the coin or the Elephant which was perhaps the badge of the city. Many such cases occur in the Mālava coins e.g. in No. 13 (Smith's catalogue), the legend covers the obv., and on the rev. occurs a Vase (*loṭa*) in dotted circle. This practice is found in the coins included by Smith in Groups 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6, and also in class B coins, with the names of chiefs on the obv., and on the rev. the Lion, Elephant, Humped Bull, and other Types.

In some cases, the Mālavas divided the legend in two parts and placed them on the two sides of the coins. One part of the legend stood by itself, while on the other side, the second part was accompanied by a Type or Symbols. But in a few cases, there are Types or Symbols on both the sides and the inscription is divided between the two. The coin No. 1 in Smith's catalogue has on the obv. the word *Jaya* and on the rev. *Mālaiānam* accompanied by two symbols, No. 11 has on the obv. Hill symbol and the legend *Jaya*, and on the rev. two symbols with the legend *Mālavana*. The Mālavas were perhaps compelled to adopt this device on account of the small size of the coins, and this will also explain the irregular arrangement of the letters of the inscriptions. Sometimes they are arranged in a circle or in two lines, or two groups of letters are placed on the two sides of the same Type. But on bigger coins the legend is arranged in a circle round the principal Type on the obv. e.g. among the Arjunayanas, the Kunindas (Chatreśvara Type), the Rājanyas, Yaudhevas and others. The Audumbaras, the Kunindas (Amoghabhūti Type) the Kulūtas, the Mahārāja Janapada, the Vimśakas, the Vṛishnis had the same legend on both the sides—in Brāhmī alphabet on one side and in Kharoshthī on the other, and the legends are arranged in a circle round the Types or Symbols. The coins with only legends on both the sides, without any Type or Symbol are very rare—one circular coin is reproduced in Cunningham, Pl. II, No. 21 and rectangular ones in Pl. III, Nos. 8 and 10. While in the first one the same legend occurs on both the sides, in the two others occur the word

Negamā on one side and their names on the other viz *Tahmata* and *Dojaka*

The coins under discussion are not dated, the only means of determining the approximate Chronology being the forms of the letters and the language of the inscriptions. A study of the language and the alphabets used in the legends enables us to determine the approximate chronology of the coins and the rulers and tribes named therein. There is no doubt that the Brāhmī alphabet was in general use throughout the country. This was the alphabet in use among the *Ārjunāyanas*, the *Malavas*, the *Nāgas*, the *Aśvakas*, the *Sibis*, the *Uddehikas* and the *Yaudheyas*. Brahmi accompanied by Kharoshthī on the other side is found among the *Audumbaras*, *Kunindas* (*Amoghabhūti* Type), *Kulūtas*, *Vimakas* and *Vrishnis* while in the coins of the *Rājanya* and *Maharāja Janapada* and some of the *Kuninda* coins, the two alphabets are not used together in the same coin but some have only Kh and others Br. The Indian home of Kh lay in eastern Afghanistan and in the north of the Punjab¹, but it appears side by side with the Br 'as far as Bhawalpur in S W Mathura in the S and Kangra in S E'. It is said to be derived from the Aramaic script² and was introduced in this country perhaps in the 6th century B C when the Punjab was under the Persian Rule. In the third century B C the Asokan inscriptions in the North West region were in Kh. In the meantime the alphabet had been modified and additional sounds to represent the Indian languages had been introduced but the result was not fully satisfactory. This is evident from the bilingual legends of the *Audumbaras* viz *bhugurusa mahaderusa rajaraña*. There is no doubt that the tribes using Kh and Br alphabets simultaneously in their coin legends lived in the border region between the two districts using Br and Kh as their regular alphabets. A Chronological clue is afforded by the Kh legends in the tribal coins. Prof Rapson points out that in the bilingual coins the legends became curtailed with the lapse of time³. At first the Kh inscription is full but it is gradually curtailed, though the Br legend remains complete on the other side. In the *Kulūta tasya Virayāsasya* on the obv is complete, but on the rev occurs only the title *Raña* and the rest of the legend is omitted. A reference to the *Kuninda* coins (*Chatreśvara* Type) shows that by the 2nd century A D, Brahmi asserted itself and by the 3rd century A D Kh fell completely into disuse though recent

¹ Rapson E J—Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty etc p CIV

² *Cambridge History of India* Vol I p 62

³ *JRAS* 1900—Rapson—The *Kulutas* a people of Northern India.

discoveries at Taxila clearly prove that 'it was in use there until at least the middle of the 5th century A.D.'¹

At first the language of the inscriptions was Prākṛit or the popular dialect of the time ; of which the chief characteristic was the avoidance of 'harsh consonantal combinations' e.g.—*Ujeniye*, 'of Ujjain' ; *Vaṭasvaka*, (Aśvakānām Vataḥ) ; *Yodheyana* (Yaudheyānām) ; *Majhimikāya Sibi Janapadasa* ; *Mālavaṇa Jaya*, *Mālavāṇa Jaya* etc. ; *Raṇa Kuṇidasa Amoghabhatisa Maharajasa* and such others. But by the second century A.D., the legends were generally in classical Sanskrit. The change from Prākṛit to Sanskrit is found among the Mālavas and the Yaudheyas. The *Mālavaṇa Jaya* or its variants *Mālavahna Jaya* etc. gave way to *Mālavānām Jaya* or *Yodheyana* is replaced by *Brahmanyadevasya drama* or partially sanskritised form *Yadhayaganasya Jaya*. Legends in correct classical Sanskrit is very rare. The tribes at first put the legends in the popular dialect but gradually adopted classical Sanskrit for the purpose. Mr. Bergny gives some Sanskrit forms for the old Prākṛit ones, found on the coins. But the attempt seems to be an intellectual gymnastics, for it is sure that the classical forms were never in use and the literary language was later than the various forms of Prākṛit used in the legends of the coins. But the linguistic changes have some chronological value and are an additional help in the determination of chronological sequence of the coins under discussion.

THE SYMBOLS.

Prof. Rapson points out that in ancient Indian Numismatics, there is no permanent distinction between Types and Symbols. 'In regard both to their origin and their use they probably had much in common, and the terms are often applied to the same designs according to the relative position of predominance or insignificance which they seem to occupy on a coin'.² The symbols which generally occurred in the punch-marked coins are found repeated in the later coins ; and one of them occupies a prominent place and is taken as the Type ; the others are regarded as symbols.

It is true that 'in their essence they are heraldic',³ but their origin is generally shrouded in mystery. We have two words *Aṅka* and *Lakṣhaṇa* associated with Saṃghas in Pāṇini. Jayaswal takes the *Lakṣhaṇa* to be the *Lāñchhāna* or 'heraldic crest of later Sanskrit', and as a result of his discussion, he takes the *lakṣhaṇa* to be the 'royal' or 'state' mark, and the *aṅka* 'the individual mark' of a prince, and may mean even the legend or

¹ Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 657.

² Rapson E. J.—The Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, etc., p. CLXXV.

³ Macdonald, G.—The Evolution of Coinage, p. 76.

the motto adopted by a ruler'.¹ The *lakshana* is therefore to be taken as the State Symbol and as it occupied the prominent place—the Type while the *anka* which varied with the heads of the State was the individual mark of the ruler and consequently occupied a subordinate position and may be denominated a 'Symbol'. There is no reason to take the legend as the *Inka* though sometimes it might take the place of a Symbol and serve its purpose. The main distinction seems to be that *lakshana* is national and *anka* personal in significance.

In the earlier stage when the punch marked coins were in circulation the symbols impressed upon them had various significance. Mr Walsh after a detailed discussion about the punch marked coins discovered at Patna and Ghoreghat formulates his opinion as follows. It may be suggested to account for a constant group of marks that one mark may represent the state one the reigning king one the place where the coin was struck and perhaps one a religious mark recognising the presiding deity also the master of the mint may have had his mark which would fix his responsibility for the coin and the additional varying marks may have been those of the *Sanghas* village communities in which the coin was current, affixed at the time the *rupiya* or the local tax on it was levied on its admission to circulation in that jurisdiction. And the various and unsystematic punches on the reverse would appear to have been the marks of private shroffs and moneyers through whose hands the coin passed in the course of circulation'.² If we had only a clue to the significance of these symbols we would have been in a position not only to identify the coins and their provenance but also the rulers to whom they are to be ascribed. On occasions however in spite of the obscurity about the origin and significance of the coin symbols it is possible to determine 'whether their use was local dynastic or personal—that is to say, whether they were intended to denote some particular locality, some particular family of rulers or some particular ruler'.³

The significance of all the symbols used cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge, and it is doubtful whether the past will yield up the result so much sought after. But these symbols are of great importance to us 'as authoritative records of the symbolism—religious mythological and astronomical current throughout India for many centuries'.⁴ The number as enumerated by Mr Theobald was more than three hundred and new discoveries have increased it appreciably. So the total is about 400 though one and the same symbol

¹ J HP I pp 43 and 44

² Walsh E H C—Cent Sup JRAS 1924 p 184

³ Rapson E J—The Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty p CLXV

⁴ Smith V A—Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum p 131

might have been represented in different ways in the various coins

Theobald classified the symbols under six heads¹ (I) human figure, (II) implements, arms and works of men including the *stūpa* or *chaitya*, bow and arrow, etc (III) animals, (IV) trees, branches and fruit, (V) symbols connected with solar, planetary or Sivite Worship (VI) miscellaneous and unknown' This classification is however superficial and does not take into account the import or real significance of the devices employed They were the *ankas* or emblems of the different states or tribes but the main point for determination is the reason that led to the adoption of a certain device by a particular people It may be possible in the case of some of the states but in the majority of cases our information is not complete The Udumbara tree in the coins of the Audumbaras is a 'Canting Badge' of the tribe concerned (i.e. a punning allusion to the name of the tribe), the 'Warrior' in the Yaudheya coins represents military prowess, Brahmanyadeva in others was evidently their national God, like Athena in Athens, the Bull or Elephant signifies power, the trident or umbrella denotes empire, or royal dignity, the Vajra or thunderbolt and Spear stood for 'armed might', and so on To unravel the mystery, where it is possible, requires a reference to ancient architecture sculpture and ancient records on stone or copper i.e. epigraphic materials

The 'canting badges' were very common This practice prevailed to some extent in the West Cunningham gives a number of examples in India but many more may be pointed out The punning allusions may be to the (a) state or tribe, (b) the name of the King or ruling chief, or (c) private individuals like mint-masters (a) a calf (Sk. Vatsa) by the Vatsas, an armed soldier (Sk. Yoddhā) by the Yaudheyas Udumbara tree by the Audumbaras a snake (Sk. Ahī) by Ahicchatra etc (b) among the Kings of Panchāla this practice was very popular e.g. the God Agni, a male figure with five rayed head in the coins of Agnumitra the Sun in the coins of Bhanumitra (Sk. Bhānu, the Sun), the image of God Indra in the coins of Indramitra or the constellation Phalguni in the coins of Phalgunumitra, (c) 'the Sun' for Survadās, a 'Snake' for Nāga Sen, and an 'Elephant' for Gay Sinh Bir Deo might have had a 'soldier', Gopal a Bull, and Khajur Varma a 'Palm' tree (Khajur)² Such examples can be easily multiplied

Another class of symbols has to be referred to certain peculiar features of the land to which the coins belonged i.e. a certain Hill, River or Lake The so called *Chaitya* is nothing but the *Hill Symbol* and the system of representation of a Hill by a number of semi circles, or circular balls, arranged in rows

¹ *Ibid*

² Cunningham. *Sir A — Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 56-58

above one another and tapering to a point is also found outside India for example in Crete¹. We are indebted to Dr Bhandarkar for this identification. Naturally the treatment varied in the case of the different tribes or states. Each had a variety of this symbol which had an intimate connection with the locality which could consequently be easily identified. It may be that the Hill that appeared in the coins was perhaps the chief characteristic of the locality or specially connected with the national life of the people concerned. The Ásvakas had two Hill symbols in their coins represented in two different ways and therefore may be supposed to stand for two Hills which were situated in their territory or recognised as sacred by them. One Hill has been characterised as a pile of Balls—10 Balls arranged in four rows one row above the other the number of balls diminishing by one. The other Hill symbol is of three semi circles one above the other two the whole surmounted by a crescent. The various forms that this symbol took may be seen in the Ghoroghat coins². A curved line is also found on many coins. But it is difficult to identify it correctly in all cases. The zigzag line may stand for a river or a snake and sometimes it may serve merely an ornamental purpose. Identification is possible specially when it occurs with a Hill Symbol. In that case the Hill and the River are the special local features. The zigzag line in the Ásvaka coins surely stands for a river but it is evident that the Audumbaras and the Kunindas used this device merely for ornamental purposes. In the majority of the cases the symbol stands for a river on which perhaps the capital stood, or which was deemed sacred by the people or happened to be the most important means of communication. In some of the coins the river is represented by two curved lines with fish between.

Another class of symbols refers to the majesty of the State. The chief example is the Three Umbrellas³ symbol in which the three Umbrellas are bound together in the middle. The Umbrella (*chhatra*) is always an insignia of royalty and signified the majesty of the state. Another symbol which is generally identified with the Sun is really the *Chakra* (discus)⁴ and stands to signify the authority of the state. The national Standards also figure in the coins. The Audumbaras appear to be very fond of their tribal insignia and three different varieties are employed by them. In their Viśvamitra type coins occurs their national standard a trident battle axe i.e. a Trisula and Axe combined. In the Elephant Temple type there are two

¹ Cotterill—Ancient Greece (Earth Goddess and Lions from Crete), p 50

² *The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Dec 1919, pl III Nos 3 3c

³ *Ibid* Nos 1 1e

⁴ *Ibid* No 2

pillars on the two sides of the temple, the left one has a Swastika on it, and the right one is surmounted by what appears to be a wheel with 'pendant garlands'. The association of these two symbols with a temple, stamp them with a religious character, and they were perhaps looked upon as objects of veneration. The Yaudheyas had also their national standard figuring in their Bull Elephant type coins.

Hinduism declares 'the ultimate truth to be unknowable and undefinable' and endeavours to approach reality by the use of 'suggestive type or symbol'.¹ Consequently Hinduism makes much use of symbolism. The most numerous section of coin symbols has some kind of religious significance. The symbols stand for (I) national deities or patron saints, (II) their vehicles (Vāhanas)—birds or animals (III) their special weapons, or (IV) objects or trees specially sacred to them. The Vāhanas are the symbols of the presence and power of the Gods e.g. Hamsa or goose of Brahma, Makara of Varuna, Garuda of Vishnu, the peacock of Kārttikeya, the deer of Vayu, the elephant Airāvata of Indra, the buffalo and the dogs of Yama, the Monkey of Hanumān and the Bull of Siva. The Trisula is sacred to Siva, the emblem of his authority, and the crescent on his head stands for his sovereign power, the *chakra*, *gadā* (club) and the *conch-shell* are sacred to Vishnu, and *Vajra* or Thunderbolt to Indra and so on. The Tulasi tree is sacred to Vishnu, Bael and Dhuturā flower to Siva and lotus to Lakshmi and Saraswatī.²

The animals play a very important part in the Vedic Mythology and religious ideas. The horse draws the cars of the Gods in the Rigveda and is regarded as an object of worship. The cow assuredly occupies a prominent position in Vedic Mythology and is regarded as sacred in the Rigveda and is referred to as *aghnya* 'not to be slain'. The goat draws the car of Pūshan, the ass of the Asvins, and the other animals referred to, are the dogs of Yama and the monkey Vrishakapi the favourite of Indra. Prajapati assumed the form of a boar in the Yajurveda and the tortoise came to have a semi-divine position in later Vedas. Ahī, the serpent is the form taken by the demon Vitrā—the enemy of Indra. Snake therefore stands for evil power. Inanimate objects were also deified and treated as deities in the Vedas. Mountains along with rivers and plants are frequently invoked as gods. Large trees Vanaspati or lords of the forest are also addressed as gods, the sacrificial implements, the most important of which is the sacrificial post, the weapons like bow, quiver, arrows etc. are deified.³ The wheel or *chakra* represents the Sun and is the weapon of one of the solar Gods Vishnu.

¹ *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. XII p. 141 (Symbolism)

² *Ibid.* pp. 42 and 43

³ *Ibid.* (Vedic Religion) p. 609

Plant forms are portrayed in the seals from Mahenjodaro and Harappā, and two of them the Pipal and Babul tree have been identified¹ The tree cult was very common in ancient India 'The sacred tree signified universally in primitive ages the presence of the deity' Different gods came to be associated with different trees Each Buddha had his own tree, Gautama attained enlightenment under the Pipal tree which is sacred to him That the tree symbols in ancient Indian coins had a religious significance is attested to by the railing which is always put around, and marks it off as a holy ground, and the tree as an object of special regard The identification of trees represented in Indian coins is no doubt difficult but it is sure that they were connected with the religious belief of the people concerned It is to be marked that the practice of putting in railings around a sacred object was common in India e.g. the stupas, sacred places and trees are always enclosed in architecture and sculpture

Certain objects are looked upon as specially auspicious in character and they find a place in the coins These are generally linear and whatever might be the origin they became so intimately connected with the national life that these symbols are found in works of architecture and sculpture as well as in coins, and were used at the time of religious festivals and on such happy occasions as marriage, birth of a son and so on The symbols like Swastika, Nandipada and others are very common on coins, in works of sculpture etc. from high antiquity. The circle, the square, the triangle, the dot or dots arranged in various ways, and the geometrical patterns had surely, certain significance, and for their interpretation, we have to take the help of the esoteric side of religion, e.g. a point or dot is the geometric symbolism of God, the Absolute and Unknowable, the equilateral triangle is 'the symbol of God manifested in the cosmos', the spiral is 'the geometric symbol of evolutionary force' and similar interpretations may be found in the case of many such geometrical or linear symbols (Havell's—*The Ideals of Indian Art*)

Of the linear symbols, the Swastika is the best known and is even now recognised as an auspicious sign We find it in the seals discovered in the prehistoric sites of the Indus Valley civilization² It is found in use in many parts of the ancient world e.g. in Crete, Troy Susa etc. but not in Babylon or Egypt It is undoubtedly a solar symbol, and of the various theories that have been propounded to explain its origin, the interpretation of Mr Havell seems to be the most convincing The Swastika represents the movement of the sun round the earth, and the earth owes its fertility to its beneficent powers Man ultimately

¹ *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, March, 1932.
Mohenjo daro and Indus Valley Civilization, pp. 133, 140

² *Ibid.*, p. 130

derives his happiness and prosperity to the visible daily passage of the sun through the heavens. The arms of the Swastika are sometimes represented curved but the ordinary and perhaps the later practice was to have straight lines as arms going round from left to right and this direction was in use in later times. The opposite form from right to left was looked upon as inauspicious. But at Mahenjodaro no such feeling seems to have existed. This solar emblem of high antiquity proves the tenaciousness of human belief and it was in common use in architecture (in town planning) in sculpture in coinage and in religious festivities. In short it entwines itself with the spiritual and artistic life of the people. Lastly we have a number of symbols which were accepted as Ankas or Lakshanas by the states tribes or individuals for no particular reason except pure fancy. These had no special significance but were taken haphazard as heraldic devices. It is however very difficult to determine whether some of them had totemistic origin. Such symbols might be (a) trees animals or any other objects or (b) astronomical symbols like the Sun the Moon the Crescent or the five pointed Star. Sun worship was prevalent from very early times. In the Vedas Surya is worshipped under many names and forms and the most sacred verse of the Gavatī is an invocation to the Sun God. The three aspects of the sun are the rising culminating and setting and this triple aspect is represented by the epithet *tripad* three footed and *trivikrama* or three stepping. The last title came to be appropriated to Vishnu—the sun as the all pervader who in three strides traverses the three worlds—earth heaven and hell.¹ In the coins the sun is represented with spreading rays—the rising sun and is a peculiarly auspicious object, the giver of all prosperity and life. The radiant sun and other solar emblems occur in the earliest coinage and also in those of the Malavas. In one case the rays of the solar emblem are bent.

The moon as a crescent figures in the coins of the Mahārāja Janapada and the Yaudheyas and also in the punch marked coins. Though there was no worship of the moon in India yet she is recognised as an object of adoration. In the Vedas Soma is identified with the moon and its waning is said to be due to the drinking up of the nectar (*amṛta*) by the gods. Śiva is *chandraśekhara* with the moon in his crest and the Lunar Dynasty claimed descent from the moon. So we can expect the symbol of the crescent in the coins of the Śaivas or members of the Lunar Dynasty.

The stars and constellations are recognised by the Hindus either as beneficent or malevolent. The anthropomorphic representation of the Nakshatra or constellation Phalguni is

¹ *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Vol. VII p. 83—Sun Moon and Stars (Hindu)

found in the coins of Phalgunimitra of Pañchāla and the stars figure in the coins with five tapering lines representing the rays

The number of symbols met with in the tribal coins is more than forty. The animals that figure as such are the Bull, Elephant, Lion and Snake. A Bull occupies the rev. of some of the Rajanya, Naga and Mālava coins. The Mālava Bull is generally recumbent while in the case of the Rajanyas and the Nagas, it is humped. The position is so prominent in these cases that the Bull may be accepted as a Type on the rev. of these coins.

The Elephant is found on the rev. of the Mālava coins and the Lion also occurs in the same position among the Mālavas and Rajanyas. The five hooded snake has been identified in the coins of the Uddehikas. The peacock of the fantail variety is common among the Mālavas. The Bird on the obv. of the

Warrior type coins of the Yaudheyas has been identified as a cock and it really appears to be a peacock—the Vehicle or Vahana of their national god Karttikeya.

The Tree in Ruling was a very common symbol and is found not only in the punch marked coins but also in the die struck coins of the Kunundas, Audumbaras, Yaudheyas, Mālavas and others. The Kununda tree seems to be a pine tree and the representation is conventional—the branches are arranged in three or four rows, and sometimes the leaves are represented by lines looking downwards. The tree in Audumbara coin is surely of the Udumbara variety, though they are differently represented in the two types—the Viśvamitra and the Elephant Temple Types.

In the Sibi coin, it rises from a circle while the Uddehikas had the Tree in Ruling in the horizontal position. The same symbol occurs in one class of the Rajanya coins and is rather common among the Mālavas. The Yaudheyas had the Tree in Ruling conventionally represented in the Brahmanyadeva group and it may be a deodar.

The flower under the head of the Bull in the Bull Elephant Type coins of the Audumbaras has been identified as a lotus flower, it however appears to be a *chakra* or discus and is perhaps a countermark. But among the Mālavas the lotus flower is sometimes open and is conventionally represented on occasions. It is in some of the Mālava coins that pinnate palm leaf appears side by side with the legend. A symbol which is very common in ancient Indian coins is the so called *Chattya* which has been correctly identified by Prof. Bhandarkar to be a Hill Symbol and is represented by a number of balls or crescents arranged in rows above one another and tapering to a point. Naturally the treatment varied in the case of the different tribes. Each had a variety of this symbol which had an intimate connection with the locality and made identification possible. The Hill

that appeared in the coin was perhaps the chief characteristic of the locality or intimately connected with the national life of the tribe or people. The Asvakas had two Hill symbols in their coins represented in two different ways and therefore the *e* may be supposed to stand for two Hills which were situated in their territory or recognised as sacred by them. One Hill has been characterised as a pile of Balls—10 balls arranged in 4 rows one row above the other the number of balls diminishing by one. The other Hill symbol is of three semi circles one over the other two the whole surmounted by a crescent. In the Kuluta coin the Hill symbol is composed of ten semicircles or arches surmounted by an elaborate Nandipada the treatment is rather out of the ordinary. The Kunindas had a six arched Hill Symbol with an umbrella above the uppermost arch is rather elongated. The Yaudheyas had a similar representation of the Hill in their coins. The Sibi Hill is surmounted by a Nandipada and the Malavas had a Hill of three arches (No 11—Smith) like the Asvakas.

The zigzag line occurs in the coins of the Asvakas the Audumbaras, Kunindas Sibi Malavas and the Yaudheyas. But there is a great difficulty in identifying this symbol. It may stand for a river or a snake and sometimes it may serve merely an ornamental purpose. The identification is however possible specially when it occurs with a Hill symbol. In that case the Hill and the River are the special local features. The zigzag line in the Asvaka coins surely, stands for a river and similar is the case with the Sibi coin. It is evident that the Audumbaras and the Kunindas used this device merely for ornamental purposes. The Malavas and the Yaudheyas had the zigzag line in their coins but it is doubtful whether it represents a snake or a river though Smith identifies some of them as snakes in the Malava coins. The wavy lines in the Asvaka coin (No 9 Cunningham Pl II) have been identified as vine branches by Prof Rapson and the identification may be correct.

A squatting male figure with knees raised is found as a symbol in a Malava coin (No 104—Smith). What it stands for cannot be determined. But it is sure that the female figure in the Kuninda coins (Stag Type) is that of a goddess or the patron deity of the tribe. The figure stands on the right of the stag has the left hand on hip and the right hand holds up a lotus stalk with a full blown lotus. (Smith pl XX No 11). In some of the specimens the full blown lotus is also under the feet of the female figure (Cunningham Pl V figs 1 and 2). She may therefore be Lakshmi the goddess of prosperity and the goddess is also found in the coins of Avantī Ayodhya Eran and Kauambi associated with lotus.


The principal weapons that figure as symbols are the Trisula Chakra and the Vajra. Trisula is the special weapon of Śiva and is found in Vimaka and Audumbara coins. The Vimaka

coin of the Elephant Temple Type occur two pillars on the two sides of the temple the left one has a Swastika on it and the right one is surmounted by what appears to be a wheel with pendant garlands. The wheel is taken to be a dharmachakra by Cunningham. The association of these two symbols with a temple stamps them with a religious character and these were perhaps looked upon as objects of veneration. The Yaudheyas had also their national standard figuring in their Bull Elephant Type coins—on the obv. the Bull standing right faces a curved object rising from a railing. It may be the tribal standard of the Yaudheyas but the identification of the scythe like object on the rev. which the elephant is passing by is rather difficult. It may be a standard with a hanging streamer but the device is very obscure. (Smith Pl. XVI No 13)

Of the linear symbols the Swastika is the most well known and it appears in the coins of the Asvakas Kulutas the Kunindas and the Yaudheyas. The ends of the Swastika in the Asvaka and Kuluta coins are curved while the Kunindas and the Yaudheya had the ordinary representation. These all turn from left to right which was the general practice in historic times in India. The Nandipada also seems to be very popular. It is found not only in the punch marked coins but appears in its elaborate form in the coins of the Kulutas Vishnukunindas Audumbaras the Yaudheyas and Malavas and in its so called Taurine form among the Asvakas. The Malava symbol also called the 'Ujjain Symbol' is found in the coins of the Malava region and naturally appears in the coins of the Malavas. It is also found in the coins of the Yaudheyas Uddelikas and others. Perhaps it is a solar symbol and was in extensive use in early times. Two other symbols of doubtful origin may be mentioned here. One is the Triangular headed Symbol which appears in the coins of the Uddelikas the Yaudheyas and the Almora branch of the Kunindas. It is identified with the handle of a cross.¹ But it seems to be the Yupa—the sacrificial post and the projecting lines on the two sides were meant for fastening the animals to be offered. The so called Nagas Symbol² of Prof Rapson is found in the Kuluta Kunindas and Yaudheya coins. The two S's with a straight line between is the usual representation of this symbol the curved lines are taken to be two hooded snakes but there is no explanation offered for the straight line in the middle. The identification therefore offers insuperable difficulties. In the Kuninda coin this sign is found within the horns of the 'Stag' and on the rev. of the 3rd section of the Yaudheyas and was perhaps used by them

¹ *Ibid* Vol IV p 326 (Cross)

² Rapson E J—Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasties etc. p CLXXXI

as a mint mark  This Symbol of 'three points and three dots' (?) is found only on the rev of the coins of the 2nd section of the Yaudheyas. While the second section has a 'vase with flowers' and this symbol, the Third Section has the conch shell and the Naga Symbol on the rev, perhaps the Nāga Symbol and 'the three points and three dots' Symbol were both of them the mint marks of the two sections of the Yaudheya Tribe.

THE TYPES

The principal types in the tribal coins are the animals, birds, trees, weapons, human figures, the sun, the wheel, the vase, the king's head (?), the figures of deities and patron saints, and the personification of warlike prowess. These types are generally found in the punch marked coins and are evidently of an early age e.g. the Humped Bull Figures in coins Nos 9 and 10 (Smith's catalogue, pp 136-142), Elephant in Nos 9, 12, 16 etc, Tree in Nos 18 and 19, the Sun in Nos 18 and 19 and so on. The animals used as types in the tribal coins are the Humped Bull, the Elephant, the Lion, the Stag and the Camel (?). The Bull like the Elephant is a common emblem in Indian mythology and 'is associated with deities worshipped by various sects'.¹ The figure of the Bull is found either (a) with or (b) without hump, or (c) recumbent and is used as a type by the Audumbaras, Arjunāyanas, Mālavas, Vīmakas, Uddehikas, Yaudheyas, Nāgas, Mahārāja and Rājanya Janapadas. The Arjunāyana Bull is a humped one and so is that of the Audumbaras, Vīmakas, Uddehikas, Yaudheyas, Rājanya and Mahārāja Janapadas while the Nāga Bull is recumbent. The Mālavas had all the three types—with or without hump and the recumbent. The Bull is thus the commonest of all the devices and this must be due to the special importance and sanctity attached to this animal. In the Vedic Age, the cow was the medium of exchange, it helped the Aryans in various ways, in the supply of their food and in the cultivation of their land. It was an animal sacred to Śiva and other deities. Naturally it was adopted as a badge by various tribes and figured in the coins as a symbol or a type from a very early time in this country. The elephant, either its whole body or only the forepart, figured as a type among the Arjunāyanas, Audumbaras, Mālavas, Vīmakas, Vṛishnis, Uddehikas and the Yaudheyas. In the Arjunayana coin the Elephant faces front with head right, trunk raised only the head appears and this had great resemblance to the obv type of the Indo Parthian king Maues. Among the Vṛishnis, the type is composed of Half Elephant and Half Lion—a peculiar

¹ Cambridge History of India Vol I, p 557

emblem. In one variety of the Audumbaras only the front half (viz the head trunk and the forelegs) appears as the type.

The Lion is the king of Beasts naturally figured in the coins and stood for power and might. But it is clear that Lion was confined to only one part of the country the desert region and the Lion type was prevalent only among the Malavas and the Pujavvas. The Rajanva Lion stands facing a post and in the Malava coin the Lion stands left. The Lion however was not so popular as a type among the tribes as the Bull or Elephant. Another animal to serve as a type was the stag. The figure of the stag in the Kuninda coins is very clear and the same type occurs in the coins discovered at Almorā which perhaps belong to a branch of the Kunindas. The stag is very indistinct in the Yaudheya coins and among the Malavas the type has been identified as antelope standing.

The camel as a type is very rare. It is perhaps found only among the Arjunavinas who dwelt in the border of the Indian desert i.e. Bharatpur and Alwar States in Rajputana.

The Vrishnis had a peculiar Type—a Half Elephant and Half Lion—the foreparts of the two animals are joined together and placed on a pillar which is surrounded by a railing. The representation in Cunningham's book (pl. IV fig. 15) is very distinct—the trunk of the elephant hangs down while the Lion is open mouthed and ready to spring. It is a strange way of associating two animals—the Lion and the Elephant in one Type.

The Human Figure was also very popular as a Type. It is found among the Arjunavinas Asvakas Audumbaras Malavas Yaudhevas the Mahuraja and Rajanya Janapadas. In the Asvaka coins the Human Figure is robed with an upraised arm in an attitude of worship and in the Audumbari coin the man stands to front with spear in right hand. The Malava figure is squatted to left while the Arjunavina and Rajanya coins have a standing Human Figure with right hand raised as in the Northern Satrap coins. The Maharaja Janapada had also a standing figure to front as a Type. The Yaudheyas in their 'Warrior' Type coins had a Warrior standing facing front and grasping spear in right hand with left hand on hip—in the pose of a dignified *tribhanga*.¹ According to Jayaswal it represents the type of their citizen soldier and is surely a fit and proper device for a tribe which was noted for its military prowess. The Warrior therefore stands emblematical for the martial quality of the great fighters—the Yaudheya.

The tree as a type or symbol is very common in the ancient coins of India. It is found in the punch marked as well as die struck coins. These are generally surrounded by railings and it is evident that they are not of the same species. In ancient

India and even at present, trees have sanctity attached to them and are specially sacred to certain deities, e g Tulasi is sacred to Vishnu and its leaves are offered to this god at the time of worship and similar is the case with the Bel tree which is sacred to god Śiva. It is not however always possible to identify the trees—which are used as Types and Symbols on the coins. It is however sure that trees of various species were taken as emblems by the different peoples, and on occasions these were looked upon as sacred. The Audumbaras had a Tree as a Type on the rev of the Viśvāmitra Type coins. It is a Tree in Railing and is assuredly an Udumbara Tree. So the Udumbara Tree was the 'canting badge' of the Audumbara tribe i e the device had a punning allusion to the name of the issuing tribe. This practice was also common in the West—the quince (melon) at Melos, the pomegranate (sidê) in Side and so on¹. The Malavas and the Rājanya Janapada also used the Tree in Railing device in their coins but the exact identity of these trees cannot be determined. The Tree in the Malva coin No 109 (Smith's catalogue pl XXI 8) is perhaps a pine tree and that in the Rājanya coin (Smith Pl XXI No 12) may be a Vāṭa tree. In some of the coins of the Mālavas (Smith, Pl XX Nos 19 and 20) a pinnate palm leaf serves as a Type.

The only Bird that was used as a Type in the tribal coins was the fantail peacock. This device was adopted only by the Mālavas. The identification of 'King's Head' Type on the rev of some of the Mālava coins is very doubtful it is most probably a 'fantail peacock' (pl XX, No 21—Smith's catalogue).

Weapons like Trisula, Chakra, Bow and Arrow etc are used as Types or Symbols. Trisūla is the Type of the Sibi coins. It was identified as a 'cross' by Cunningham but the portion visible seems to be the upper part of a Trisūla. It also occurs as a Symbol in the Viśvāmitra Type and Elephant Temple Type coins of the Audumbaras. The Type on the rev of the Vṛishni coin (Cunningham, Pl IV, fig 15) was taken to be a Dharmachakra by Cunningham but the correct identification is a *Chakra* or discus. It was an attribute of sovereignty e g *Rajachakrabartī* signifies the king as the Wielder of the Discus. Moreover Krishna who is given divine honour by the Hindus belonged to the Vṛishni clan and had the discus as his special weapon. So Javasswal's identification of the wheel like object seems to be correct, and this is evident from 'the cutting edges and the projecting points on the rim'. The Wheel as a Type occurs in the coins of the Nagas and the Kulūtas—the device in the Nāga coin has eight spokes and in the Kulūta coin ten spokes within a circle of dots. It is not clear why this device was adopted by them, and its significance in the present state of our knowledge eludes our grasp. Another device was the vase

¹ Macdonald G —Evolution of Coinage p 76

which figures as a Type in the Mālava coins and as a Symbol in the Kuninda coins (Cunningham, pl V, figs 4 and 5—above the Stag) Smith identifies it with an Indian *lotā*. A vase filled with water is even now looked upon as an auspicious object and is used in ceremonial occasions. So this device is to be classed with Svastika, Nandipada etc which are associated with a special auspicious occasion.

Lastly we come to another class of Types, viz figures of gods, their temples and the patron saints. These have a religious significance, and evidently the coins were given these Types in honour of the national god or the patron saint. The Audumbaras put on some of their coins, the figure of Viśvāmitra the Rishi who was evidently their patron saint. The Rishi stands facing, with right hand raised and left on hip. He wears matted locks, tied in a knot over the head, is scantily clothed perhaps in a piece of skin and has the sacred thread on the shoulder under the right hand (Cunningham, pl IV, fig 1). It is not possible to recognise what he has in his right hand but the pose is one of conferring blessings. The Yaudheyas as a military people adopted the figure of Brahmanyadeva or Kārttikeya the War god as a Type on one class of their coins. Kārttikeya is the commander in chief of the gods in Hindu pantheon and his representation on the coins of the Yaudheyas whose name is derived from *Iuddha* or war is perfectly natural and a fit badge for this tribe. Mr Jayaswal is therefore correct in taking it to be the figure of a god, and on the face of it Smith's identification Brahmanyadeva as a Yaudheya king is untenable. The god is represented with six heads on some coins and with only one in others. But the representation is very rude, the six heads are arranged in two rows, one above the other, and the god holds spear on the right hand. One of the figures (Cunningham, pl VI, fig 12—obv) has a small bird on its shoulder. Perhaps it is a peacock, the Vāhana or vehicle of this god. The rev figure of the same coin is undoubtedly a female with six heads—Is it the wife of Kārttikeya or some other goddess? In the single headed Type (Smith's catalogue—Nos 18a and 18b, p 182), the coins are specifically referred to as *Brahmanya detasya drama* i.e. the coin dedicated to Brahmanyadeva whose other names are Kārttikeya, Sadanana and Kumāra—'the presiding deity of Heroism and War', or as put by Mr Jayaswal 'the figure is their La Liberte'. The Kulūtas in their Chatreśvara Type had the figure of their national god on their coins—Śiva standing facing with trident battle axe in right hand and leopard skin hanging from left arm. The vehicle of Śiva is the bull Nandi and it figures in the coins of the Kushanas (cf Rapson—IC, pl II, No 12). Śiva and his Bull were adopted as Types by other States also e.g. Pushkalāvati. Another Type which deserves our particular notice is the representation of a building on some of the Audumbara coins. It is a pointed roofed building

of two or three stories with pillars. Jayaswal wants to identify it with their Motchall or some other public building. The conical shape of the upper part of the building the *Śikhara* and its disproportionate height tempt us to identify it with a temple in the Indo-Aryan style. It was perhaps the temple of their national god and as such must have been deemed a sacred place of worship. Here the people perhaps repaired for their national festivals worshipped their god and prayed to him in times of national calamity or offered thanks on the occasions of military victories. It must have been intimately associated with their national life before its representation found a place on their coins.

THE PROVENANCE AND DESCRIPTION OF COINS

I *Arjunayanas*. The As a people they do not appear in Pāṇini Patañjali or the Mahabharata¹. A reference is found for the first time in the Ganapatha on Pāṇini (IV 1 112)² and in the Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta (c 380 A.D.) they appear among the peoples on the frontiers of the Gupta Empire³. The *Arjunayanas* as a political community are supposed to have come into existence about the Sunga times (200 B.C.)⁴ and the name is derived from *Ārjunayana* the founder one of the family of Arjuna⁵. They issued coins as early as the first cent B.C.⁶ but these are extremely rare⁷. They were then settled in Rajputana perhaps in the region lying west of Agra and Mathura equivalent roughly speaking to the Bharatpur and Alwar states (J.R.A.S. 1897 p. 886)⁸. These coins all in copper bear the legends—*Ārjunayanana* a coin of the *Ārjunayanas* or *Ārjunayanana jaya* Victory of the *Ārjunayanas* in Brahmi script⁹. The *Ārjunayana* coins are closely related in style to the coins of the Northern Satraps the Yaudheyas the Audumbaras the Rajanyas and others¹⁰. Cunningham hazards the suggestion that *Ajudhan* on the bank of the old Satlej river may still preserve some trace of their name¹¹.

Type No 1 The Standing Figure and the Humped Bull¹²
Type (c 100 B.C.) AE

Obv. Humped Bull standing to l

¹ J. HP I p. 154

² CHI 1 p. 598

³ *Ib id* footnote 1

⁴ J. HP I p. 154

⁵ CHI 1 p. 598

Prof. Rapson however places them in 4th cent

⁶ J. HP I p. 132

⁷ CHI 1 p. 598 (Rapson)

⁸ S. CCIM p. 160 (Vol II)

⁹ *Ib id*

¹⁰ J. HP I p. 154

¹¹ R. IC Sec 4 Pl III ¹² J. RAS (1900) p. 106 (Rapson)

¹² S. CCIM p. 160

¹³ C. CAI p. 90

¹⁴ R. IC Pl III ¹⁵ 90

Rev Standing Figure with r hand raised as in the Northern Satrap coins the legend in Br in the margin *Ārjuna yanana* and a symbol on l perhaps a flag or a spear¹

Type No 2 The *Elephant and the Bull Type* AE Var a *Obv* A Tree in railing to r on the l an Elephant facing f with head r and trunk raised The head of the elephant has resemblance to that on the obv of a coin of the Indo Parthian king Maues²

Pei A curved object rising from a railing and the Br legend on the margin—*Ārjunayanana jaya* (Arjunavanam jayah) Victory to the Ārjunavanas The curved object seems to have some resemblance to the flagstaff with 2 symbols dangling from it in a coin of Dhanadeva³ There is an indistinct figure in front of it⁴ which had not been marked by Smith Perhaps it is a Bull as in Type No 1 though to r The *rev* side of this coin (Smith Pl XX 10) has a great resemblance to the *Yaudheya* coin⁵ where a Bull standing r faces a curved object with a railing Cunningham takes it to be a pillar with pendant garland and on this analogy the indistinct figure on the Ārjunavanana coin may be a Bull

Var b *Camel (?) and the Bull Type* AE

Obv A camel (?) to r facing Tree within railing

Rev Humped Bull to r facing sacrificial post within railing Br legend *Ārjunayanana jaya* (Victory to the Ārjunavanas) It has a striking resemblance to the *Yaudheya* coins Its *rev* type is the same as that of the *Yaudheya* coin in C CAI Pl VI 3 and it is struck in the same manner—slightly incuse—JRAS 1900 p 107

II *Asiakas* The—The coins with the legend *Iatsiaka* were found in the neighbourhood of Taxila and Cunningham includes them among the Taxilian coins⁷ The inscription is in Brahmi characters and the coins are of the single die variety Prof Rapson is of opinion that the date of these coins is probably at least as early as 200 B C⁸ but they may be actually of an earlier date Buhler explained the legend—*Iatsiaka* as a tribal name equivalent to Sanskrit *Vatasrakah* meaning the *Asiaka* tribe of the *Vata* or fig tree clan⁹ The meaning however seems to be far fetched The *Asvakas* have been correctly identified with the *Assakenoi* mentioned by Arrian and they dwelt in the Swat valley They were the first Indian people to receive the brunt of the invasion¹⁰ of Alexander the Great The fighting was of exceptional ferocity and their

¹ Cf the *Yaudheya* coin with soldier standing holding spear in right hand and on the *rev* RIC Pl III 14 S CCIM Pl XXI 18 19 and 0

² S CCIM p 166 Pl XX 10

³ *Id* p 41 Pl VIII 4

⁴ C CAI p 9 Pl IX *rev*

⁵ S CCIM Pl XX 10 *ob*

⁶ *Id* p 180 Pl XXI 13 *ob*

C CAI Pl II

⁸ RIC p 14

⁹ S CCIM p 14

¹⁰ CHI p 30

chief town *Vassila* fell into the hands of the invader after a stout resistance. We have however no reference either in the writings of the Greeks or in Sanskrit literature of the *Vata* (fig tree) clan of the *Aśvakas*. The word *Vata* also means a cowry shell and we know that cowries were and even at present are used as mediums of exchange. So it might mean a coin and this will give a better meaning to the legend *Vatasiaka*—(*Aśvakanam Vatah*=*Vataśvakah* acc to Panini—II 2 31)

the coin of the *Aśvakas*. These coins as pointed out by Prof Rapson are connected by identity of type with some of the single die coins found in the neighbourhood of *Tavila*.¹ (Cf C CAI Pl II figs 9 11 and 14). The symbols are the same but there is no legend obviously these coins belong to the same tribe and are of an earlier date. Two of these symbols are very prominent in coins Nos 9 and 11 and I am disposed to classify them as varieties of the *Aśvaka* coins. A tentative classification of the coins of the *Aśvaka* tribe may be effected by dividing them into two Types of two varieties each.

Type No 1 Var a² AE

There are two symbols (a) the so called pile of bales³ or balls⁴ and above (b) the so called *Chaitya* (both are perhaps the different varieties of the Hill Symbol) to r a robed human figure with an upraised arm in an attitude of worship with a *nandipada* below to l the Br legend—*Vatasiaka* in characters of 3rd cent BC Var b⁵. The e coins have only the two common Hill Symbols and the figure of the man is standing between with an upraised hand there is no legend nor the *nandipada*.

Type No 2 Var a⁶ AE

The two prominent Hill Symbols a *Siastika* above and a zigzag line (river?) below Var b⁷. This variety has the three symbols (the two Hill Symbols and the river Symbol) common with Var a but two peculiar symbols are introduced below them. V Smith only notes that these symbols are made of curved lines⁸ and Prof Rapson takes them to be wavy lines and uncertain designs and suggests vine branches^(?)⁹.

III *Audumbaras* The—The name *Audumbara* the *Odomboera* of Ptolemy¹⁰ is derived from the *Udumbara* fig tree (*Ficus glomerata*)¹¹. They are unknown to the early Paninian literature but are mentioned in the *Rajanya* group in the *Ganapatha* and are also referred to in connection with the

¹ R IC p 14

² *Ibid* p 61

³ C CAI Pl II fig 14

⁴ *Ibid* fig 9

⁵ R IC Pl I 11 C ASR XIV Pl V (No 10)

⁶ D GDAMI p 13

² C CAI Pl II fig 17

⁴ S CCIM p 156 footnote 1

⁶ *Ibid* fig 11

⁸ S CCIM p 156 (No 4)

¹¹ C CAI p 66

Punjab republics in the *Sabhā Parvan* of the *Mahā Bhārata*¹ *Varāha Mihira* places them in the company of the *Kapisthalas*, 'while the *Vishnu Purāna* couples them with the *Traigarttas* and the *Kulindas*'² In the *Brihat Samhitā*, *Udumbara* is the name of 'the district of *Nurpur* (or rather *Gurudaspur*)'³ The *Audumbara* coins are 'extremely rare' and are found in the *Kangrā* and *Hoshyarpur* Districts of the Punjab⁴ Perhaps they dwelt in the country between *Kangra* and *Ambāla*⁵, and as *Pliny* locates them in *Cutch*, so it is evident that one branch of the people must have migrated to that region and their descendants are found there and form 'the modern community of *Gujrati Brahmins* of the *Audumbara* caste'⁶

The *Audumbara* coins resemble those of the *Ārjunāyanas* and 'other classes of ancient coins',⁷ and were struck 'in the name of the community and the king'⁸ These coins probably date from the first century B C and have legends in Kh and Br *Jayaswal* is of opinion that 'the *Kharoshthi* script indicates that about 100 B C they came under the influence of the *Satrapas* like their neighbours of the Punjab, and were finally absorbed'⁹ There is a great similarity in style between the *Audumbara* coins and 'the *hemidrachms* of Greek prince *Apollodotus* and are found together with them'¹⁰ Prof *Rapson* also points out that 'a similarity in style is observable' between '*Viśvāmītra* Type' and one of *Azilises*'¹¹

Type No 1 The *Viśvāmītra* Type¹² AR

Obv The standing figure of *Viśvāmītra*, the Rishi with r hand raised and the l resting on the waist, the Kh legend—*Mahadevasa raño Dharaghoshasa Odumbarisa*—across field,—*Viśvāmītra*, 'Of His Exalted Majesty'¹³ *Dharaghosha* of the *Audumbaras*, or of *Dharaghosha*, the worshipper of *Mahādeva*, i.e. *Mahādeva*, of the *Audumbaras* *Jayaswal* takes '*Mahādeva*' (or *Māhādeva*?) to mean 'His Exalted Majesty' but it appears that the word refers to their national god *Viśvāmītra* was their patron saint

Rev The same legend in Br, the *Udumbara* (fig tree) on the r within a railing, and the trident battle axe on l The tree was the *lakshana* and the trident, 'the figure of their standard'¹⁴

Type No 2 The *Elephant and the Temple* Type AE

¹ J HP I p 160

² D GDAMI p 13

³ J HP I, p 160

⁴ S CCIM, p 161

⁵ *Ibid*

⁶ *Ibid*

⁷ C CAI p 67 Pl IV fig 1, for other specimens see R IC, Pl III

⁸ and CHI p 539 Pl V 14

⁹ J HP I p 161

¹⁰ *Ibid*, and pp 42 and 43—*Lakshana* is the '*lañchhana*' or heraldic crest It is usually the figure of an animal or river town or the like'

¹¹ C CAI, p 66

¹² S CCIM, p 160

¹³ *Ibid* p 161

¹⁴ J HP I p 161

¹⁵ R IC, p 11

Var a¹ *Obv* Elephant walking before the Udumbari tree surrounded by a railing and a zigzag line (snake or river ?) beneath the Kh legend incomplete—*Odumbara* placed under the wavy line

Rev A pointed roofed building of two or three stories with pillars a pillar with *Śaśtika* on it to l and a shaft surmounted by a wheel (the so called *Dharma chakra* of Cunningham) with pendant garlands The building may be the temple 'their mote hall (?) or some other public building² and the shaft with the wheel the figure of their standard

Var b³ *Obv* There are two points of difference with the first variety—the position of the Kh legend and the figure of the Elephant In this variety the legend is found on the r of the Elephant and not under the zigzag line and while in Var a the whole body of the Elephant is found in this Var b the head trunk and the forelegs are only seen It is evident that the entire body must have been absent in the die as the Kh legend *Odumbarisa* is found to the right of the Elephant's forepart

Rev The temple is a three storied one and slightly different from the first variety There is a trident (*trīṣṭa*) with banners to r and the Br legend on top These coins have legends both in Br and Kh and the complete legends as restored by Mr Rakhaldas Banerjee are—⁴

Obv Kh Mahadevasi Rana Dharaghoṣasa Odumbari

Rev Br—Mahadevasi Rana Dharaghoṣasa Odumbarisa

In the coins of two other kings *Rudradisa* and *Sivadisa* their names spelt as *Rudradasa* and *Śivadisa* are introduced without any other change in the legends The Br and Kh letters belong to the first century B C and one peculiarity is that the long vowels a u ai and au are avoided both in Br and Kh

Type No 3—The *Elephant and the Bull* Type⁵ AR

Obv Elephant with upraised trunk moving to l⁶ towards trident battle axe Br legend

Rev Humped Bull to r flower (lotus flower ?) under head Kh legend The legends are—⁷

Obv Br—bh (a) gavatamahadevasarajarajasa

Rev Kh—bhuguvusamahadevusarajarana

The legend on these coins had been interpreted to refer to a king named Mahadeva But this cannot be taken to be certain

¹ C CAI p 68 Pl IV fig 2

² J HP I p 161

³ J AS B 1914 (Numis Sup No XXIII 247 250)

⁴ *Ib d* p 249

⁵ C CAI p 68 Pl IV figs 5 and 6

⁶ *Ib d* Pl IV fig 5

⁷ JRAS 1900 (A V Bergny) p 411

The word *bhagavata* is generally applicable to gods¹ and the title 'rājaraṇ', 'the king of kings' is more applicable to a god than to the king of a small principality. Moreover 'Mahadevāsa' in the coins of Dharaghoshā might refer to the national god of whom Dharaghoshā was the worshipper. So I would rather take this legend as applicable to god Mahadeva and the coin seems to be dedicated to him like the Chatreśvara Type² of Kumānda coins. The legend therefore may be interpreted as follows—'In the name of the Almighty Mahadeva the king of kings'

Type No 4 *Elephant and Man Type* AE

Var a³ *Obv* Elephant with upraised trunk moving to l, with⁴ or without⁵ a man on its back, the legend either in Br or Kh

Rev Man standing to f with spear in r hand with or without zig zag line and the legend in Kh

(a) (C CAI, Pl IV, 7)

Br ñoajamitasa

Kh raña (or ño) ajamitrāsa— of king Ajamitra'

(b) (C CAI Pl IV 9)

Bl r () mahim () ta

Kh ñamahimitrāsa—' of king Mahimitra'⁶

Jayaswal interprets the word Rajna or 'Rajanya'— (Cunningham) as meaning a president, the executive head or an elected ruler of a tribe⁷

Var b⁸ *Obv* Male Figure to f with spear in r hand the zig zag line (snake or river²) to r

Rev Figure on Elephant to l, Kh legend—*Maharajasa Dhara* (1)—the reading is very uncertain

Type No 5 *The Elephant and Three Symbols*⁹ AE

Obv Elephant to l, Kh legend

Pev The Three symbols—one is a Tree the other—*Āndipada* but the third cannot be recognised the snake (zig zag line) referred to by Cunningham seems to be a part of the *Āndipada* Symbol, the legend in Br—the same legend is found on both the sides—

Rev Br —(ra) ñobhanumitra(sa)

Obv Kh rañabhanā (or nu) mitrāsa 'of King Bhanu mitra'

¹ (a) Kumānda coins Chatreśvara Type—*Bl agavata Chatreśvara Mahatmav al* (S CCIM p 170)

(b) Yaudheya coins Brahmanyadeva Type—*Bl agavatah Stamano Brahmanjadevasa* (S CCIM p 181)

² R IC Pl III 10

³ C CAI p 69 Pl IV figs 7-9

⁴ *Ibid* Pl IV fig 9

⁵ *Ibid* Pl IV figs 7 and 8

⁶ JRAS 1900 p 414 (A V Bergny)

⁷ *op J HP I* pp 47 and 160

⁸ C CAI p 69 Pl IV fig 10

⁹ *Ib d* fig 17

Type No 6—*The Sun and the Three Symbols*¹ AE

Obv The Three Symbols as on the rev of Type No 5

Br legend—*Bhanumitrāsa* Of Bhanumitra

Rev The rayed disc of the sun above a railing the figure of the sun refers to the name of the king Bhanu (the sun) This coin is assuredly a Panchala coin and perhaps the Type No 5 also should be assigned to that locality

Cunningham included the coins of Rudravarman Ajamitra Mahimtra Bhanumitra Virayasas and Vrishni among those of the Audumbaras But Mr R D Banerjee does not accept this view on the ground that we have not the name Odumbara coupled with these names while in the case of Dharaghosha Sivadasa and Rudradasa we invariably find that the name of the tribe is associated in the legend with that of the king Consequently the attribution of coins which do not bear the name of the tribe to the Audumbaras must be very doubtful² But there is no reason that the same practice should be adhered to throughout the ages a change in the constitution of the Audumbaras might lead to the introduction of a new form of legends So long as great importance was attached to the tribal character of the constitution the name of the tribe was coupled in the coins with the names of their rulers but if later on with a change in the constitution and the augmentation of their authority the rulers gave only their own names and omitted that of the tribe there is nothing improbable in it We cannot therefore accept Mr Banerjee's statement in full Some of the coins e.g. those of the Vrishnis Maharaja Janapada Virayasas and perhaps of Bhanumitra had been wrongly attributed by Cunningham to the Audumbaras But the resemblance in style leads me to attribute the coins of Mahimtra and Ajamitra to the Audumbaras and it is almost certain that they were the rulers of this tribe of which the national god was Mahadeva or Siva It is also probable that the coins without the tribal name were of a later date than those of Dharaghosha Rudradasa and Sivadasa who preceded them

IV *Kul-tas* The—They were the eastern neighbours of the Udumbaras and lived in the Kul valley of the Kangra district³ Their coins have been assigned by Prof Rapson to the first or second century A.D. They usually used both Br and Kh in the coin legends as they like the Udumbaras and the Kunindas lived on the border between the regions in which the two ancient alphabets Brahmi and Kharoshthi prevailed⁴

They are mentioned in the *Maha Bharata* the *Brihat Samhita* and other Sanskrit works as well as in the inscriptions⁵

¹ *Ibid* fig 13

² JASB Vol X No 6 1914 (Numis Supp No XXIII p 448)

³ Prof Rapson in CHI 1 p 59

⁴ *Ibid*

⁵ JRAS 1900—Rapson *Notes on Indian Coins and Seals* III—The Kulutas a people of Northern India

Their country was visited by Hiouen Tshang and they are sometimes referred to as *Mlecchas* in the Sanskrit literature and this perhaps means that they were foreigners. But it is evident from their coins that they had by this time adopted Indian names. The *obv* type has great resemblance with Vishnu coins (C CAI Pl IV fig 15)

Type—The Wheel Type AE

Obv The Wheel surrounded by a circle of dots. Br legend—*Rajna Kolitasja Virayasya* (coin) of King Virayasa the Koluta¹

Rev The Hill symbol (the so called *Chaitya*) with the *Nandipada* above *Siastika* on l and another symbol. Two Ss with a line between on the r—the Kh legend gives only the word *Rana*. The Br letters are of the 1st or 2nd century A D and this conclusion is strengthened by the curtailment of the Kh legend. As pointed out by Prof Rapson in the bilateral coin legends the importance of the Kh alphabet tends to diminish as time goes on. In the earliest known coins of this class which are placed in the first century B C (in the silver coins of the Kunindas and the Audumbaras) the Kh inscription is full. But in the Kuluta coin only the title *Rana* in Kh is found on the *rev*. This clearly shows that Kh had lost its importance and was being superseded by Br.

V *Kunindas* The—They are the *Kulindrine* of Ptolemy and it is also spelt as *Kaulinlas* or *Kaurinlas*. The spelling in the coins is *Kuninda* as also in the Brihat Samhita of Varaha Mihira. *Kulinda* in the Vishnu Purana and *Kaulinda* in the Markandeya Purana². These coins are found in large numbers in the country between Ambala and Shaharanpur³ and three of the silver coins were found at Jwalamukhi in Kangra associated with the coins of Apollodotos (c. 150 B C)⁴. Cunningham identified the Kunindas with the *Kunets* or *Kanets* of the Simla Hills⁵. But Jayaswal rejects this identification and is supported by Sir G Grierson⁶. They however inhabited the country of the Sutlej in the Simla Hill States⁷. The Udumbaras the Kulutas and the Kunindas lived on the border between the regions in which the two ancient alphabets Brahmi and Kharoshthi prevailed. They accordingly used both of them in their coin legends⁸. In most of the coins of the Kunindas both silver and copper occur the word *Amoghabhuta* but these coins vary much in execution and probably extend

¹ C CAI p 10 Pl IV fig 14. Cunningham read *Kopitasja* or *Kopanasja*. Rapson suggested *Kopita* the very pure. But it was Mr Bergny who first correctly read *Kolitasja*. JRAS (1900) p 415.

² C CAI p 71 J HP I p 8 footnote 1

³ S CCIV p 161

⁴ J HP I p 8 footnote 1 and 1"

⁵ CHI I p 599

⁶ C CAI p 71

⁷ C CAI p 71

⁸ *Ib* 1

over a considerable period' ¹ V Smith takes the word *Amoghābhūti* to be the name of a king, and was, therefore forced to the conclusion that the name of *Amoghābhūti* was continued even long after his death. Jayaswal, however, has pointed a way out of this difficulty. In this opinion, the Kuninda coins refer both to the name of the king and the political community. 'Their king, is always mentioned there as *Amoghābhūti*, 'of unfailing prosperity', and the same appellation appears for centuries (150 B C to 100 A C). This was an official title and not a personal name' ² But we have no corroboration of this statement from other sources which would obviate all our doubts. The legends in the coins are in an old form of Brāhmī and in some of the coins, these are also repeated in Kharoshthī. The coins with both Br and Kh legends are supposed to be of an earlier date by Smith ³ The later issues were surely influenced by the copper coins of the Kushana period. But their attribution to the 3rd and 4th century A D by Prof Rapson seems to be too late ⁴ though there is practically no doubt that the Hindu states like the Yaudheyas, the Kunindas etc 'rose in power as the Greek and Kushana supremacies successively declined'. The *Chatresvara* Type is surely 'later in date than the 'Stag Type' coins with the name of *Amoghābhūti*' ⁵ So the period covered is 150 B C ⁶ to 200 A D ⁷

Type No 1 *The Stag Type* (2nd century B C) ⁸ AR

Obv Female with l hand on hip with lotus flower in r hand, a stag standing to r and two symbols one between the horns of the stag and the other above it, and this is supposed to be a square stūpa surmounted by an umbrella a mint mark,—a disc surrounded by dots at hindfoot of stag, the marginal Br legend—*Amaghābhūtiśa mahārājasa rājña Kunīdasa* (*Amoghābhūtiśa mahārājasa rājña Kunī (n) dāsa*)—'coin of Amoghābhūti Mahārāja, Rājā, the Kuninda or of the Kunindas', ⁹ (or of Mahārāja of unfailing strength, the king of the Kunindas) ¹⁰ We also find different symbols in other coins eg *śastika*, *nandipada* or two short curved lines, and *rājña* is sometimes spelt as *raña*. The so called *Chaitya* of three arches (the *Hill* symbol) also occasionally occurs

Rev A high so called six arched *chaitya* (the *Hill* Symbol?) with umbrella (?) in centre, to r conventional tree in railing, to l *śastika* and a triangular headed symbol—(yūpa?) and above a *nandipada*, below a curved line (snake or river?) which appears to have been put merely for ornamental

¹ S CCIM, p 161

² S CCIM, p 161

³ *Ibid*

⁴ 150 B C —S CCIM p 161

⁵ 100 A D —S CCIM p 167

⁶ S CCIM, p 167

⁷ J HP I, p 82 footnote 1

⁸ J HP I p 82, footnote 1

⁹ R IC p 12

¹⁰ S CCIM, p 161

¹¹ R IC p 12

3rd or 4th cent A D —R IC p 12

¹² *Ibid*

purposes, Kh legend in the margin—*Raṇa Kunidasa Amoghā bhātisa* below *maharajasa* ¹

AE or Brass—A With both Br and Kh legends ²

Obv Device and legend in Br as in silver coins but without mint mark, legend generally imperfect

Rev Device as in silver coins, legend in Kh

B With Brahmi Legend only ³

Obv Device and legend in Br as above

Rev Device as above but no legend

C With no legend

Obv and Rev Device as above ⁴

Type No 2—The *Chatresvara* Type ⁵ AE (Later than Amoghabūti)

Obv Siva facing with trident battle axe in r hand, and leopard skin hanging from l arm, Br legend—*Bhagavata Chatresvara Mahātmanah* ⁶ 'Of the Almighty Mahādeva, the lord i.e. the coin dedicated to god Maheśvara' Prof Rapson identifies the skin on the l arm with that of an antelope but as leopard skin is associated with god Siva, so Cunningham's suggestion is more acceptable

Rev Stag standing l in the middle, conventional Tree in railing and a vase with flowers or leaves above on the r on the l the 'triangular headed' symbol, the *Hull* symbol (the so called six arched chaitya) with a *nandipada* above and a zigzag line (not a snake) for ornamental purpose l, and a symbol within the horns of the stag

Almora (or Kedārabhūmi)—Three specimens of coins were found near Almora and these are 'different in fabric from every other known Indian coinage' ⁷ The metal used was 'some alloy of silver and the coins 'are heavier than any other Indian coins' ⁸ Two of these coins bear the names of Śivadatta and Śivapāṇi(ṭa) in Br letters which are taken to be by Prof Rapson 'of a date between the 1st century B C and the 2nd century A D' The obv type has some similarity with that of a few coins of the Pañchālas, and the 'Stag' on the rev has great resemblance to the 'Stag Type' coins of the Kunindas Prof Rapson attributes these coins to a branch of the Kunindas 'whose territories extended further east along the southern slopes of the Himalayas as far as Nepal' ⁹

Type—Legend Śivadatta ¹⁰ AR

¹ S CCIM p 167 (coin No 1)

² *Ibid*

³ *Ibid*, p 170 R IC, Pl III 10

⁴ V Smith writes *mahamanah* which is clearly a misprint for *Mahātmanah* (atn t) in the sense of God *Mahātmanah* means 'of Maheśvara' and *Chatresvara*—the lord (R IC Pl III 10)

⁷ R IC, p 10

⁸ CHI 5.9 (Prof Rapson)

⁹ *Ibid* p 163

¹⁰ *Ibid* 169

⁸ *Ibid*

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p 539

Obv Two symbols between the posts the upper one is the triangular symbol and the lower one may be a *nandipada*⁽¹⁾

Rev The legend—*Suadatasā* in the margin a *stag* and a *tree* within railing in the centre an uncertain type may be a symbol or a letter¹

VI *Maharaja Janapada*—*Maharaja* is the name of a state and is referred to by Panini in a rule which contemplates a man owing loyalty to it² Jayaswal is of opinion that during the Sunga period they had a republican constitution whatever might have been the system in vogue at the time of Panini. These coins have been found in the Punjab but the exact locality where this Janapada dwelt cannot be determined. The legends are either in Br or Kh and this leads Jayaswal to infer that the original Br legend was changed into Kh when they passed under the influence of the foreign rulers³. But on the analogy of the Kuluta coin and the Stag Type copper coins of the Kunindas the Br legend might have succeeded the Kh the coins on this basis may be dated in the 2nd cent. A.D.

Humped Bull and the Standing Figure Type AE
Var a *Obv* A Humped Bull to l a crescent over the head and a symbol (*Vajra* ?) over the back.

Rev A Standing Male Figure to f and a Kh legend around the coin—*Maharaja Janapadasa*. Of the *Maharaja Janapada*⁴. In Var b occurs the same legend in Br the Bull with the crescent may surely raise a strong presumption that they were Śaiva or the worshippers of Siva⁵.

VII *Malavas* The—Alexander the Great while marching down the Indus came upon the *Ashudrakas* and the *Malavas* or as they were spelt by the Greeks the *Oxydrakas* and the *Malloi* respectively⁶. They had extensive territories and large population. These states had several cities were very rich and noted for military prowess and had republican constitution perhaps formed into one League⁷ as suggested by Mr Jayaswal Cunningham places the Malavas near Multan which he identifies with their capital⁸ or as Jayaswal puts it their cities were along the Chenab and their capital was near the Ravi⁹. Kautilya however does not mention the *Ashudrakas* and the *Malavas* in his list of martial republics and it has therefore been inferred that they had already come under the Imperial Rule of the Mauryas¹⁰. The two tribes reappear in the Sunga times but later on the *Ashudrakas* vanish altogether perhaps they became

¹ *Ibid* Pl V fig 17 p 39

² *Ibid*

³ J HP I p 159

⁴ J HP I p 159

⁵ C CAI p 69 Pl IV fig 11

⁶ J HP I p 68

⁷ The Malavas of the Punjab as the Ashudrakas are associated in Sanskrit literature.—CHI I p 37 footnote 1

⁸ C AGI p 27

⁹ J HI I p 68

¹⁰ *Ibid* p 149

amalgamated with the Malavas¹. In the 2nd century B.C. they are found in their new homes at Karkota Nāgar 'within the territory of Rajā of Uṣyīra a feudatory of Jaypur' 'a distance of twenty five miles a little east of south from Tonk in Rājputana'. They migrated via Bhātinda in Patiala state 'where they have left traces of their name (in Malwālī dialect extending from Ferozpora to Bhatinda)'² and are found fighting with the Uttamabhadras to the west of Ajmer before 58 B.C. They later on occupied the vast territory to the south of Nāgar which permanently bears their name'³. There is no doubt that one section of the people remained in North Punjab and the two Mālava peoples of Prof. Rapson are surely the two branches of the same tribe⁴. We find them mentioned among the opponents of Samudragupta along with the Yaudheyas the Madras the Ārunīyanas and others. Their subsequent history is lost and they vanish altogether in the later Gupta period. The Malava coins are generally found in the country 'about Ajmer Tonk and Chitor'.

V. Smith rightly points out that 'in the vast range of Indian coinages their coins are among the most curious and enigmatical'.⁵ The chronology of the series has not yet been precisely determined. Carlisle and Cunningham assign them to 200 B.C. to 250 A.D., Smith and Prof. Rapson are agreed that the initial date is about 150 B.C. but Prof. Rapson pushes them to the 5th century A.D. Smith however attributes the cessation of this local coinage from Nāgar to 'the extension of the power of Chandragupta II about 380 A.D.'—and he seems right in his estimate. These two great scholars also differ as regards the dates of the various types. Mr. R. O. Douglas⁶ made some suggestions which are very helpful in laying down a few broad principles for classifying the Malava coins according to chronology. The legends that occur in these coins are—(A) the various forms of the tribal name (B) and a number of peculiar names of their princes. In class A, we have the following⁷: (a) *Mala* (b) *Malaya* or *Malaya* (c) *Malava* or *Malara* (d) *Malava Jaya*, the Malava Victory (e) *Malavana jaya* and its variants *Malavana Jaya*, *Malavana Jaya* or

¹ *Jb I* p. 152

² S. CCIM p. 162

³ *J. H. P.* I p. 12

⁴ *Id.*

⁵ It is not just possible that there may really have been two peoples: (i) the Mālava of the north represented the Malli of the Greek writers by the coins having the inscription *Malyavanum Jaya* (II) by the Malava of the Muhrakasa and (ii) the Malava (Malya) of Hiouen Tsiang and (iii) the better known Malava of the south called *Malya* (Malya) of Hiouen Tsiang.—*IRAS* (1900) p. 42 (See Prof. Rapson).

⁶ S. CCIM p. 161

⁷ *Jb I* p. 162 Num. Supp. N 37 p. 43 (ASB Vol. VII No. 6 (New Series))

⁸ Douglas R. O.—On the Malava Coins (Num. Supp. No. 37)

⁹ S. CCIM Douglas—On the Malava Coins

Malarahna Jaya etc, 'Victory of the Mālavas', (f) *Mālaram*, (g) *Malara ganasya*, 'Of the Mālava gana',¹ (h) *Malara Sujaya*, 'the well conquering Mālava (Douglas)' The last legend is read only in one coin, Mr Douglas is however confident that it is not 'na' but 'su'. We however must suspend judgment till the discovery of other similar coins.

Mr Douglas has correctly shown that Malaya or Mālaya is the earlier form of *Mālava*², the Greek form *Malloi* stands for Malaya and the correct transliteration for Malava would have been *Malluoi*³. The word 'Mala' he takes to be the name of a king, the founder of the Malava tribe. The form *Malaranā Jaya* is surely of an earlier date than *Mālaranām Jaya* which may be dated in the 2nd century A D. Another very important datum can be gleaned from the fact that in some of the coins the legends read from right to left. This clearly shows the influence of the Kharoshthi alphabet and perhaps the Mālavas brought this practice from their early settlements in the valleys of the Ravi and the Beas. These coins with very good reasons can be ascribed to an earlier age. The conclusions based on palæography have to be tested with reference to the form of the legends, the language employed, and the way in which the letters are arranged. The adoption of these principles which are reasonable enough, would necessitate a rearrangement of the different groups of coins in Smith's catalogue. But the most difficult problem is the chronology of the coins which are generally ascribed to the Mālava kings with peculiar names. The relationship of these coins with those that are unmistakably Malavan is evinced by some of their legends as well as *provenance*. In Smith's catalogue (No 70), we have a two line legend (a) *Malara*, (b) *Majupa*, both read from right to left. Here Majupa is the name of a king and he must be connected with the Malavas.

Jayaswal suggested⁴ that the coins with the names of kings belong to the power which superseded the Malavas. But we cannot accept this view. We find that both the series were contemporaneous from the 2nd century B C to 2nd century A D. The coins with the tribal names in Prākṛit have to be assigned to the 2nd century B C, so is the case with the coins of Bhāpamyana, Yama (Maya?) and others who have to be placed in the same period on palæographical grounds⁵. Again the coins with their legends in classical Sanskrit—*Mālaranām Jaya*—come down to the 2nd century A D, while V Smith

¹ J HP I, p 153

² In the *Mudraraksasa*, they are referred to as Malayas

³ Douglas—*On Some Malava Coins*, pp 42-47, (Num. Suppl. No 37)

⁴ J HP I p 218

⁵ S CCIM, 174

peculiar coinage which merely served the necessities of a community on a low economic level. I follow Smith's classification as the most convenient for reference, though with necessary modifications.

Class A With the Tribal Name¹ AE

Group 1 (a) Second Century B C (circular)

The eleven coins in this group are assigned to the second century B C by V Smith. In determining the date of these coins he relies upon Nos 1 and 11. These two coins may be ascribed to the 2nd century B C on palaeographical grounds and they may belong to that early period as the legend is in Prakrit—*Mālavā Jaya* in coin No 11 and the legend in No 1 also should be read *Mālavā* instead of *Mālavā (num)* as proposed. The other coins with legends in Sanskrit of the classical style must be assigned to a very much later date perhaps 2nd century A D.

(i) *Obv* Mala Tree in railing²

Rev Aandipada Symbol

The word 'Mala' is taken by Mr Douglas to be the name of the original founder of the tribe. So these coins assuredly belong to the earlier series.

(ii) *Obv* Malaya³

Rev Obscure irregular dots 'Malaya' might have been derived from 'Mala'—meaning 'the tribe of Mala'.

(iii) *Obv* Hill Symbol (so called 'chaitya' of three arches), above *Jaya* in large old characters⁴

Rev Radiate sun and another symbol, legend—*Mālavāna*, in 2nd century B C script (Smith)

Group 1 (b) 100 B C—100 A D AE

Obv Legend *Mālavā*

Rev A zigzag line (snake or river?) and a Aandipada symbol (Smith—Nos 7 and 8)

Group 1 (c) 100 A D—200 A D

(i) *Obv* Legend *Mālavānām Jaya* in classical Sanskrit

Rev Obscure (Coins Nos 2, 3, 5, 6 and 9—Smith)

(ii) *Obv* Conventional tree in railing with *ja* 1 and *ya* r

Rev Perhaps the legend—*Mālavānam*

Group 2 With *I ase* rev⁵ (circ) AE

Obv *Mālavā jaya* in script of 2nd century B C (?)

Rev Vase in dotted circle

¹ S. CCIM pp 161 64 and 170-78

² S. CCIM p 174 Douglas R. O.—O. Some Malava Coins p 4 (coin No 2)

³ *Ibid* No 1

⁴ S. CCIM 171 (coin No 11). The coin No 1 also belongs to the same type the legend should be read as *Mālavā* and not *Mālavā (num)*. The other nine coins of this group must be considered to be of a much later date.

⁵ S. CCIM p 171

Group 3 *Tree and Vase Type* (rec and circ) AE

Obv Tree in railing in centre, legend—*Malavana jaya*
The other variants are *Malava jaya*, *Mūlavana jaya* *Mālavana jaya* (or *jayo*), *Mālavana jaya* or *Malavahna jaya*. It is the Prākṛit form and may be dated in the 1st century B C or A D. The variants of the legend may supply a chronological clue, if we could only determine the order of these linguistic variations with the lapse of time.

Rev Vase in dotted border

Group 4 With *Lion* rev (rec) AE

Obv The legend—*Mālava jaya* and other variants

Rev Lion standing l

Group 5 With *Bull* rev (rec & circ) AE

Obv *Malavahna jaya* and other variants

Rev Humped Bull walking l

These coins seem to be of a later date, perhaps 1st century A D. Coins Nos 41, 47 and 49 in Smith's catalogue clearly do not belong to this type. In No 57 the legend is reversed: it is to be read from right to left, and this is surely of an earlier date, perhaps 2nd century B C.

Group 6 *King's head* rev (circ) AE

Mr Douglas seems to be correct in his statement that coins Nos 58, 59, 60 and 72a in Smith's catalogue are really Nāga coins. No 61 is a Mālava coin but cannot be included in this group as its *rev* is very obscure. The similarity of the coins of this group with the Nāga coins was recognised by Smith also.

Obv The legend should be read as—*Mahaganasa jaya* i.e. 'Victory to Mahārāja Ganapati'—'distinct points of similarity in design between them and the coins of Mahārāja Ganapati of Nāga'.

Rev King's head r with curly hair. Prof Rapson does not accept Smith's identification. Really it is very difficult to recognise the type as a 'curly head', it may be a 'fantail peacock'.

Group 7 *Fantail Peacock* rev AE

These coins are of an early date, perhaps 2nd century B C, the letters read from right to left.

Obv The central device is very obscure, it is not possible to accept Smith's opinion that it stands for a female figure (Smith—No 63). The legend seems to be *Mūlava ganasya jaya*.

Rev Peacock facing with expanded tail covering the whole surface of the coin.

Group 8 *Miscellaneous Devices* AE

Some of the coins are of an early date. Coin No 66 is assigned to the 2nd century B C by Smith, No 67 also belongs to the same period at least, as it has the legend 'Mala', Nos 67a and 67b are of a much later date and No 64 perhaps belongs to the 2nd century A D. This group has two coins with tree on the *obv* and one with an open lotus flower.

In three other coins, we have only the variants of the 'Malava' legend. On the *rev* Smith identified a Nandipada but a snake, a peacock and a solar symbol as suggested by him cannot be made out.

Class B—With the names of Mālava chiefs (?)¹ AE

(a) The Early kings—100 B C or earlier

(1) *Bhapamyana*, or *Bhampayana* (Jayaswal), c 200 B C. The 'tree in railing' Type. The animal on the *rev* seems to be a recumbent Bull and not a lion or tiger as suggested by Smith (Coin No 68).

(2) *Yama* or *Maya*—2nd century B C

The 'Tree in railing' Type, on the *rev* 'Mālava' Symbol. I do not find the snake (Smith No 69).

(3) *Majupa*, i.e. *Mahārāja Jupa* (Yūpa). The legend in two lines—(i) *Malarā*, (ii) *Majupa*, both read from right to left. The *rev* is obscure, perhaps a lion. It is an early coin (200 B C), *Jupa* was surely a Malava chief (Smith—No 70).

(b) From c 100 B C—100 A D

(1) *Mapojaya*. Jayaswal takes it to be *Mahājaya* i.e. *Mahārāja Jaya*. Two Types of coins—(i) with lion *rev* (No 71) and (ii) with elephant *rev* (No 72), the single line legend on the *obv* *Mapojaya* or *Mahājaya* (?).

(2) *Mapaya*, or *Mahārāja Paya*, perhaps the same man as *Paya* and therefore of a later date—acc. to Smith c 300 A D. Type (i) Humped Bull *rev* and single line legend *Mapaya* *obv* (Smith—Nos 73-78), (ii) the same *obv* but lion *rev* (?) (No 79). No 72a is a Naga coin and referred to above.

(3) *Magajaśa* is the abbreviation of *Mahārāja Gajasa*,—'Of *Mahārāja Gaja*'. (4) *Magaja* is the identical name—'*Mahārāja Gaja*'. So the coins Nos 80-84 (Smith) may be taken to be the coins of one and the same king. Type—(i) *obv* *Magajaśa*, *rev* defaced (Nos 80 and 81), (ii) *Obv* *Magaja*, *rev* elephant or obscure (Nos 82-84).

(5) *Magojaya*, or *Magajaya* (Jayaswal), i.e. *Mahārāja Gajaya* (*Gajapa* ?). Perhaps this name is identical with *Gajaya*, Legend—*Magojaya* *obv*, Lion sitting *rev* (Nos 85-87).

(6) *Gajaya* (*Gajapa* ?). Perhaps identical with king No 5, Legend *Gajaya* on *obv*, and Lion (?) *rev*.

(7) *Gojara*—Legend *Gojara* *obv*, and animal running *rev* (No 88).

(8) *Māsapa*, or *Vasapa* or *Mahārāja Sarpa* (Jayaswal)—the legend *Māsapa* on the *obv*, defaced *rev*.

(9) *Pachha*. Legend *Pachha* on the *obv*, and king's head (?) *rev*.

(10) *Magachha* or *Mahārāja Gachha*. the Bull Type—the legend *Magachha* on the *obv*, and Bull I on the *rev* (No 94).

(11) *Jampaya*—The Legend *Jamapaya* on the *obi*, the blank or defaced *rev* (No 99)

(c) The Late Period—c 100 A D -300 A D

(1) *Yama*,—the second of this name A two line legend—
(a) *Yama*, (b) illegible, and a Bull on the *rev*, about 100 A D (No 92)

(2) *Jamaka*,—the legend—*Jāmaka* on the *obi*, and *rev* defaced (No 98)

(3) *Mahārāja*—the legend in two lines—(a) (*Ma*)h (ā), (b) *rāja*, *rev* blank or defaced—2nd century A D (No 101)

(4) *Maraja*—Legend *Maraja obi*, Bull *rev* (Nos 102 and 103)
It is perhaps an abbreviation for *Mahārāja*, and *Mahārāja* may be the name of the same king, specially as the coin is also dated in the 2nd century A D

(5) *Mapaka*,—*Mahārāja Paka*—The Bull *rev*, and legend *Mapaka* on the *obi*—2nd century A D

(6) *Paya*—The Bull Type with legend *Paya* on the *obi* about 300 A D For another *Paya* of an earlier date see *Mapaya* or he may be the same man as the Type is identical and the characters are of a late date (*Mapaya*, No 74)

Class C—Without Legend AE

(1) *Peacock and the human figure*

Obi Peacock facing front with expanded tail

Rev Squatted human figure to l with obscure marks on the r (No 104)

(2) *Vase and Bull*

Obi Vase containing flowers

Rev Bull standing l (No 105)

(3) *Palm leaf and the Vase*

Obi Pinnate Palm leaf

Rev Vase, the smallest coin in the collection only 17 gr in weight and 2 in diameter (No 106)

(4) *Palm leaf and the Bull*

Obi Pinnate Palm leaf, *rev* Bull standing l (Nos 107 and 108)

(5) *Tree in railing*

Obi Tree in railing perhaps with legend *Jaya*, Analogous to coin No 4 of Smith and similar to coin No 26 of Douglas

Rev indistinct

(6) *The Bull with large horns*

Obi Bull with large horns and spreading ears standing l
Rev defaced

(7) *Lotus Flower*¹

(a) *Obi* 'Malava' Symbol *Rev* Conventional Lotus Flower

(b) *Obi* defaced, *Rev* open Lotus Flower

¹ Douglas P O—On Some Malava Coins (Nos 2^o and 3)

VIII *Sibis* The—The *Siboi* were the neighbours of the Malavas (the Mallori) in the Punjab during the time of Alexander¹ They are referred to as *Sinis* in the Jataka and the *Saibyas* by Patanjali who took *Sibi* to be the name of a country or state² Later on like the Malavas they migrated from the Punjab to Rajasthan³ and their coins are found at Nagari near Chitor These coins bear the name of their country or nation—*Majhimikaya Sibi Janapadasa*—Of the country (or Nation) of the Sibis of Madhyamika⁴ Madhyamika therefore seems to be their capital and its identification with Nagari is practically certain⁵ These coins are very rare and the metal is copper

Obv The Upper Part of a Trisula (Cross—Cunningham) in middle with a small symbol in each angle to the r a straight tree rising from a small circle Legend in Br—*Majhimikaya Sibi Janapadasa*

Rev Hill surmounted by the *Andipada* with a river symbol below The coins are earlier than the Christian Era

IX *Vimakas* The⁶—They are not known from any other source The coins of their king Rudravarma is included by Cunningham among those of the Audumbaras It has a great similarity with the Mahadeva⁷ coin and bears the same type There seems to be some sort of relationship between the Vimakas and the Audumbaras perhaps they were neighbours

The *Elephant and Bull Type* AE

Obv The Elephant with upraised trunk moving to r towards trident battle axe of Śiva Br Legend

Rev Humped Indian Bull to r and a symbol under head it cannot be a flower as suggested by Cunningham It has a great similarity with the symbol on the *rev* of the Vrishni coin (C CAI Pl IV fig 15) and I take it to be a *Chakra* or discus Kh Legend

The Legend—

Obv Br rajnavemakisarudravarmasa (v) i

Rev Kh ranave vu () ma—vijayata (sa)⁸ = (coin of) king Rudravarma the Vemaki or Vaimali—the king of the Vimakas the Conqueror

X *Vrishnis* The—The Vrishnis of old lived at Mathura According to the account of the Maha Bharata they went to Dwaraka when hard pressed by Jarasandha⁹ But a branch of it must have remained in the original home and in the Śunga

¹ J HP I p 68

² *Ib* l p 153

D GDAMI p 116

³ *Ibid* p 153 footnote 3

⁴ *Ib* d

⁶ JRAS 1900 (Prof Rapson) p 499 footnote 2 C CAI p 68 Pl IV fig 6

⁷ *Ibid* fig 2

⁸ JRAS 1900 p 412 (Berguy) and pp 498 and 499 (Prof Rapson)

⁹ D GDAMI p 58 (Dvaravati) J HP I p 77

times (2nd century B C), they issued coins of which perhaps only two remain¹ But shortly afterwards they fell under the influence of the Śaka invaders and Jayaswal comes to this conclusion from the fact that the Brāhmi legend of the coin was coupled with the script of the invader 'i.e. Khroshthi'. The legend on the coins is a peculiar one different from that of the republican tribes—the Mālavas, the Ārjunayanas, the Yaudheyas and others. It is not merely in the name of the Gana but in the name of the Rajanya and Gana of the Vrishnis². Jayaswal tried to clear up this difficulty and showed that in the Vrishni Gana the executive power was vested in two Rajanyas³. The coin in Cunningham's book, Pl IV, fig 15 is in silver⁴.

Type—The Half Lion and Half Elephant AR

Obv. A pillar, with half lion and half elephant surmounted by a symbol and surrounded by a railing, legend in Brāhmi⁵.

Rev. The same legend in Kh and the so called *Dharma chakra* of Cunningham. Jayaswal has clearly shown that it is the state symbol of the Vrishnis⁶—the weapon 'chakra' or discus which was their symbol according to tradition as early as the time of Rajanya Krishna⁷. Whatever doubt we might have as regards the correctness of the identification is set at rest 'by the cutting edges and the projecting points on the rim'⁸. The Legend⁹—

Obv. Br Vrishni(ā)jagunaganasatrataryasa

Rev. Kh Vrishni—nna(ga) (t)ra—

'Of the Vrishni Rajanya (and) Gana—the protector of the country (Jayaswal)'

It seems to be a better interpretation to take the compound literally—

Vrishni raja-Jñāganasya, 'Of Jñāgana the Vrishni King'. The name of the king who issued this coin is therefore, Jñāgana. The word *tratarasya* means 'of the Saviour, corresponding to Sans *trātuh*'.

XI *Uddekikas*. The—The *Uddekikas*, or *Uddelikas* are mentioned by Varāha Mihira in his *Brihat Samhita* and are placed in the central Region¹⁰. Prof. Rapson concludes from the general similarity between the coins of *Uddekika* and *Erin* that the two places were not far apart. The exact

¹ *Id.* p. 157

² *Id.* p. 40

³ C. A. I. p. 70

⁴ J. H. P. I. p. 177

⁵ J. R. A. S. (1900) p. 416 (A. V. Bergna) B. C. Law—B. I. P. I. tie

⁶ *Id.* p. 398 footnote 2

⁷ J. R. A. S. (1900) pp. 98-102

⁸ *Id.* p. 1

⁹ *Id.* p. 41

¹⁰ *Id.*, J. H. I. p. 157

¹¹ *Id.*, footnote 2

determination of the locality must await further research. These coins however 'mark an interesting stage in the art of coin making in India. The symbols instead of being impressed on the coins separately by the different punches are struck from a single die which is made up of a collection of such symbols. The Brahmi alphabet is of an early period and the coin may safely be assigned to the 3rd century B.C. We have the name of only one king Suryamitra.

Type No 1—The *Humped Bull* Type¹ A.E.

Obv. Humped Bull to r above tree within railing in a horizontal position.

Rev. The Legend in old Brahmi—*Uddekak* the Prince of the Uddekikas three symbols above—the *Mulaka* symbol two fishes in a pond and tree within railing.

Type No 2—The *Elephant* Type² A.I.

Obv. The Elephant to l beneath five hooded snake and (?) tree within railing both represented horizontally. The coin is almost obliterated so the symbols are obscure and doubtful. The countermark is the triangular headed symbol at top left. This symbol is very common. Prof. Rapson characterises it as a 'curious symbol which occurs so frequently on coins of all kinds—punch marked cast and struck—and which no one seems to have explained'. Sometimes it is put within a railing as on many of the coins of Bahasatimitra of Kausambi. There is no doubt that it is an auspicious sign like the *svastika*. The equilateral triangle is the 'symbol of God manifested in the cosmos' and when it stands on its apex it signifies expansion or evolution and like the *Swastika* the ascending creative force—or life'.⁴ This may explain its general use but what the two small protruding lines on the right of the triangle represent cannot yet be determined.⁵

XII *Yaudheyas* The—They are included among the *Ayudhajivin Sanghas* and they are referred to as a *janapada* a nation or country i.e. a political community'.⁶ They considered military art as the vital principle of their constitution⁷ and were specially noted as warriors.⁸ The word *yaudheya* is derived from *yudha* battle⁹ or from a personal name¹⁰ though the former one seems to be more acceptable. Panini places them in the *Vahika* country¹¹ along with other republican states. There is no doubt that the *Vahikas* were in the Punjab and Jayaswal takes the word *Vahika* to mean the country of the rivers,¹² comprising the Sindh valley and the Punjab. Arrian

¹ *Ibid* Ind an Coins and Seals I fig 1

² Havell E.B.—*The Ideals of Indian Art* p 86

³ *Ibid*

⁴ J. H. P. I pp 35 and 36

⁵ C. C. A. I p 70

⁶ J. H. P. I p 134

⁷ *Ibid*

⁸ *Ibid* fig 2

⁹ See chapter on Symbols

¹⁰ *Ibid* p 37

¹¹ *Ibid*

¹² *Ibid* p 38

mentions a powerful republic on the east side of the Hyphasis or Beas. Their country was very fertile and the inhabitants were agriculturists but brave in war. Jaiswal suggests with reference to the find spot of the Yaudheya coins that this unnamed republic on the Beas was probably that of the Yaudheyas¹. Alexander did not cross the river and had no opportunity of testing the military prowess of this renowned people. The Puranas give a monarchical constitution to the Yaudheyas². Perhaps the original monarchy was later on replaced by an aristocracy of 5000 councillors—virtually a republic³.

The Yaudheyas survived the Maurya Empire, the Satraps of Mathura and the Kushanas. The 2nd century A.D. was full of their military glory⁴ and they are referred to in Rudradaman's (150 A.D.) inscription. In the 4th century A.D. the Yaudheyas appear in the inscription of Samudragupta as one of the frontier tribes of the Gupta Empire. Perhaps they left their original home during Kushana period and were in Western Rajputana during the time of Rudradaman. Cunningham identified the Yaudheyas with the *Johiyas* of Bhawalpur who now occupy the country on both banks of the Sutlej and the lower Doab between the Sutlej was named after them—the *Johiyabar*⁵. When the Yaudheyas passed away from history cannot exactly be determined but it is certain that by the 7th century A.D. they were no more⁶. Thus they had a political existence of more than thousand years credited to them⁷. The coins of the Yaudheyas are found in the Eastern Punjab and all over the country between the Sutlej and the Jumna rivers. Two large finds have been made at *Sonpail* between Delhi and Karnal⁸. Some of them were found in the Kanara District and a great many at Jogadheri in the Eastern Punjab and Cunningham procured his silver piece⁹ and 300 copper pieces between the Sutlej and the Jumna rivers. So it is evident that the Yaudheya territories were extensive—the cities of Lahore, Bhawalpur, Bikaner, Ludhiana and Delhi roughly indicate the limits of the tribal territory¹⁰.

The Yaudheya coins fall into 3 classes—(a) The earliest—the Bull and Elephant Type coins have been dated a little before or after the Christian era¹¹. These are small copper coins of rough workmanship but have some resemblance with the earlier coins of the Audumbaras and the Kunindas, and on this ground Prof. Rapson assigns them to about 100 B.C.¹² and

¹ *It I* p 67

² *Ibid* p 67 and 74

³ *C. Cal* p 70

⁴ *It I* p 174

⁵ *Ibid* p 7

⁶ S. Majumdar—Notes on C. AGI p 600

⁷ *R. IC* p 15

⁸ *J. HP I* p 74

⁹ *Ibid* p 149

¹⁰ *J. HI I* p 151

¹¹ *C. Cal* p 76

¹² *S. CCIM* p 16

Type No 2 The Three Symbols Type¹ AE

Two coins are included by Cunningham among those of the Yaudheyas one of them he found at Behat with other Yaudheya coins. These might be earlier than the 'Bull and Elephant' Type, but the identification is not absolutely certain. One of them is a single die coin² with only three symbols the other is broken has three symbols, and part of a legend in indistinct Br characters³.

Obv The Three Symbols—Tree in railing in the middle is common. In the single die coin the symbol to the l is one of four circles ('Malava' Symbol) and the other on the r is perhaps a conventional tree like the symbol in coin No 3 of Balabhūti of Mathurā (S CCIM, p 192). The double die coin has the 'triangular headed' symbol on the l and a circular object (*chakra*?) on the r and inscription only partly legible—*Maluraya(sa)*. The rev indistinct perhaps a few letters.

Type No 3—The Brahmanyaśva Type⁴ AR and AE

Var a—Second Century A D

Obv Six headed god (*Kārttikeya*) standing on lotus facing with l hand on hip and r hand raised and a barbed spear on the l the legend completed from a number of coins—*Bhūgavataśvaramino Brahmanyaśvasya* 'coin of (dedicated to) Almighty Lord Brahmanyaśva'. Here Brahmanyaśva is not the name of a king as presumed by Smith⁵. It is surely the national god *Kārttikeya*⁶ the war god to whom the warlike Yaudheyas dedicated their coins. Whatever doubt we might have is set at rest by the substitution of *Kumaraśva*⁷ another name of *Kārttikeya* for Brahmanyaśvasya in some of the coins. In a few of these coins the legends end in words like *drama* *dama* or *darma*. V Smith was not sure about its meaning and could not explain it⁸ it is however only a variant of the Greek word *drachm* signifying here 'a coin'. In some specimens the god stands on a pedestal⁹ and a vase also occurs in the r field in a few cases¹⁰. *Rev* Six headed figure standing on lotus facing tree in railing r and the so called *chakras* with umbrellas (the *Hill* symbol) and *nandipala* above it on the l¹¹. In some specimens the figure stands on a bent line¹² and in others it

¹ C CM p 77 11 VI f. 1 and 15

² *Ib* l 11 VI fig 1

³ *Ib* l p 11 VI f.

⁴ S CCIM pp 181 82 11 XVI 13 17 C CM p 78 12 VI 1 29 9-12 R IC 11 III 1

⁵ S CCIM p 181 f. 1 to 1

⁶ R IC 11 III 15 J HI 1 p 150 at 1218. On the second type they give the representation of God Karttikeya the presiding deity of Here sm and War and name him on the coin. In fact the coin itself is again actually dedicated to the Deity of Here and the other words the figure is the *La I Deity*.

⁷ S CCIM p 182 (C Nos 1 17)

⁸ *Ib* l p 182 f. 1 to 1

⁹ S CCIM pp 181 82 (Nos 9 at 117)

¹⁰ *Ib* l p 182 (N 1)

¹¹ *Ib* l p 181 (N 8)

¹² *Ib* l p 182 (N 9)

has only one head radiate¹ V Smith takes the figure to be a goddess but his identification does not appear to be correct. It seems to be a male figure and may represent *Karttikeya*. But in one of the coins (C CAI Pl VI fig 12)² the figure is single headed radiate and is undoubtedly a female. What it stands for cannot be definitely ascertained. It must be a goddess worshipped by the *Yaudheyas*. Among the symbols—*svastika*³ also appears in some coins.

Var b⁴ *Obv* As in Var a

Rev Quadruped perhaps stag standing to r above a (?) shrine with curved roof⁵ or a *claustra* (Hill) to r and a symbol above and the wavy line (the snake or river)⁶

The *Brahmanyadeva* Type II⁷ AE

Obv Single headed god (*Karttikeya*) radiate facing vase to r. Legend—*Brahmanyadevasya drama* the coin of Brahmanyadeva.

Rev Quadruped (Stag?) standing l facing (?) Tree Vase with streamers on the r and a dotted circle⁸. In another coin we have in the place of the vase and circle a crescent and the zig zag line (river?) below⁹.

Type No 4 The Warrior Type¹⁰ AE (2nd century A D)

Var a No *Obv* numeral and no *rev* symbol¹¹

Obv A Warrior standing facing f grasping spear in r hand with l hand on hip peacock at his l foot. Br legend—*Yadhayaganasja jaja* (*Yaudheyaganasya jaya*) Victory to the *Yaudheya* tribe. This figure of a warrior with a spear in the pose of a dignified tribhanga represents the type of their citizen soldier¹².

Rev A robed male figure walking l with r hand extended and l hand on hip like *Muro* on Kushana coins dotted circle.

Var b Numeral *Di* on *obv* Vase on *rev*¹³

Obv As in Var a the numeral *di* (second) over r shoulder.

Rev As in Var a Vase containing leaves (not flowers) in l field and a symbol with three points and three dots in r field. The Vase with leaves is even now used in Hindu religious ceremonies and is looked upon as an auspicious object.

Var c—Numeral *Tri* on *obv* Shell on *rev*¹⁴

¹ *Ib d* (No 16)

² S CCIM p 181 (No 9)

² C CAI p 78

⁴ *Ib d* p 18^o (No 90) C CAI Pl VI fig 13

⁵ S CCIM p 18^o (No 90)

⁶ C CAI Pl VI fig 13

⁷ S CCIM p 18^o (Nos 18a 18b and 19)

⁸ *Ib d* (No 18b)

⁹ *Ib d* (No 19)

¹⁰ *Ib d* pp 18^o 83 Pl XXI 18-90 C CAI Pl VI 6-8 R IC

Pl III 14

¹¹ S CCIM Pl XXI 18

¹² S CCIM Pl XXI 19

¹² J HP I p 150

¹³ S CCIM Pl XXI 20

C CAI Pl VI 7

R IC Pl III 14

¹⁴ S CCIM Pl XXI 20

C CAL Pl VI 8

Obv As in Var a and b, *tri* (third) over r shoulder

Rev As in Var a and b, *Shell* instead of *Vaso*, *Shell* is also an auspicious object, and a symbol composed of 'two zig zag lines with a line between'. The numerals *Dvi* and *Tri* refer to the second and third sections of the *Yaudheya Gana*

XIII *Rajanya Janapada*¹—The identification of *Rājanya* coins was long delayed due to the wrong reading of the first word as *Rajña* or *Rajña*². V Smith read the three letters as *Rajana* and took it to be equivalent to Sanskrit *rājānya* or *Kshatriya*³. He explained the legend *Rajña janapadasa*⁴ as meaning 'coin of the Kshatriya country'. But Mr Jayaswal was the first to correct this mistake. He takes *Rajanya* as 'the proper name of a political people'⁵. They came on the scene about 200–100 B C and issued coins in the name of their country. The *Rajanyas* as a people are referred to in 'Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali and also by the *Mahā Bhārata*'⁶. *Rājanya* coins are procurable in *Mathurā*⁷, so Smith takes their territory to be not far from that city and locates it 'in some part of eastern Rājputana', perhaps in *Dholpur State*⁸. But as 'coins of this type are found on the *Manaswāl plateau, Hoshiyārpur District*',⁹ Mr Jayaswal presumes this to be their home¹⁰. The type of these coins is closely related to that of the Northern Satraps of *Mathurā*¹¹ and the legends are either in Kh or Br. Prof. Rapson thinks that the coins with Kh legends belong to an earlier date¹² and the *Rājanya* coins are ascribed to 2nd or 1st century B C.

Type No 1 *Standing Figure Type*¹³ AE

Var A With *Kharoshthi legend* (cast or die struck)

Obv Standing figure, perhaps a deity, with r hand raised, as on N Satrap coins, Kh legend—*Rajña janapadasa*, (coin) of the *Rājanya Janapada*.

Rev Humped Bull standing l, a symbol above, die struck and extremely rare

Var B With *Brāhmī legend*¹⁴ AE

Obv Similar, same legend in Br

Rev Bull standing l in a rayed circle, cast in high relief (No 2—Smith), or die struck (No 3—Smith)

Type No 2 *Tree in railing and Lion Type*¹⁵ AE

Obv Tree in railing Br legend (?) *Janapada(sa)*

Rev Lion standing l, facing (?) a post, indistinct Br legend, perhaps including *Rajña*

¹ R IC p 12 (Sec 47)

² S CCIM p 164

³ J HP I, p 158

⁴ S CCIM, p 164

⁵ *Ibid*

⁶ R IC p 12, S CCIM p 165

⁷ S C CCIM, p 179 (No 1)

⁸ *Ibid*, p 180 (No 8)

⁹ C CAI, p 89

¹⁰ *Ibid*

¹¹ *Ibid*,

¹² *Ibid*, p 165

¹³ J HP I, p 159

¹⁴ R IC, p 12

¹⁵ *Ibid*

ABBREVIATIONS

- 1 ASI AR —The Archaeological Survey of India—Annual Report
- 2 ASB —The Asiatic Society of Bengal
- 3 C ASR —Cunningham A —The Archaeological Survey Report
- 4 C AGI —Cunningham A —The Ancient Geography of India (Calcutta 1924)
- 5 C CAI —Cunningham A —The Coins of Ancient India
- 6 CHI —The Cambridge History of India Vol I
- 7 D GDAMI —Dey M —The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India
- 8 JRAS —The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland
- 9 JBORS —The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
- 10 J HP I —Jayaswal K P —Hindu Polity Vol I
- 11 S CCIM —Smith V A —The Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta

THE TRIBES THEIR TYPES AND SYMBOLS

Types Animals—

- (a) Bull (i) Humped (ii) without Hump (iii) recumbent—Audumbaras (i) Arjunayanas (i) Mahārāja Janapada (i) Mālavas (i), (ii) and (iii) Vīmakas (i) Uddehikas (i), Yaudheyas (i) Rājanyas (i), and Nāgas (iii)
- (b) Camel Arjunāyanas
- (c) Elephant Arjunayanas Audumbaras, Mālavas, Vīmakas Vrishnis (Half Elephant), Uddehikas, Yaudheyas
- (d) Lion Malavas, Rājanyas
- (e) Stag Kunindas, (Almora Branch) Mālavas, Yaudheyas (?)
- (f) Half Lion and Half Elephant Vrishnis
- Bird Fantail Peacock—Mālavas

Tree—

- (a) Pinnate Palmleaf—Mālavas
- (b) Tree in Railing—Mālavas, Rājanyas, Audumbaras
- Human Figure—Standing, Arjunāyanas, Aśvakas, Audumbaras, Mahārāja Janapada, Yaudheyas (warrior), Rājanyas, Malavas (squatted)

Weapons—

- (a) Chakra—Vrishnis
- (b) Trisula Sibilis
- (c) Wheel—Kulutas, Nāgas

Religious—

- (a) Chatresvara Type—Kunindas
- (b) Brahmanyadeva Type—Yaudheyas
- (c) Viśvamitra Type—Audumbaras
- (d) Vase—(with leaves) Malavas
- (e) Sun—(?) Audumbaras (perhaps Pañchāla coin)

(f) Temple—Audumbaras

(d) A Scythe like object—Yaudheyas (Smith—No 3)
uncertain



(e) Symbol with three points and Three dots (?) No 27
(Smith)—Yaudheyas



King's Head—(?) perhaps Fantail Peacock—Mālavas
Warrior—Yaudheyas

Symbols Animals—

(a) Bull—Rājanyas Nāgas (recumbent), Mālavas

(b) Elephant—Mālavas

(c) Lion—Rājanyas, Mālavas

(d) Snake—Mālavas, Uddehikas (five hooded)

Birds—

(a) Cock (or peacock)—Yaudheyas

(b) Peacock—Mālavas, (also fantail)

Tree—

(a) Tree in Railing—Audumbaras Kunindas, (Kuninda Branch of Almora) Sibus (rising from a circle), Rājanyas, Mālavas Uddehikas, Yaudheyas, or (conventional)

(b) Lotus flower—(open or conventional) Mālavas Audumbaras (?)

(c) Pinnate Palm leaf,—Mālavas

Human Figure—

(a) Female with left hand on hip—Kunindas Mālavas ?
(No 63—Smith's Catalogue)

(b) Squatted—Mālavas

Weapons—

(a) Chakra—Vimakas, Yaudheyas

(b) Trisula—Audumbaras (their Standard ?), Vimakas

National Standard—

(a) Trisula or Trident Battle Axe—Audumbaras

(b) Pillar with Svastika—Audumbaras

(c) Shaft surmounted by a Wheel—Audumbaras

(d) Curved object within Railing—Yaudheyas

Hill—(so called Chaitia)—Asvakas, Kulūtas (peculiar)
Kunindas (with Umbrella), Sibus, Yaudheyas, Mālavas

(b) Pile of Balls,—Asvakas

Auspicious Objects—

- (a) Shell—Yaudheyas (Section Tri)
 (b) Vase—Kunindas (with flower or leaves), Yaudheyas
 (with Umbrella), Kunindas

Auspicious Signs—

- (a) Malava (or Ujjain) Symbol—Mālavas, Uddehikas,
 Yaudheyas



- (b) Nandipada—Aśvakas, Audumbaras, Kulutas, Kunindas
 Sibis, Vṛishnis, Yaudheyas



- (c) Svastika—Aśvakas, Kulūtas (curved), Kunindas Yau
 dheyas



- (d) Triangular-headed Symbol—Kunindas, Uddehikas,
 Yaudheyas



- (e) Two S's with a line between—Kulūtas, Kunindas,
 Yaudheyas



Solar etc —

- (a) Radiate sun—Mālavas
 (b) Crescent—Mahārāja Janapada, Yaudheyas
 Wavy Line—(Vine branches ?) Aśvakas
 Zig zag Line—Aśvakas (river) Audumbaras, Kunindas
 (ornamental ?), Sibis, Mālavas, Yaudheyas (snake or
 river ?)

Various—

- (a) A Disc surrounded by dots—Kunindas (mint mark ?)
 (b) Wheel surrounded by dots—Kulutas
 (c) Circle with dots around—Yaudheyas

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allan—Catalogue of Coins of the Gupta Dynasties etc 1914
 Archæological Survey of India—A R 1905 6, 1913 14 1922 23, 1923 24,
 1924 25
 Arrian—Author of Anabasis and Indika
 Arthashastra of Kautilya—Translated by Shāmasāstry, 1915 (Bangalore)
 Banerjee R D—A New Type of Audumbara Coinage (Nums Supp,
 No XXIII—J P A S B Vol X, No 6 1914)
 Banerjee R D—Prachin Mudra
 Bhandarkar D R—The Carmichael Lectures, 1918
 Bhandarkar D R—Ancient Indian Numismatics—(The Carmichael
 Lectures 1921)
 Brown, C J—The Coins of India, 1922

- Cambridge Ancient History Vol IV (Persian Empire)
 Cambridge History of India Vol I (Ancient India—edited by E J Rapson, 1922)
 Carmichael Lectures—1918 and 1921
 Chakraborty S K—A study of Ancient Indian Numismatics 1931
 Cunningham Sir Alexander—The Ancient Geography of India—edited by S N Majumder Sastri 1924 Calcutta
 Cunningham Sir Alexander—Coins of Ancient India from the Earliest times down to the 7th cent A.D.
 Cunningham Sir Alexander—Archæological Survey of India Vol IV, LX XI
 Dey Nundo Lal—The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediæval India (Second Edition) 1927 (Calcutta Oriental Series No 21 E 23)
 Douglas R O—On some Malaya coins (Nums Supp No XXXVII J P A S B (New series) Vol XIX, 1923 No 6)
 Elliot Sir Walter—Coins of Southern India
 Havell E B—The Ideals of Indian Art 1920
 Head B V—Coins of the Ancients (Department of Coins and Medals British Museum) 1895
 Jayaswal Kashi Prasad—Hindu Polity Parts I and II (1914)
 Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland 1924 (Cent Supp October)
 Journal and Proc of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1914 and 1923
 Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society Vol V parts I and IV (1919)
 Kautilya's Arthashastra—Trans by R Shamasastry (1915)
 Law B C—Buddhist Studies
 Macdonald George—The Evolution of Coinage (The Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature) 1914
 McCrindle—Ancient India as described in classical Literature and Megasthenes
 Megasthenes—by McCrindle
 Panini's Ashtādhyayi
 Periplus of the Erythrean Sea—the—Trans and Annot by W H Schoff (1912)
 Rapson E J—Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty the Western Kshatrapas etc 1908
 Smith V—The Jaina Stupa and (the Antiquities of Mathura (1901)
 Smith V—Oxford History of India (1919)
 Thomas Edward—Ancient Indian Weights 1874
 Walsh E H C—Indian Punch marked Coins Cent Supp to the J.R.A S 1924
 Walsh E H C—Punch marked Coins J.B.O.R.S parts I and IV 1919
 Whitehead R B—Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum Lahore Vol I
 Whitehead R B—The Pre Mohammedan Coinage of North Western India 1922 (Numismatic Notes and Monographs No 13)

S K CHAKRABORTY

The decline of the Mughal Power in India after the death of the Emperor Aurangzeb was the signal for the rise and establishment of various independent monarchies throughout India. Subhedars or Governors of different provinces under the supreme power declared their independence and the Mughal Emperors were too weak to exercise any control over them. Nadir Shah's invasion in 1739 during the reign of Muhammad Shah made the case still worse for the Emperors until at last they were Emperors merely in name while the real authority, even at the Capital and the surrounding districts was in the hands of the Vazirs or the Marathas and subsequently of the English.

In these circumstances the Nizam's power in the Deccan was brought into being. Nizamulmulk the last of the Governors of Deccan founded the present dynasty. He declared himself independent in 1721 (1133 A.H.) and by virtue of his valour and statesmanship laid the foundations of his State so strong that it has remained almost undisturbed to this day, and is now premier among Indian States. In accordance with the decision of the Paramount power, mints of almost all the Indian States had to be closed down in 1900 but that of the Nizam State continues to issue its own currency.

It is somewhat strange that no single article or notice of the coins of the Hyderabad State has yet appeared in the Numismatic journals. Even the exhaustive Catalogue of the coins of Indian States in the Indian Museum Calcutta, has failed to notice these coins. I, therefore, deemed it proper to bring some of my observations on the Coinage of this Premier Native State of India to the notice of the Numismatic Society of India.

The following is a list of rulers of the dynasty —

1	Nizamulmulk Asafjah	Ruled from	1133 to 1161 Hiji
2	Nawab Mir Ahmad Khan Nizamuddaulah Nasirjung		1161 to 1164
3	Muzaffarjung Sadullah Khan		1164 (2 months)
4	Nawab Syed Muhammad Khan Asafuddaulah Salabatjung		1164 to 1175 Hiji.
5	Nawab Mir Nizam Ali Khan Bahadur Asafjung (Asafjah II)	,	1175 to 1218 ,
6	Nawab Mir Akbar Ali Khan Sikandarjah (Asafjah III)	,	1218 to 1244 ,
7	Nawab Mir Farkhunda Ali Khan Nasiruddaulah (Asafjah IV)		1244 to 1273 ..
8	Nawab Mir Tahniyat Ali Khan Bahadur Afzaluddaulah (Asafjah V)		1273 to 1280 ..

- 9 Nawab Mir Mahboob Ali Khan Ruled from 1285 to 1330 Hijri
(Asafjah VI)
- 10 Nawab Mir Usman Ali Khan 1330 to this day
(Asafjah VII)

As has been pointed out by me in my paper on Non Mughal Mints of Shah Alam II read before the Seventh Oriental Conference at Buroda coins were struck during the late Mughal period by the local authorities in the Emperor's name from various mint towns with distinctive marks of their own though the Emperor had no control over the mints. The reason for this continuance of the Emperor's name seems to be the apprehension of the revival of the Mughal Power and the dislike of a change in the currency by the public who still cherished a vague notion of the supreme authority of the Mughal Emperor.

The common stamp of the Mughal Emperor's name on the coins gave them currency throughout India in spite of the diversity. The same held good in case of the Nizam's dominions at Hyderabad. A reference to page 32 of *Tarikh-e Rashiduddin* Khan the report of the Subhedar of Aurangabad about the current coinage as published in the *Aurangabad Gazetteer* page 727 and *Bustan Asafia* page 162 would show that no less than 40 varieties of rupees and about a dozen varieties of copper coins were current in the Nizam's State till about 40 years ago.

There is nothing in the Coinage that could distinguish the Coinage of the Nizam from that of the others till 1218 A H when Sikandarjah introduced the Persian letter س on the coins. A coin with legend dates and name of the ruling Mughal ruler with the above letter has therefore to be assigned to Sikandarjah and similarly his successor Nasiruddaulah's coins are distinguished by the initial letter ن of his name on the then current coins. His successor Afzaluddaulah continued the same practice on his coins by introducing ا as the initial letter of his name.

It was during this ruler's reign that the mutiny broke out and the Mughal Power was finally overthrown. This encouraged most of the Native States to abolish the Mughal Emperor's name and legend prevalent hitherto on the coins and to substitute it with their own. The Nizam's Coinage was not an exception. Asafuddaulah also introduced a separate coinage for his own State wherein the Mughal Emperor's name was not to be seen.

The coins prevalent up to the mutiny had سکه مارک شاه محمد هادي شاه بادشاه عاري or عالم بادشاه عاري on the obverse and سلسه with or without the letters ن or ا and the mint mark on the reverse.

This was substituted by Asafuddaulah from 1275 A H with coins having the following legend —

۹۲	}	on the obverse.
آصف جاہ نظام الملک بہادر		
۱۲۷۵		
سنہ	}	and
جلوس		
۲	}	on the reverse.
میمنت مانوس		
حیدر آباد		
ضرب		
فرخندہ بنیاد		

Rupees, half rupees, quarter rupees and even two annas and an anna pieces of this type and legend seem to have been issued in silver. Copper pieces of half anna and quarter anna were also issued with the same legend. Gold coinage seems to be rare and it appears that these Mohurs or Ashrafis were struck only at auspicious or important occasions by the ruler or the nobles in the State mint and their values differed from time to time according to the gold rate. Gold coinage bore the same legend as the silver one.

This sort of coinage continued to be current under the name of 'Hali' along with all other sorts of earlier rupees termed as 'chalanies' till about 40 years ago when Mir Mahboobalikhan the then ruler issued orders to stop the circulation of all other coins in his State except the 'Hali' issued by his predecessor since 1275 and caused them to be melted. This was enforced very rigidly by penalizing the possession and use of the old coinage in ordinary transactions. This caused a total abolition of the Chalani rupees which were still in use with a decreased value. In 1312 the machine made coins were introduced by Mir Mahboobalikhan which were equal to the current rupee in size and weight. This new Hali rupee threw even the old Hali rupees into the background. (Hali literally means current and so does the word chalani.) The mint was placed under the management of an English officer who systematized the whole currency on the lines of the coinage of the crown. Coins of various fractions of a rupee were also issued from the machines of the mint. The legend on these coins remained the same as on the old Hali rupees with the difference of regnal and Hijri years which changed from year to year.

In 1322 another change in the coinage followed which brought the coinage almost to the level of our current British Currency and is still current in that State. The gold and silver coinage has the drawing of Chahar minar—a central edifice with four towers in the city of Hyderabad with the initial letter م in the arch of the building to indicate the name of the ruler Mir Mahboobalikhan. At the top of this design the words *آصف حاه* to the right and *هادر* to the left in the Arabic characters with the Hijri date at the bottom is seen on the obverse. The reverse of this rupee bears *مک روپہ* in a small circle in the centre with *حوس مکت مابوس صرف فرحدہ ساد حدرآباد* running around.

The half rupee, quarter rupee and one eighth rupee coins bear the same legend on them except the value of the coin mentioned on the respective issues.

Modern copper coins bear the same legend on the reverse but the obverse presents a monogram like that of the Turkish or the Egyptian coins which has the same legend as above beautifully interwoven in it. Half anna and two pies coins of copper were issued during the reign of Mir Mahboobalikhan. The present ruler has introduced pies of copper also.

The rupees of the present ruler bear the same legend on all the coins of the aforesaid denominations except the initial letter ع standing for his name Mir Usmanali Khan in place of the old م of his father and the Hijri year which is changed on the coins from year to year.

He has also introduced a nickel one anna piece and currency notes of different denominations with the Persian legend on the lines of and similar to the British Indian Currency notes.

With this brief survey of the Coinage of the Nizams of Hyderabad I look forward for a detailed study of the same in future and close for the present with the following description of some of typical coins illustrated in this issue —

AV 1 A gold coin of Mir Mahboob Ali Khan (1285–1330 A H)
It reads —

Obverse

۹۲

آصف حاه

طام الملك هادر

۱۲۹۹

Reverse

حوس ۱۵

—————

مابوس

فرحدہ ساد

—————
صر

- AV. 2. *Obverse* :—Same as No. 1 but date 1311 A.H.
Reverse :—Same as No. 1 but the mint name Hyderabad and Farkhundabunyad, differently arranged.
- AV. 3. Machine made coin of the latest variety introduced in 1322 A.H. by Mir Mahboob Ali Khan. The coin is called half Ashrafi.
Obverse :—The edifice of Chahar minar in centre with the following inscription in Naskh characters :—

نظام الملك	to the right,
آصف شاه	at the top,
بہادر	to the left,
۱۳۲۸	at the base of the edifice, and
سنہ	
م	in the centre.

Reverse :—The value of the coin صف اشرفی in the smaller circle in the centre with the same legend as on the reverse of No. 1 running round the same with the Regnal Year.

- AR. 4. This is a silver coin issued by Sikandarjah in the name of the Mughal Emperor Akbar II with the initial letter س on بادشاہ of شا .

<i>Obverse.</i>	<i>Reverse.</i>
محمد اکبر شا (ہ)	۲۵
(ع) —————	جلوس
س	————— (مید)
(با) دشاہ ۱۲۳۳ غا (ز)	فرخندہ بیا (د)

- AR. 5. This is a coin issued by Nasiruddaulah in the name of the Mughal Emperor Bahadur II with the initial letter ن over بادشاہ of شا .

<i>Obverse.</i>	<i>Reverse.</i>
محمد بہادر شا (ہ)	۱۸
ن	جلوس
بادشاہ غا (زی) ۱۲۷۳	————— میمنہ
	س فرخندہ بیا (د)

- AR 6 This is a coin issued by Afzaluddaulah in the name of the Mughal Emperor Bahadur II with the initial letter ا over شاه of بادشاه

Obverse — Same as No 5 except the date 1274 and the letter ا

Reverse — The same as No 5

- AR 7 The Post Mutiny type of coin introduced by the Nizam after 1275 A H wherein the Mughal Emperor's name has disappeared The legend reads —

Obverse

Reverse

۹۲

حلوس

آصف جاہ

سمت ماہوس

نظام الملک ہادر

حدر اباد

۱۲۷۶

صر

س

فرحدہ باد

- AR 8 A quarter rupee piece of Mir Mahboob Ali Khan dated 1287 The legend on both the sides is the same as above

- AR 9 A half rupee coin of the above ruler with the date 1307 The legend remains the same

- AR 10 A one eighth rupee piece of the above ruler, dated 1308 with the same legend

- AR 11 The first machine made rupee introduced by Mir Mahboob Ali Khan (now known as the old Hali while the old hand made issues were termed Chalani) The legend on the coin is the same as on the old rupees except the change of the year 28 and the Hijri date 1312

- AR 12 The new Hali rupee introduced in 1322 A H with the initial letter م in the arch of the edifice on the obverse and the value یک روپہ inserted in the centre on the reverse

The arrangement of the legend is the same as on AV 3 above

- AR 13 A quarter rupee piece of the latest type bearing the value چار آہ on the reverse Legend is the same as above

- AE 14 This is an old dumpy copper piece evidently issued after the Mutiny Such coins were current till recently

- AE. 15. The current pice of which six go for an anna. The value در پانی is mentioned on the reverse, the remaining legend being the same as above. The obverse shows a monogram in which the above legend and the initial letter ζ are artistically interwoven.

R. G. GYANI.



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



COINAGE OF THE NIZAMS



COINAGE OF THE NIZAMS.

It must be admitted that a Coin Catalogue is out of date as soon as it appears, this is the fate of any work, however comprehensive, on a progressive subject because knowledge does not stand still. In fact success may be measured by the speed with which a work brings about its own supersession by stimulating further interest and discovery. A Coin Catalogue is usually not in sufficient demand to justify the issue of a second edition. My Catalogue of the Coins of Nadir Shah and the Durrani Dynasty appeared in March, 1934, and I can already add a number of items, usually differing only in date from those listed. Suggestions and emendations have appeared in the reviews. But the chief ground for writing this note is my desire to give some account of the large and important Durrani section of the Cabinet of the American Numismatic Society at New York. The information has been kindly supplied by the Curator, Mr Howland Wood. I have also received some new coin material from that indefatigable collector, Mr P Thorburn, it is remarkable what can be obtained in London.

There are 340 Durrani coins in the Museum of the American Numismatic Society, New York, 16 AV, 205 AR, and 119 AE, an extensive and representative lot, very strong in the copper issues. Mahmūd Shah is represented by 62 silver coins. Some pieces worthy of notice are as follows —

- Nādir* As 21 but date 1152 a fine specimen of 59
Aḥmad Like 126 but date 1163 AR Derajat 1181
 AE Bhakhar 1162, 3
Taimūr as Nizām AV Multan 1178, 8, AR Lāhor 1172, 1
Taimur AR Ahmad Shahi 1195, 9 AR Bhakhar 1205
 AR Kabul 1193, 6 AR Kashmir 1203, 16 and 1207, 20
 AE Bhakhar 1196 AE Kashmir 1200, 13
 AE Multan 1205, 20
Zamān AR Double rupee like 753 AR Pashawar 1207, 2
 AE Kashmir 1211
Shuja Second reign AV Kābul 1224, 4
 AR Bahawalpur 1220, 1 AR Bhakhar 1219 and 1221
 like 1031 with date 1219 AE Bhakhar 1218 and 1222
Qasr AR Kashmir 1223, 1
Mahmūd Second reign AV and AR Kabul —, 1 AR Bhakhar 1250, 1254 1262, 1266, 1268
Ayūb AR Kashmir 1233, 1 AE Pashawar 1234
Kamran AR Hirat 1254
Shuja Third reign AR Ahmad Shahi 1255 (half rupee)

nounced Meshed in India, I am writing from the Indian and not the Persian point of view. As regards Ibn Batuta (p lux) this form has become familiar and the correct transliteration looks to me pedantic. On the other hand I must write Hurat and Pishawar because the mints appear in this way on the coins.

I much appreciated the competent and constructive criticism of Mr S H Hodivala in his review of my book—*Aumismatic Supplement XLV, J.A.S.B.*, May 1935. In this place I will only mention the tentative couplet of Mahmud's second reign pp 157, 190. I anticipated, in fact called for criticism, and I read with much interest Mr Hodivala's well informed and able remarks on pp 103 and 104 of his review. These conclude with the words 'the best course seems to be to suspend judgment until the discovery of clearer specimens'. After my struggles with this legend perhaps I feel a little glad that even Mr Hodivala has found the problem difficult. May I say that the much discussed word appears quite clearly at Plate XIII, 1 and 3. I await the correct solution.

R B WHITEHEAD

During our tour to Gaur, the ancient capital of Bengal, in Malda District in March, 1934, two copper coins encrusted with verdigris were handed over to me by Mr N G Majumdar, M.A., Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India. One of the two pieces, when cleaned and deciphered, turned out to be a common type of Husain Shah of Jaunpur, bearing the date H 872, and the other a rare specimen belonging to Barbak Shah, the 7th Sultan in the line of Ilyas Shah of Bengal. The former was found at a place called Lalbazar in the vicinity of the Gunamant mosque at Gaur, while the latter piece was discovered on the surface of a cultivated field at a short distance to the south of the Dakhlil Darwaza. The second coin is the subject matter of this note, and is of unusual interest, being the only known specimen of a copper coin of the Bengal Sultans, after the one mentioned by Mr Nelson Wright in his Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Vol II, Pt II, pp 142-43.

It is a common belief that the Sultans of Bengal did not strike any copper issue and that their currency consisted mainly of silver coins with a few gold pieces. H Blockmann who made an extensive study of this period says, 'The real commerce of the country was carried on in cowries as *no copper was issued*'.¹ Stanley Lane Poole also shares the same view and emphatically asserts, 'The Coinage of Bengal, which is of silver, with a few gold pieces, but *no copper*'.² Mr Nelson Wright, however, admits the existence of one copper coin issued by some Bengal Sultan and remarks 'Only one copper coin exists, and that of *doubtful authenticity*'.³ He does not give any detail of this *doubtful* copper piece. The discovery of the present specimen upsets the above theory and shows that the copper currency was issued by the Bengal Sultans, although on a modest scale, as the demand for it was strictly limited to cowrie shells in the common transaction of business. Mr K N Dikshit, Deputy Director General of Archaeology also holds a similar opinion regarding the paucity of copper currency in the Pala period of Bengal's history, chiefly on the strength of his discovery of a few copper coins and several jars full of cowrie shells, from the Paharpur site. The scarcity of copper coins issued by the Sultans of Bengal may further be explained by the supposition that they may have ordered to strike a small number of copper

¹ J.A.S.B. Vol. XLIV, Pt I, 1875 p 288

² B.M.C., *Muhammadan States* p xxxvii

³ I.M.C., Vol II, Pt II, pp 142-43

coins as an experimental measure but finding them unpopular for small transactions stopped further issues in this metal.

On the obverse side the coin has the Arabic legend —

ابوالمعاهد باركشاه سلطان بن محمود شاه السلطان

(Abul Mujāhid Barbak Shah, the Sultan, son of Mahmud Shah, the Sultan), and on the reverse *حطه الله بالحب و الرهان* (The

viceregent of God with deed and proof) This sonorous formula as a title was first introduced in his coins by Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah,¹ the zealous convert Muslim potentate of Bengal (A D 1414–1431) and was subsequently followed by his successors on their coins and mural records

The specimen is well executed and is in an excellent state of preservation. It weighs 76.3 grains, though not conforming to the standard weight of silver issues ranging from 160 to 168 grains, is apparently based on the metrology of the copper issues of Husam Shah of Jaunpur, whose territory was in close proximity to Bengal and whose coins are frequently met with in Gur and the neighbouring districts

SHAMSUDDIN AHMED

¹ *J A S B*, Vol XLIII, Pt I, 1874, p 294

The immediate predecessors of the regular Awadh coins are the Suba Awadh coins which differ subsequently from the Muhammadābād Banares issues of the 26th regnal year of Shāh Ālam II. The arrangement of the obverse legend, the mint marks and the style of the fish on the reverse is quite different.

Beginning with the issues of Ghāziu d dīn Haider the first king of Awadh, we have five couplets on the obverse and the 'Arms of Awadh' in various artistic styles on the reverse. The mint town has several honorific titles and the coinage on the whole is a finished example, based on the standard of the Mughals.

While classifying this series in the Provincial Museum Cabinet at Lucknow, I noticed that the mint marks on some of these coins did not tally with those on the Awadh coins of the Indian Museum, Calcutta included in the 4th volume of the Catalogue of Coins in that Museum. I was, therefore, tempted to examine the collection more closely and revise the 'Table of Mint Marks'. I have thus been able to add eight new mint marks bringing the total to 43. I may add however that most of these appear on the issues of the East India Company struck for circulation in Awadh in the name of Shāh Ālam II. Out of the 35 marks published so far, as many as 9 appear on the obverse and 10 on the reverse of Muhammadābād Banares series, whereas only 2 appear on the obverse and 4 on the reverse of the Suba Awadh issues.

But if we strictly confine ourselves to the regular coinage of the Awadh kings from Ghāziu d dīn Haider in 1818 down to Wājid Āli Shāh in 1856 A.D., it is strikingly clear that the number of mint marks dwindled down to a very insignificant figure. A detailed examination shows that Ghāziu d dīn Haider's coins have only 3 marks on the obverse and none on the reverse. Nasiru d dīn Haider's have 2 for the obverse and none for the reverse. Muhammad Āli Shāh, however, seems to have been very fond of these marks and we find as many as 8 on the obverse and one on the reverse. As against this, the succeeding king, Amjad Āli Shāh, has no mint marks at all. The last king, Wājid Āli Shāh used only one mint mark on the obverse.

With the additions now made, King Ghāziu d dīn Haider has 8, Nasiru d dīn Haider 2, Muhammad Āli Shāh 10, and Wājid Āli Shāh 2. The coinage of Amjad Āli Shāh is conspicuous by the absence of any mint mark. But the most important point is that excepting Muhammad Āli Shāh who has only one mint mark on the reverse, the Awadh kings had no such marks on the reverse of their coins. The significance of these marks, however, is still shrouded in mystery and forms a fascinating subject for study.

PRAYAG DAYAL

1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30
31	32	33	34	35	36
37	38	39	40	41	42
43					



Published Mint Marks



Unpublished " "

TABLE OF MINT MARKS

In the latter half of July, 1934, among notifications in the daily papers of sales by Sotheby & Co, the well known London auctioneers, mention was made of the inclusion in a sale of coins, to be held on July 30th, of the 'Countess Amherst Collection of Assamese coins'. Enquiry as to the names of Kings in whose names these coins were struck and the contemporary MS catalogue that was stated to be included elicited a list of some 70 coins. Of these 12 were gold and a cursory perusal of the list showed that a large proportion of the coins were not to be found in the Shillong Cabinet. The importance of this collection lay in the fact that it had apparently been made at the instance of the 1st Earl Amherst who was Governor General of India from 1823-28. It was in his time that the first Burmese War occurred which ended with the signing of the Treaty of Yandabo in 1826, and the transfer of Assam to the British. There was no time to consult the local authorities in Assam as to whether they would like any bid to be made on their behalf, but as I had to be in London the following week to represent the University of Calcutta at the first Ethnographical and Anthropological Congress, I determined to be present, if possible, at the sale. Two dealers quickly ran the lot up to £22, and when they seemed unwilling to advance any further, I offered an additional 10/- and finally secured the collection for £24.

The accompanying Description of Assamese Coins by Dr Wilson, Calcutta, 1828 seems to have been drawn up at the request of Earl Amherst for his Countess' information just before he returned to England and—as is shown by the signature at the end of the catalogue—it was prepared by Dr Horace Hayman Wilson Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal from 1811-1833. Dr Wilson's introductory note may be left to speak for itself —

'The condition of Assam from the most remote to the most recent periods is known to us only by a few scattered notices in the mythological or poetical writings of the Hindus to which reference has been occasionally made by Sanskrit Scholars, by accounts of its invasion in the reign of the Musselman Princes of India of which translations have appeared in various periodical collections, and by a brief history derived from original sources by Dr Buchanan and printed in a Volume published in England under the title of *Annals of Oriental Literature*. The Asiatic Society of Bengal is also possessed of a Manuscript History of Assam from original documents, but too crude and insuffi-

ciently authenticated for present publication To these sources of information therefore the Coins in the possession of the Countess Amherst form an important accession

From the Hindu writings it appears that at least the western portion of Asam was at an early period Hindu and the same may be inferred from the names of the main stream the *Lohit* and *Brahmaputra* which are Sanskrit terms implying the Red River and the son of Brahma a character the River is fabled to possess At a comparatively modern date about the end of the 11th Century a new people appear to have invaded the Country from the East and given to it the dynasty and the constitution which existed some time before its occupation by the Burmese which partly led to the late war with Ava The manuscript states that the Princes and their chief followers came down from heaven in memory of which event the Rajas of Asam uniformly take the title of *Suerga Dera* Lord of Paradise or heaven Buchanan conjectures this might be part of Tibet and it is evident from the names of the two first Princes *Khun leng* and *Khun lai* as well as the first Rajas of Asam proper *Sooka pha* and his successors *Sootoo pha* *Sooben pha* and others that these persons were originally from some of the Indo Chinese tribes The first five Coins clear up this difficulty if the impressions they bear are accurately described as written in the *Shaum* characters or in that of the people of *Laos*¹ There are no means of verifying this fact in Calcutta but there is no reason to question the correctness of information procured upon the spot by so intelligent and enquiring an officer as Captain Neufville We are therefore authorized to conclude that Asam was subjected to a new form of Government a

¹ From a copy of the Laos Alphabet kindly supplied by Sir Denison Ross it seemed doubtful whether this statement of Dr Wilson was altogether correct especially in view of the fact that Laos is so far away from Assam (on the northern borders of Siam and French Indo China on both sides of the big bend of the Mekong S.W. of Luang Prabang)

It was then found on reference to *Rai Sah b Golap Ciandra Borua's Alom Assamese English Dictionary* (Calcutta 1920 Preface p. 1) that Ahom belongs to the same sub group of the Tai language as Khamti and Shan Its alphabet is related to those of Khamti Shan and Burmese but it possesses signs for *g gh j jh d dh b and bl* which are wanting in Khamti and Shan The *Rai Sah b* further notes (*de p.*) that the Ahoms called themselves *Ta* (Celestials) by which name the Shans still designate themselves and they maintained a fairly continuous intercourse with the inhabitants of the original home until very recent times

There seems however to be actually some foundation for Dr Wilson's statement as in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* article on Shans it is stated that the Tha language may be divided into two sub groups the North and the South The South includes Samese Lao Lu and Hkun the North the three forms of Shan namely North Burmese Shan South Burmese Shan and Chinese Shan with Hkamti and Ahom

new race of Princes and a new religion imported from Laos, towards the close of the Eleventh Century. The return of the Princes to the Hindu faith as latterly professed is shewn by the Coins.'

The Capt. Neufville referred to in Dr. Wilson's note had in 1828 just been appointed Assistant for Upper Assam to David Scott, the Agent to the Governor-General for North Eastern India. Capt. Neufville—as noted in Gait's History of Assam—had distinguished himself as Intelligence Officer in the late Burmese War, and, in addition to his political work, was also Commandant of the Assam Light Infantry. It is certain that a man in Capt. Neufville's position would have every facility of making a good collection of the local currency, if he so desired, and from the mention of his name by Dr. Wilson, it seems possible that the collection now to be described was actually made by Capt. Neufville for presentation to the wife of his Governor-General, who had, only two years previously, on the successful conclusion of the Burmese War, been advanced to the rank of Earl Amherst of Arakan.

The collection was found to consist actually of 12 Gold coins and 72 Silver coins, all with three exceptions—a Kuch-Bihār $\frac{1}{2}$ -Rupee, a small gold coin from the Yemen, and a French East India Company's 2-anna piece—Assamese coins: and comparison with Dr. Wilson's list showed only the following discrepancies:—

1. The collection now includes a Rupee of Śiva Simha, dated 1638 Śāke.
2. On the other hand a Rupee of Rājeśvara Simha, dated 1670 Ś. is missing.
3. The $\frac{1}{16}$ -Rupee of Gaurinātha Simha listed by Dr. Wilson was not found. Instead, however, the following was found:—
4. $\frac{1}{16}$ -Rupee of Brajanātha Simha (which suggests that Gaurinātha was misread for Brajanātha).
5. A $\frac{1}{16}$ -Rupee of Chandra Kānta Simha is not listed.
6. The $\frac{1}{2}$ -Rupee of a Koch King is also not mentioned; as is also the case with:—
7. The $\frac{1}{8}$ -Dinār of the Imām Al-Māhdi of San'ā', Yemen.

Finally:—

- 8-10. Three unlisted Gold coins of Gaurinātha (viz $\frac{1}{2}$ -Mohur, $\frac{1}{8}$ -Mohur and $\frac{1}{12}$ -Mohur) were also found in the Collection

No. 1 may have been exchanged with some one for No. 2, but the presence of Nos. 5-10 show that a few additional coins were added to the Countess' collection, after Dr. Wilson was given the opportunity of describing the coins found in it in 1828.

The following is an analysis of the Collection as it stood when purchased—a X being added in the case of those coins that are not mentioned in Mr A W Botham's 1930 (2nd) edition of the 'Catalogue of the Provincial Coin Cabinet Assam'. The dates mentioned being in the *Saka* era 78 has to be added in each case to bring them to the corresponding date in the Christian era —

Name of King	Gold	Silver
Chakradhvaja Simha		1 (Re 1585 S ^c —1663 A D)
Gadadhara Simha		5 (Rs Ahom script dated R ₃ sa —1681 S ^c) \ \
Rudra Simha	1 (Mohur 1670 S ^c) \	2 (Rs 16 3 and 1635)
Siva Simha		3 (Rs 1637 and 1638)
Siva Simha and Queen Phulesvari		1 (Re 1646) \
Siva Simha and Queen Ambika	1 (Mohur of 1657 and Regnal Year 27) \	2 (Rs 16 4 R ₁ 19 and 1657 R ₁ 21)
		1 (½ Re R ₁ 24) \
		2 (¼ Rs R ₁ s ⁹ 3 and 24 No Saka date) \ \
Siva Simha and Sarvesvari		1 (Re of 1664 and R ₁ 29) \
Pramatta Simha		2 (Rs 1670 \ and 1672)
		2 (½ Rs undated)
		2 (½ Rs both 1670)
Rajeshvara Simha	1 (Mohur 1688) X	4 (Rs 2 in Devanagari script of 1675 1 in Persian script of 1685 and 1 of 1686)
		2 (½ Rs undated one in Devanagari script) \ \
Lakshmi Simha	2 (Mohur 1701 \ & M 1697 \)	1 (½ Re of 1689) \
		2 (Rs 1696 and 1700 \)
		2 (½ Rs undated) \
		2 (½ Rs 1699 and 1701) \
Gaurinatha Simha	4 (Mohur 1716 R ₁ 1 \ (?) ½ M undated \ ½ M \ 33 M \)	2 (Rs 1703 and 1716 \ (?))
		2 (½ Rs both 1716 but one with R ₁ 1 under date) \ \
Bharatha Simha		2 (Rs undated 1) \ \
		2 (½ Rs undated 1) \
Sarvananda Simha		2 (½ Rs 1714 1719) \ \
		2 (Rs both 1716) \
		1 (½ Re undated 1) \

Details of the coins now in the Collection that have not hitherto found a place in the Shillong Catalogue

SUPĀTPHĀ *alias* GADĀDHARA SIMHA

(1603-1618 Śāka=1681-1696 A D)

Striking of fresh coinage with each New Year did not start in Assam till the accession of Gadādhara's son Rudra Simha in 1618 Śāka (=1696 A D), and all the 5 Gadadhara Rupees in Ahom script found in the Amherst collection are only variations of those struck by this King in his accession year *Raisān* or the 33rd year of the 19th *tāosinā* (cycle of 60 years current in Assam)¹ viz 1603 Śāka. Except for trifling differences three of them correspond to Nos 1 and 4 in the Shillong Catalogue but the other two are new, being distinguished by having no Dragon or Peacock on either face, nor indeed any other ornamentation such as the segments and dots found on the Reverse of SC No 2. Though their inscriptions are the same as those on other coins of Gadadhara these two coins are struck from differently sized dies and instead of the Reverse being as in most Assamese coins of later Kings at 180° to the Obverse, in the first it is struck without inverting the blank while in the second the Reverse is struck at right angles to the Obverse.

Dr Wilson was evidently unable to make anything of the inscriptions on these coins and moreover was misled by some one as regards both their attribution and date, as may be gathered from what follows —

'These are the coins of the ancient Rajas, inscribed with characters not known in Calcutta. One is unappropriated. The other four are thus described —

1 of Soobenpha—in the 13th Century

1 of Sootoopa—, " " "

1 of Soopatpha—, " " "

1 of Soohompha—in the beginning of the 16th Century '²

In his subsequent notes on the 1585 Ś coin of Chakradhvaja Simha, Dr Wilson draws a parallel between the meaning of the name of this King viz 'He whose mark or symbol, or, if it may be so rendered armorial bearing is the Discus', that

¹ Starting from 568 A D the reputed date of the descent from heaven of the two brothers Khunlung and Khunlai the legendary first Ahom Kings. The change over to Śāka era was probably due to Rudra Simha.

² Sukapha the tribal chief who led the Ahoms in 1228 A D over the Patkai Pass into what is now Assam is said to have been succeeded in 1268 A D by his son Suteupha who in turn was followed 13 years later by his son Subinpha. Soohompha is presumably Sukhampha who ruled from 1552 to 1603 A D and was the son of Suklenmun the first Ahom ruler to strike coins, while as we have already seen Supatpha or Gadadhara Simha did not come to the throne till 1681 A D.

weapon being one of the distinguishing marks of the Hindu Deity Vishnu and that of Gadadhara 'The Holder of the Mace' which is also an epithet of Vishnu. He adds 'The manuscript and Buchanan refer the introduction of the Hindu faith to *Gadādhara Singh* and do not mention the Prince whose coin is here noticed. Buchanan states also that no coin of *Gadādhara* was found by him'. Dr Wilson could not make up his mind whether the two names referred to the same individual or whether (as we now know to be the case) Chakradhara was one of Gadadhara's predecessors on the throne of Assam.

RUDRA SIMHA

(1618-1636 Śaka=1696-1714 A D)

As noted in a previous paper (*J A S B* 1910 p 632) no specimens of this King's Ahom coinage under his Ahom name *SUKRUNPHĀ* ('The Awe Inspiring Tiger of Heaven') which was presumably struck on his accession to the throne in 1618 *S* have hitherto come to light but coins in Sanskrit are known for this and every subsequent year of his reign down to 1636—the year in which he died. The Amherst collection fortunately included a specimen of the only Gold coin of this King that is known to have been struck viz of the year 1620 *S*, and the series of Rupees in the Shillong Cabinet has since been further supplemented by a specimen of the very rare Rupee of 1624 of which previously only two other specimens were known to exist.

A distinct change in religious cult—from Vaishnavism to Saivism—is evident from the invocation of Hara and Gauri on the Reverse of Rudra Simha's coins. The legends on the Mohur only differ from those on the Rupees of 1618 and 1620 in the *dra* of *Rudra* being transferred from the end of the 2nd line of the Obverse to the beginning of the 3rd, but the Dragon at the bottom of the Obverse also faces *left* instead of right. There is no other ornamentation on either face. This coin closely resembles that of the Mohur in the possession of Mr Botham that was figured as No 1, Pl XXVII, of the writer's paper already referred to but is a much better specimen.

ŚIVA SIMHA

- 1 ŚIVA SIMHA alone 1636-46 Śaka 1650 Ś (?) 1654 S (R Y 18) and 1659 61 Ś (R Ys 24 and 25)
- 2 ŚIVA SIMHA with Queen PHULEŚVARI 1646-50 Ś
- 2a ŚIVA SIMHA with (the same Queen after she had changed her name to) PRAMATHĒŚVARI 1649-1653 S
- 3 ŚIVA SIMHA with Queen AMBIKĀ 1654 Ś (R Y 19)—1659 Ś (R Y 24)

his accession that his reign would be short, and that he would be deprived of all power before his death. To evade this prophecy it was suggested that the attribute of sovereignty should be transferred to his queens, several of whom were accordingly placed in succession upon the throne, to whom Śiva Sinha yielded nominally his authority; the real authority being engrossed by his Ministers.*

RAJĒŚVARA SĪMHA.

(1673¹-1691 *Śāka*=1751-1769 A.D.)

A third² specimen of a Mohur struck in 1688 was found among the Amherst coins and is a useful addition to the Shillong collection (which already had a Quarter-Mohur of the same year). The inscriptions are the same as in the rupee of 1688, and the ornamentation is also probably the same as in that coin. From the Mohur, however, it would appear that the 'indistinct dots' mentioned at the left of the Dragon at bottom of Obverse of the 1688 rupee are really another segment and 5 dots. Besides a variant of the $\frac{1}{4}$ -Re. of 1689, there are also two undated half-rupees with different ornamentation from any of the other half-rupees at Shillong. One of these (figured as No 3, Pl. 5) is in Devanāgarī script, which suggests that it possibly dates from 1675, the year in which Rājēśvara struck rupees in this script. (*vide* S C. No. 6.)

LAKSHMI SĪMHA.

(1691³-1702 *Śāka*=1769-1780 A.D.)

A Mohur of 1701 *Ś* and a $\frac{1}{4}$ -M. of 1697—both previously unrecorded—were found among the Amherst coins. The former resembles the Rupee of 1700; while the latter only differs from the $\frac{1}{4}$ -M. of 1692 (S C. No. 2) in the date and in having a dot within the crescent above the *Śāka* on Reverse.

Other coins, not previously in the Shillong Cabinet, are a Rupee of 1700, which helps towards filling up a gap in the

¹ A Mohur in Ahom script was struck in this year. No coins of Rājēśvara later than 1690 are known.

² The two previously known are in the cabinets of the British Museum and Mr. Botham.

³ Except possibly for the $\frac{1}{4}$ Re. with R Y 1 subsequently mentioned, no coins of 1691 *Ś* struck in the name of Lakshmi Simha are known. This was probably due to a controversy as to who should succeed Rājēśvara (*vide*, J.A.S.B., 1910, p. 637), and Lakshmi may not have been formally installed till the following year, after the defeat and death of a usurper called Rāma Kānta, who was proclaimed King by the rebel Moāmariās (Vaishnavas), and is said to have struck coins in 1691 *Ś*. From the absence of coins for Rājēśvara's last year, this rebellion may have begun even before the latter's death.

Shillong series of the later years of Lakshmī, and apparently resembles the Re of 1698 (S C No 21), and an undated $\frac{1}{4}$ Re, which resembles S C No 1 in having no ornamentation on either side, but differs from it in not having a R Y 1 at the bottom of the Reverse. This may constitute the only known example of coinage in the first year of Lakshmī Simha's reign.

GAURINĀTHA SIMHA

(1702-1718 *Sāka*=1780-1796 A D)

The troubles with the Vaishnava Moāmariās that had occurred at the beginning of Lakshmī Simha's reign broke out again shortly after the accession to the throne of Assam of his son Gaurinātha, and after four years strife, Gaurinātha was compelled in 1708 *S* to leave his capital at Rangpur and take refuge in Gauhati. A reflection of this trouble is shown by the almost complete cessation of Gaurinātha's coinage between 1709 and 1716, and the issue of coins in the name of Bharatha Simha, the Moāmariā leader, at Rangpur. At the end of 1792 A D (1714 *S*) Gaurinātha had even to leave Gauhati, and sought refuge with Captam Welsh, the Commander of the British forces in Goalparā. The latter had already received instructions from Lord Cornwallis, who was then Governor-General, to assist Gaurinātha in ejecting from Assam the Bengali and Hindustani mercenaries of Krishna Nārayan, whose father—the Raja of Darrang—Gaurinātha had murdered, and after Gauhati was retaken, Capt Welsh began to make arrangements for advancing still further into Upper Assam. In January, 1794 A D, Gaurinātha also applied to the Governor General for the permanent retention of British troops in Assam, offering to pay Rs 3 lakhs annually for their maintenance, and when, in the course of the subsequent expedition, Rangpur was recaptured in the following March, and Gaurinātha reinstalled as King, in token of his indebtedness to the British, he issued coins bearing the *Sāka* date 1716 and R Y 1.

A change in the post of Governor General had however occurred in December, 1793—Sir John Shore taking the place of Lord Cornwallis, and, owing to the new Governor General having decided on a policy of non interference in affairs outside of British India, Capt Welsh was ordered in the following April to stop all further offensive operations against Gaurinātha's enemies, the Moāmariās, and to withdraw his troops into British territory. This evacuation was completed by the first week in July, 1794. The immediate result was that the Moāmariās—who had been reportedly defeated by Capt Welsh's troops—again reoccupied Rangpur, while the effect on Gaurinātha of the withdrawal of the British is also indicated by the change in Regnal Year to 16 (instead of 2) on some of the coins struck in 1717 *S*. Chaos

again ruled in Assam for the following $1\frac{1}{2}$ years at the end of which time Gaurinatha died on December 10th 1795. This date is confirmed by there being no authentic coins of later date than 1717 S—a year which ended on April 9th 1796.

As already noted the Gold coins of Gaurinatha in the Amherst collection include a Mohur of 1716 (with R Y 1 at bottom of Reverse) an undated $\frac{1}{2}$ Mohur a $\frac{1}{4}$ Mohur and a $\frac{1}{8}$ Mohur. The Mohur may be identical with SC No 38 (if the latter has no ornamentation on Reverse). The $\frac{1}{4}$ Mohur has the same inscription as the $\frac{1}{2}$ Re catalogued as SC No 1 but with no R Y (or date) on Reverse. There is no ornamentation on either side. The inscription on the $\frac{1}{8}$ M is the same as in the $\frac{1}{4}$ Rs (SC Nos 80-2) with a group of 3 dots at angle 8 and two other similar groups below the second line of Obverse. The Reverse is devoid of ornamentation. The $\frac{1}{8}$ M has the same inscription as in SC No 88 which has a group of 3 dots to the right—not left as in the Amherst specimen—of the *Śri* on Obverse.

The Rupees that are new to the Shillong Cabinet include the following —

(1) Re of 1716 and R Y 1 with inscription as in the Mohur already described. The Reverse differs in having a ξ below the bottom line as well as a group of 5 dots at angle 2, two groups of 3 dots each above the second *Śri* and *Har* of *Hara* respectively, and a third group of 3 dots between the upper portions of the *Ha* and *ra* in the first line.

(2) A crudely struck Re of *Śaka* 171 (?? 8) (?? R Y 7) —vide Pl 5 No 4). Inscription as in Mohur and all Rs from 1707 onwards to end of reign e.g. SC No 18. Ornamentation —

Obverse

- (a) Segment of 3 dots at side 9
- (b) Dragon at bottom degraded to two groups of 2 dots each and a tail under date to R so that the Dragon seems to have faced L
- (c) To extreme L of bottom (side 4) a triangular sign which may have been intended to represent the head of an Assamese 7

Reverse

- Segment of 3 dots at beginning and incl ellipse of 3 dots at end of first line

It is difficult to make any useful comments on the date of this coin for—as has already been stated—Gaurinatha died several months before the close of *Śaka* 1717 and there is no sign of a 1 before the triangle that may have been intended for a 7 of the R Y. On the other hand it is clear that the other numerals were intended to indicate some year in the second decade of the 18th *Śaka* century. The coin was bought by Sir R. Burn at Ghazipur U.P. and obtained from him by exchange.

(3) Crudely struck Re with unusual arrangement of inscriptions and strange date (*vide* Pl 5 No 5)

Obverse

- (1) *Sri Sri Svarga*
- (2) *Deva Sri Gauri*
- (3) *natha Simha nripa*
- (4) *aya Sake 120*

Dragon to L at bottom Group
of 5 (?) dots at angle 2 and (?)
semicircle of 4 dots at angle 4—in
front of Dragon

Reverse

- (1) *Sri Sri Hara*
- (2) *Gauri charanara*
- (3) *binda makaranda ma*
- (4) *dhu karasya*

Apparently no ornamentation

Suggestions as to the precise meaning of the date as shown on this coin are invited from students of Assamese history and numismatics. It cannot be intended as a date in a new era commencing from the accession of Gadādhara Simha in 1603 Ś as that would bring the date of the striking of the coin later than the death of Gaurinātha in 1717 Ś. The coin reached the writer from Jorhat and was obtained from him by exchange.

In addition to the above mentioned coins two new $\frac{1}{2}$ Rs were obtained by exchange, the two $\frac{1}{4}$ Rs of 1716—one with R Y 1—in the Amherst collection are different from those already in the Shillong Cabinet, and the two $\frac{1}{16}$ Rs found in the collection were also previously undescribed. For details the supplementary catalogue of these coins at Shillong may be consulted.

BHARATHA SIMHA, Rājā of Rangpur

(1713–1715 and 1718–19 *Sāla*=1791–3 and 1796–7 A D)

Bharatha was leader of the Moāmariās who drove Gaurinātha from his capital, Rangpur, in 1708 or 9 Ś. Coins struck by him in 1713 Ś are rare, the only ones recorded up to now being a Rupee in the British Museum and a $\frac{1}{4}$ Re in Mr Botham's cabinet, and, previous to the purchase of the Amherst collection the Shillong Cabinet did not possess a single coin struck by Bharatha Simha during the period before Gaurinātha was reinstated by Capt Welsh. The Amherst Collection was found to include a $\frac{1}{4}$ -Re, dated 1714 Ś and a Rupee of 1715 Ś was obtained by exchange with the British Museum. The latter only differs from S C No 1 (a Re of 1718 Ś) in the date, and details of ornamentation, but no $\frac{1}{4}$ Re of 1714 Ś seems to have been previously noted, and the coin has therefore been reproduced on Pl 5, (No 6). Except for date, the inscription is the same as that of the $\frac{1}{4}$ Re of 1715 Ś in the British Museum, which was described by Allan on p 328 of his 1909 paper in the 'Numismatic Chronicle' and illustrated as No 8, Pl XXV, of the same paper, but the ornamentation of the Reverse of the two coins is very different. In the Amherst specimen, this consists of segments of circles at sides 1, 3 and 7, a segment

and 4 dots at side 5, a knob ended cross between the 7 and initial figure of the date, and, finally, single dots over (1) the ॠ of *Sāla*, (2) before the initial figure of the date, (3) between the initial and second figures, and (4) between the second and third figures. The last three form a triangle, with the broadest side uppermost. As regards the Obverse, the single dot at the beginning of the first line in the B M specimen is missing in the Amherst coin, so that its obverse is entirely devoid of ornamentation.

The Amherst Collection also included a $\frac{1}{4}$ Re struck by Bharatha in 1719 *Ś* which like that of 1714, has not previously been recorded. The inscriptions are identical, but the ornamentation found on both sides differentiates the 1719 coin from those of either 1714 or 1715. On the obverse there are 2 dots at angle 2 and 3, in a convex line at angle 7 i.e. at the beginning and end of the first line. The Reverse has a segment and 5 dots at side 1, a group of 4 dots at side 3, and groups of 3 dots at angles 2 and 6, and sides 2, 4, 5 and 8.

Of the two $\frac{1}{2}$ Rs found in the Collection, one is identical with S C No 3, and has no ornamentation on either side, while the other differs in having on the Obverse a group of 3 dots at the beginning and end of the first line (i.e. angles 2 and 7) as well as one at angle 3, and between the second and third lines there is a row of well separated single dots. On the Reverse, a group of 3 dots is found at angle 2, and a single dot below the second *pa* of 12. The reverse is twisted left by one sector (45°) from the usual position of 180° to the Obverse.

Dr Wilson makes the following remarks at the end of his description of Bharatha Simha's coins —

'Thus was the first Prince set up by the followers of the Mahamari,¹ and the Legend on his coins explains the nature of the disputes that agitated Asam. It was a religious contest, between the worshippers of Śiva and Vishnu. The ruling dynasty was all along attached to the former, but in the coins of Bharata and Sarvananda, the name of Krishna is substituted for those of Hara and Gauri. Bharata was reduced to submission by the English detachment and pardoned in 1793. After Captain Welsh's departure, he again assumed sovereign power as appears from No 4 [the $\frac{1}{4}$ Re of *Sāla* 1719=A D 1796/7] and, as

¹ *Sic* Dr Wilson apparently thought the Moamarias were followers of a spiritual chief entitled the Maha Mari. For possible derivations of the name *vide* Gait (*op cit* 1906 ed, p 59).

No coins of Bharatha Simha later than those of 1796/7 A D are known so possibly the rebellion and death of Bharatī Raja of Bengmara mentioned by Gait (*idem*, p 216) as having occurred in 1799 after Kamaleśvara Simha's accession may—if the date is correct—refer to yet another revolt by his successor in the leadership of the Moamarias (? Bharatha Simha's son).

Buchanan states was shortly afterwards taken and put to death by the Minister of Gaurinath

SARVANANDA SIMHA Rāja of Matak

((?) 1715-7 *Saka*=(?) 1793-5 A D)

This temporary usurper of the throne of Assam towards the end of the reign of Gaurinath was Vairhava leader of the Morans—a Bodo tribe that the Ahoms found in possession of the hunterland to the modern town of Dibrugarh when they entered Assam at the beginning of the 13th century A D and with whom they intermingled

Sarvananda's capital was Bengmara 10 miles east of Dibrugarh and he only seems to have struck coins in 1716 and 1717 *Ś*¹ Three of his coins were found in the Amherst Collection two of them being Rupees of the date 1716 One of these is identical with S C No 1 while the other is similar in inscription to the rupee of 1717 in the Shillong Cabinet It differs however in the ornamentation of both Obverse and Reverse On the Obverse (besides the Dragon to L) there is a square of 4 dots between *Saka* and date On the Reverse in addition to the dot and crescent over the *padma* of l (2) there are groups of 3 dots at angles 6 and 7 as well as single dots (a) above and below the first *pa* (b) below the *dia* in l (2) and (c) below the initial *ma* in l (3)

The third coin is an undated 1 Re which is similar in inscription to S C No 6 but differs from it is not even having the 3 dots of ornamentation at angle 2 of the Reverse

The Morans appear to have again revolted under the leadership of Sarvananda at Bengmara in the reign of Gaurinath's successor Kamaleśvara Simha in 1727 *S* (=1805 A D)² but as the rebellion was quickly suppressed possibly there was little chance of Sarvananda having been able to strike coins on this occasion The Morans however continued to enjoy semi independence and for 16 years after the transfer of the suzerainty of Assam to the British by the treaty of Yandabo in 1826 A D Matak was not included in British India (*Gait op cit* pp 285 6 and 306)

The 1727 *Ś* revolt of the Morans is otherwise noteworthy for the fact that while it was in progress Burmese aid was invited by the rebels in their struggle against their overlord It is true that the two parties who came did not stop long in Assam but the visits must have resulted in valuable information being taken back to Ava and so contributed a decade later to the

¹ The White King coin mentioned by Allan (*op cit* p 38 n 14) as having the late 1715 *Ś* is not among the Assamese coins of Sir R Burn who purchased this part on of the White King collect on

² *V de Gait op cit* p 18

decision of the Burmese monarch to take an active part in Assamese affairs.

KAMALEŚVARA SĪMHA.

(1717-1732 Śāka=1795-1810 A.D.)

As is suggested by the fact that the only dated coins struck in this reign are all of the same year 1720 Ś., i.e., 3 years after Kamaleśvara being placed on the throne of Assam, he was merely a puppet King, appointed by Gaurinātha's *Burha Gohain*, or Prime Minister, and content to leave all affairs of State in his Minister's capable hands. The scarcity of coins struck in Kamaleśvara's name is probably also an indication of the constant revolts that occurred during the first ten years after Gaurinātha's death. Two of these have already been referred to, viz.: the renewed rebellions of Bharatha Sīmha in 1718-19 Ś. and of Sarvānanda in 1727.

Previous to the discovery of the Amherst collection, the only known coins of Kamaleśvara were two Mohurs of 1720 (in the cabinets of Mr. Botham and Sir Richard Burn respectively), a few rupees of the same year, and a few undated $\frac{1}{2}$ - and $\frac{1}{4}$ -Rupees. Of the three Amherst coins, one is an undated $\frac{1}{2}$ -Re. apparently identical with S.C. No. 2, the second a previously undescribed and undated $\frac{1}{2}$ -Re. which has the same inscription as the last-named coin, but differs from it in having, as ornamentation of the Obverse, three groups of 3 dots each at the beginning and end of the first line and over the second Śrī (instead of being entirely devoid of ornamentation on this face); while the third is a new $\frac{1}{4}$ -Mohur. The inscription on the faces of this coin is the same as in the $\frac{1}{2}$ -Re. described under S.C. No. 3, but differs from it in having as ornamentation on the Obverse a rosette of 5 dots at the bottom (instead of a group of 3 dots) and on the Reverse only 2 (or 3) dots between the initial syllables of ll. (1) and (2), instead of the five small groups of dots found in the Shillong specimen.

CHANDRAKĀNTA SĪMHA.

(1732-1740 Śāka=1810-18 A.D.; restored by the Burmese in 1741 Ś.=1819 A.D.; fled to Bengal the following year.)

On Kamaleśvara's death from smallpox in 1810 A.D. the *Burha Gohain* placed Kamaleśvara's younger brother Chandrakānta on the throne; and the fact that the latter was still only a youth at the time may be one of the reasons for the complete absence of any coins bearing his name, for the first period of his nominal rule—even after the first Burmese invasion in 1816-7 A.D. and the *Burha Gohain's* death. The latter's successor in office evidently continued to regard Chandrakānta as a puppet King, and when, less than a year later, the new Minister was

assassinated and the late Burha Gohain's son took his place the first step he took was to depose Chandrakanta and to place a grandson (or great grandson) of Rajeswar Simha named Brajanatha on the throne. News of this having been communicated to Burma another Burmese army was sent to reinstate Chandrakanta and for the next two years—1741 and 1742 S—coins were struck in his name. Chandrakanta however soon found that he had even less authority under the Burmese Generals than with Ministers of his own race and in the following year he fled to British territory. There he raised bands of mercenaries with which for some time he carried out unsuccessful raids against the Burmese. This led to counter raids by the Burmese into British territory which ultimately forced the British to intervene in Assamese affairs. After the conclusion of the Burmese war Assam for 6 or 7 years was administered as British territory and when finally it was decided to try the experiment of again placing Upper Assam under Assamese rule Chandrakanta was not considered the best candidate for the headship of the new State and Purandar a son of Brajanatha Simha was selected instead of him.

The Amherst coins of this King include two similar Rupees of 1741 S with the same inscriptions as those found on the two Shillong varieties of this year but differing from both of them in having on the Obverse no group of dots either between the beginnings of ll (2) and (3) or near the Dragon while on the Reverse there is no group of dots above the top line and that between the beginnings of ll (3) and (4) is differently placed. There are two $\frac{1}{2}$ -Rs of 1741 and 1742 S respectively neither of which is found in the Shillong Cabinet. The latter date is noteworthy as previously the only known coins of 1742 were a Rupee and $\frac{1}{2}$ Re—both in Mr Botham's Cabinet. The remaining three coins include two similar undated $\frac{1}{2}$ Rs (with the same inscriptions as on SC Nos 3 5 but differing in the details of ornamentation) and a $\frac{1}{3\frac{1}{2}}$ Re which has the same inscription as that of the $\frac{1}{8}$ Re catalogued as SC No 8, but is again different in ornamentation from the latter both as regards Obverse and Reverse.

BRAJANATHA SIMHA
(1739 40 *Sala*=1818 A D)

The circumstances through which Chandrakanta was superseded by this Prince have already been mentioned and from the comparatively large number of Brajanatha's coins that are found in various Cabinets it might be concluded that he remained on the throne for at least as long as his predecessor. He appears however to have only reigned for about 3 months at the end of 1739 S and the beginning of the following *Sala* year, or, in other words from February to April or May,

1818 A.D.¹ The *Buranjis* (As-amese Chronicles) state that Brajanātha was then replaced by his son Purandar Sinha on the excuse that he was ineligible, under Ahom custom, to be King, owing to this having suffered some sort of mutilation.² In any case, nothing more is heard of him.

An undated Half-Mohur of Brajanātha, which is apparently the first to be recorded, was found in the Amherst Collection. The inscriptions are the same as in the $\frac{1}{2}$ -Rs. (e.g. S.C. Nos. 6-8). The ornamentation of the Obverse is a semicircle and dot over the second Śrī, and a group of 3 dots at angle 7 (end of first line); while on the Reverse there is a similar group at angle 8. Another Gold coin—a Mohur, dated 1739 S.—was obtained by purchase.³ This has the same inscriptions as the B.M. Mohur of 1739 S.; but the latter is apparently devoid of ornamentation on both sides. The new Mohur is chiefly characterized by having the Dragon to L., at the bottom of the Obverse, only very sketchily shown. The only other ornamentation on this side is a group of 3 dots at the beginning of the first line (side 2). On the Reverse, there is a semicircle with 5 dots above the *Ra* of *Rādha*, and a group of 5 dots at the beginning of the first line (angle 2). The defective representation of the Dragon (which is also found in the Shillong Mohur of 1740—S.C. No. 4) suggests that the coin was struck in a period of political confusion, and probably not at the official mint. (For reproduction of this Mohur vide No. 7, Pl. 5).

The two Rupees of 1740 S. found in the Collection differ in ornamentation from one another as well as from that of S.C. No. 5, and the same is the case with the two undated $\frac{1}{2}$ -Rs., the ornamentation of both being different in various ways from that of the three $\frac{1}{2}$ -Rs. at Shillong (S.C. Nos. 6-8). The two Amherst $\frac{1}{2}$ -Rs. are dated 1739 and 1740 S. respectively. The latter is new to the Shillong collection, though specimens are to be found in the cabinets of the British Museum and Mr. Botham. The former differs from S.C. No. 3 in having no dots on the Obverse while on the Reverse there are two groups of 3 dots below the date, and segments with 3 dots at sides 1, 3 and (probably) 7. The segment at side 1 has also a semicircle to its right and left.

¹ Vide *J.A.S.B.*, 1910, p. 644. Dr. Wilson points out in his 'Description' that the legends on the Reverse of Brajanātha's coins, viz. . in the case of the Mohurs and Rupees, *Śrī Śrī Rādha Kṛṣṇa Charana Kamala Makarandā Malha Karasya*, or—in the $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ coins—*Śrī Śrī Rādha Kṛṣṇa Pada Parasya*, clearly show that this King was placed on the throne by the party hostile to Chandrakānta. As the invocation of Hara Gauri on the latter's coins indicates, Chandrakānta, like his predecessors, was a Saivite.

² Gait (*op. cit.*, p. 223) notes that Chandrakānta after he was deposed in 1739 S. had his right ear slit in order to disqualify him from again sitting on the throne.

³ Indirectly from the *Tashakhana* of the Nawāb of Dacca Estate.

The remaining Amherst coin of Br̥janātha is a $\frac{1}{16}$ -Re which is identical with S C No 11

No coins of Purandar Simha Br̥janātha's son are known either for the brief period of 1740 Ś, before the second Burmese invasion, when he is said to have succeeded his Father, or for the $5\frac{1}{2}$ years 1833-8 A D, when he was again placed in possession of Upper Assam by the British

JOGĒSVARA SIMHA

(1743 *Saka*=1821 A D)

This Prince—the last nominal King of Assam to strike coins—is said to have been the son of an Ava monarch by an Assamese wife and was placed on the throne by the Burmese General Ala Ming after Chandrakanta had fled for the second time to British territory. The only dated coin struck in his name that was previously known was a $\frac{1}{4}$ Re of 1743 Ś in Mr Botham's Cabinet, but the Amherst collection has added two more $\frac{1}{4}$ Rs of this year, which differ slightly from one another in ornamentation. On the Obverse of the first there is a faint group of 3 dots over the *ra* of Jogesvara (between ll (1) and (2)) and—apart from other ornamentation—two groups of 3 dots each above the *le* of *Sake* on the Reverse. The other has no ornamentation on the Obverse, while on the Reverse the two groups of 3 dots above the top line are separated, one being above the *śa* and the other above the *e* of *Sake*. A reproduction of the former will be found as No 8, Pl 5, from which it will be seen that the inscriptions, etc are as follows —

Obverse

- (1) *Śrī Śrī Jo*
- (2) *geśvara Śi*
- (3) *mīa nripas ja*

Group of 3 dots between ll (1) and (2)

Reverse

- (1) *Sake*
- (2) 1743

Five groups of 3 dots each two above l (1) and one each to right, left, and at bottom

The remaining two Amherst coins of Jogesvara are undated $\frac{1}{4}$ Rs—apparently identical with S C No 2 and Pl V, No 13

Nothing is known for certain as to how long Jogesvara remained on the throne of Assam, but the fact that Chandrakanta was induced by the Burmese to return at some unspecified date before the outbreak of war with the British in January, 1824 A D (on the plea that Jogesvara had only been made King owing to Chandrakanta having fled the country) seems to show that Jogesvara was regarded by the Burmese as an even greater puppet than his predecessors. Chandrakanta returned, so possibly Jogesvara remained as titular King till the final expulsion of the Burmese from Assam in 1825

NOTE ON TWO ADDITIONS TO THE AMHERST COLLECTION.

Dr. Stapleton has asked me to note the description of coins numbered 10 and 11 in the additions made to the Amherst Collection.

No. 10, Tipperah Rupee (Plate 5, No. 9).

Obverse: in square, with arabesques in segments.

*Śīa Durgā pa-
de Śrī Śrī yuta
Rājadhā + ra
Mānikya Deah*

Reverse: lion to left. Above, crescent and dot.

Between feet, *Śāle* 1707.
AR.

This type of Rājadhara's coins differs from the more ordinary type which has the syllable *Mā* at the end of the third line instead of the beginning of the fourth, and has not the mark + between the *dha* and *ra*.

No. 11, Manipur Rupee (Plate 5, No. 10)

This is a coin of Chaurajit Sīṃha of Manipur dated Ś. 1734 (1812 A.D.). A similar coin was published by Mr. Thorburn in N S. XLII, No 284, p 30, but I read the inscription rather differently than Mr. Thorburn did, so give it in full

Obverse

*Śrī-man Manipure-
śvara Śrī Chauraji-
ta Sīṃha nṛpavara-
sya Śāle* 1734

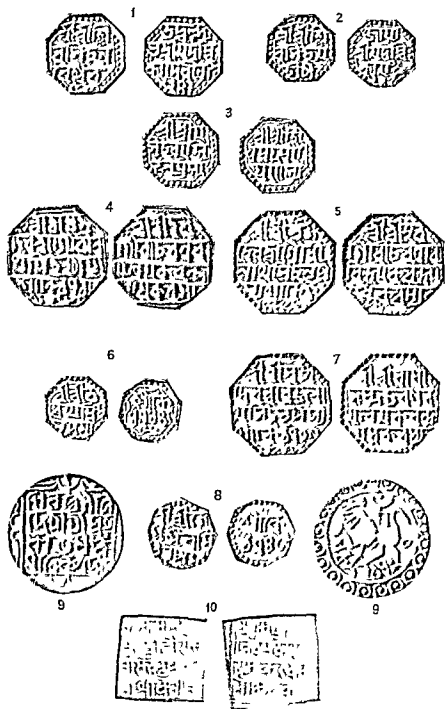
Reverse

*Śrī mad Rādhā Go-
bind padāraviṇ-
da malāranda ma-
no madhukarasya*

Square *AR.* Wt. 173.08 grains. Diam. .83 in.

Chaurajit (not Chandrajit as read by Mr. Thorburn) Sīṃha reigned from Ś. 1725 to 1734 (A.D. 1803-12), *vide* the table at p. 218, Cat. of Provincial Cabinet of Coins, E Bengal and Assam, 1911. This coin was bought by Dr. Stapleton in Calcutta in 1909

R. BURN.



Coins of North Eastern India—Assam, Tipperah and Manipur.

FOREWORD.

It is a happy event in the history of the Numismatic Society to be able to record its Silver Jubilee. The idea of celebrating this with a special Supplement was widely approved and the response to the appeal was quite good. Unforeseen events have, however, delayed the appearance of this volume, and the President craves the indulgence of the members, who have been waiting for its appearance for over two years. Our thanks are due to the authors of the papers as well as to the two numismatists who have presented a resume of the work done by the Society during the last 25 years.

K. N. DIXSHIT,
*President, Numismatic Society
of India*

SIMLA
30th April 1938

FOREWORD

It is a happy event in the history of the Numismatic Society to be able to record its Silver Jubilee. The idea of celebrating this with a special Supplement was widely approved and the response to the appeal was quite good. Unforeseen events have however delayed the appearance of this volume and the President craves the indulgence of the members, who have been waiting for its appearance for over two years. Our thanks are due to the authors of the papers as well as to the two numismatists who have presented a resume of the work done by the Society during the last 25 years.

H. N. DIKSHIT

*President, Numismatic Society
of India*

SIMLA

30th April 1938

NUMISMATIC SUPPLEMENT No XLVII

Silver Jubilee Number

ARTICLES 341 300

*Continued from Journal Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal
Letters ' Vol II 1936 No 3*

341 A RESUMÉ OF NUMISMATIC RESEARCH IN INDIA

With the close of the year 1935 the Numismatic Society of India completed 20 years of its existence. At its meeting held at Mysore that year it was decided that the next supplement be issued as the Jubilee number of the Society wherein it was proposed to publish the articles specially received for the occasion along with a short review of the work done by the Society during the last twenty five years. A detailed bibliography of the original work done by different Numismatists has been published in Numismatic Supplements Nos 41 and 43. It is therefore proposed to give a general resumé of the work done in India hitherto regarding the old coinage of the country.

The history of Numismatic studies in India goes back to the year 1824 when in the transactions of Royal Asiatic Society Col Todd published a Memoir on Greek Parthian and Indian medals wherein for the first time he noticed the coins of Apollo dotus and Menander. A find of coins of the sultans of Bengal in 1841 brought the issues of the Islamic rulers of India to the notice of scholars.

In the latter half of the 19th century, Cunningham Theobald and Bhagwanlal Indrapuri were the giants of the Numismatic world. Hoard after hoard of ancient, mediæval and Muhammadan coins surrendered its secrets to these veterans whose publications display them to the best advantage of contemporary and later scholars. They were succeeded by Vincent Smith Lane Poole Edward Thomas E J Rapson, C J Rodgers Elliot Hoernle Thurston and others who through their own collections or publications advanced this study to a considerable extent and created a keen interest for coin collecting and Numismatic research. The *Catalogues of Coins* in the British Museum (London) Indian Museum (Calcutta) the Central Museum (Lahore) and the Government Museum at Madras along with a series of learned articles and notices of coins and coin types in the pages of the *Proceedings* and *Journals* of the Asiatic

Society of Bengal, and other scientific Journals shed a flood of light on the different classes of Indian coins. This formed a very strong foundation for the structure of further Numismatic research. In the beginning of the present century, there sprung up a class of Numismatists who were not only very keen collectors of coins and ardent students of Numismatics, but were also keen on the co ordination of the results of these researches and on systematizing the studies by affording a common platform for bringing together collectors and students of Indian Numismatics.

With this end in view the six founders of this Society, viz Hon Mr (Now Sir) Richard Burn, ICS, H R Nevill, Esqr ICS, R B Whitehead, Esqr ICS the Hon Mr H N Wright, ICS, Mr Framji Thanawala, and Rev Dr Geo P Taylor, DD met together for the first time at Allahabad on the 28th of December 1910 and brought into being a Society called 'The Numismatic Society of India' and invited Sir John Stanley, the Chief Justice of Allahabad to be the first President of the Society. The annual fee for membership was fixed at Rs 5. Early in 1911 an appeal was issued by Whitehead as the Honorary Secretary, wherein he stated 'Coin collecting in India up to the present has proceeded in a haphazard manner. A great deal has been done and is being done by Government and private collectors, but all has been independent of each other and there has been no means of co ordinating the results which has undoubtedly been attended with wasted efforts and loss'. With these opening words he sent round a prospectus informing all concerned with the collection and study of coins, about the constitution of the Society intended not only for the encouragement and advancement of studies in Indian Numismatics, but also for the co ordination and promotion of researches in that direction with a view to regulate the studies and achieve a systematized promotion of the knowledge. Indian coin collectors were invited to join the Society with a view to obtain references to books for reading of the coins they may have picked up and to have a general information on the subject. It was also suggested that Numismatists abroad may do well to keep in touch with modern developments in Indian Numismatics by joining the Society. This resulted in the rallying of as many as 46 members round the standard of the Society in the very first year of its inception. Its popularity increased and its membership grew steadily in the succeeding years. By the end of the first five years the Society had on its roll some 150 members including some in England, America, Russia, Austria, Holland, Singapore and Ceylon.

In the earlier years the Society seems to have taken a very keen interest in the preparation of the lists or catalogues of collections lying in various museums and with the private collectors. The original members took upon themselves to

prepare the catalogues in their own provinces and constantly pressed on the provincial Governments in other parts of India to have this work done at an early date. They even undertook to train candidates for the purpose. With their influence and competence they succeeded in obtaining a good response and encouragement in this direction. In 1912, for instance, Whitehead was relieved of some of his official duties by the Punjab Government with a view to allow him leisure enough for the preparation of the catalogue of coins in the Central Museum, Lahore, and was further permitted to proceed on furlough to England to see the catalogue through the press. This resulted in the publication of two valuable volumes of the catalogue of coins in the Lahore Museum in 1914 which remain the standard publications in the branches of Indian numismatics to which they relate. In the same year the catalogue of Gupta coins in the British Museum was published by one of our members, J. Allan, whereby our knowledge of these coins was materially advanced, particularly regarding the metrical character of the legends. Then the issue of the catalogue of Mughal coins in the Lucknow Museum by C. J. Brown and that of the Sultans of Delhi by Prayag Dayal in the year 1920 and 1925, respectively, brought many new coins to light. Bleazby like his earlier lists of coins in the Museums at Srinagar (Kashmir) and Rangoon, undertook to prepare a catalogue of coins in the Nagpur Museum and issued it in the year 1922. A catalogue of coins of Indian States compiled by Henderson, C. J. Brown and Valentine was edited by J. Allan and issued in 1928. The catalogue of Durrani coins in the Lahore Museum by Whitehead, issued in 1933, proved the necessity and advantage of dynastic catalogues of coins in a comprehensive style. The authorities of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, also followed suit and have, towards the end of the period under review, issued the Catalogue of Coins of the Gujarat Sultans compiled and edited by C. R. Singhal and G. V. Acharya, respectively. This and the catalogue of the coins and metrology of the Sultans of Delhi in the Museum of Archaeology at Delhi by H. N. Wright include even the coins that are in other cabinets and as such can be termed as corpuses on the respective subjects. This welcome phase of cataloguing facilitates study to a very great extent and the students are spared the trouble of turning over the pages of various publications for a single subject. Thus almost all the important museums in India have through their various experts contributed their own quota by issuing the catalogues of their treasures for the use and reference of scholars working in different branches of Numismatics.

Memoirs—Besides being instrumental in the production of catalogues of different Museums and collections, the Society itself has hitherto issued two occasional Memoirs, viz. 'The Coins of the Tipu Sultan' prepared by G. P. Taylor and 'A

study of Mughal Numismatics' by S H Hodivala. They were published in the years 1914 and 1923 respectively. These scholarly treatises gave a good deal of ready made material and a great impetus to the study of the coinage of the Sultans of Mysore and the Mughal Emperors of Delhi respectively. A third Memoir on mint towns of the Sultans of Delhi and the Mughals by R B Whitehead is under preparation. The issue of this monograph will it is hoped give us authoritative information about the definite location, importance and activity of mint towns under these rulers whence the tiny record of history were issued in various metals from time to time.

The Society has instituted the award of two medals every year for the promotion and encouragement of Indian Numismatics. They are (1) Nelson Wright Medal (2) Prize Medal of the Numismatic Society of India.

(1) *H A Wright Medal*—At the annual meeting held at Ahmadabad in February 1917 it was announced that Mr H Nelson Wright ICS has presented a medal to the Society. The design for the dies of this medal is taken from a superb muhr issued by the Emperor Jahangir in the first year of his reign with the portrait of his father Akbar. Two replicas one in bronze and the other in silver were presented by the donor himself. Thereafter the Society spends for the replicas whenever required. A bronze medal is awarded annually for the work done during the year by a member of the Society on Indian Numismatics which is published in the Numismatic Supplement or elsewhere if such work is found to deserve the distinction. The Silver medal is kept for presentation to any specially meritorious member of the Society in recognition of exceptional services to Indian Numismatics and is very sparingly given. G P Taylor had the privilege of receiving the first special Silver medal in 1916. Prof Hodivala's researches brought for him three medals, one of them being a special Silver medal awarded in the year 1926. C J Brown and R B Whitehead won two each of which one awarded in the year 1923 to both was a Special Silver one. In the succeeding year H N Wright himself was the recipient of a special Silver medal. The sixth and the last during the period under review was awarded to K P Jayaswal. Names of other scholars whose Numismatic researches were considered worthy of the award of bronze medals are E H C Walsh, H R Nevill, W H Valentine, P D J Paruck, R B Prayag, Dayal, J Allan, S K Chakraborty and C R Singhal who must thus be considered amongst the foremost Numismatists of India.

No work of sufficient merit was published in the years 1918, 1927, 1929, 1930, 1932, 1933 and 1936 and hence no medal was awarded in those years.

(2) *The Prize Medal*—The Society instituted a Prize Medal in the year 1927 which is awarded to the writer of the best

essay on a subject prescribed by the Society every year. No medal is however awarded if no essay out of those submitted in a particular year comes up to the required standard.

The first of these Silver Medals was awarded to Pareshnath Bhattacharya in 1927. After a lapse of four years Surendra Kishore Chakraborty got another in 1932. In the succeeding year Durga Prasad's essay merited the award of a gold Medal. In the year 1935 Capt M F C Martin was awarded another gold medal.

The Society has thus tried to encourage research in Indian Numismatics.

Annual Meetings and Report—The members of the Society are invited to meet once a year generally towards the end of December when the Committee of Management and office bearers for the ensuing year are elected and deliberations regarding the advancement of Numismatic knowledge are carried on. Besides reviewing the Numismatic research done during the year members have the opportunity of discussing problems of interest and help one another in the examination and assignment of difficult or unidentified coins. Here they also have an opportunity of seeing and exhibiting unique and rare coins and listening to the illuminating Presidential addresses and papers incorporating the researches of individual scholars. All these transactions as well as other useful information including the names of the members with the subjects in which they have specialized are published in the annual proceedings to facilitate mutual correspondence by members regarding the examination, assignment, purchase and sale of coins.

We may now turn to the researches in the different periods and branches of Indian numismatics during this period. In the beginning we may refer to the Carmichael lectures on numismatics of Professor D R Bhandarkar which throw considerable light on the origin of coins and metrology in Ancient India. The excavations at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa have brought to light several round and rectangular pieces of silver and inscribed pieces of copper conforming to a definite system of weights which must thus be considered as the earliest attempt at currency in India. The definite beginnings of Numismatics in India however starts with the Karshapanas and punch marked coins which have happily received a great deal of attention of late.

Punch marked coins—In the last century Sir A Cunningham was the first to establish their remote antiquity and to remove the wrong notion that India borrowed the art of coinage from the Greeks after Alexander's invasion. Theobald paid a special attention to the symbols found on the coins and tried to interpret and describe them. Spooner in his description of these coins found from the vicinity of Taxila noticed for the first time the grouping arrangement of the various symbols.

on them though of course his theory of their Buddhist character could not stand the test R D Banerji in his learned description of these coins presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by the Amir of Kabul proved that the punch marked coins were not only the earliest coins of India but were also current at the same time in Afghanistan (*vide* Num Supplement No XIII) He further noticed some new symbols and a few Brahmi and Kharoshthi letters of the Maurya and Kushan periods V Smith in Vol I of the Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta tried to assign different eras to these coins This was followed by Walsh in 1919 who elaborately described the hoards of this class of coins from Patna and Bhagalpur in the Journal of Behar and Orissa Research Society and contributed substantially to the knowledge of the different types In recent years Jayaswal made very commendable efforts to identify some of the symbols on these coins with the Royal symbols of the rulers of the Maurya and Sunga period Last of all mention must be made of a very systematic and thorough study of the symbols on the silver punch marked coins with reference to various hoards found in the different provinces of India made by Durga Prasad of Benares for which the Society has awarded him a gold medal His further researches in this branch are also being published The merit of his studies lies in the accurate drawings of these symbols illustrated in the numerous plates personally prepared by him (See NS XLV) He has also pointed out that some of the symbols on these coins are either identical with or bear a close resemblance to the figures and pictographs found on the Mohenjo Daro seals whereby he has tried to establish a connecting link between the period of the issue of these coins with that of the Indus Valley Civilization

Indo Greek—As in other branches Sir A Cunningham James Prinsep and J Burgess have contributed a lot towards the study of these coins in the last century Edward Thomas discussed the Hindu legends on them During our own times Sir Aurel Stein noticed and described various deities on them for the first time Our Parsi Numismatists F J Thanawalla and F D J Paruck gave some information about the Zoroastrian deity Avooshr or Avoorshr on the Indo Scythian coins R B Whitehead has brought many rare varieties of the Indo Greeks to the notice of the Numismatists The excavations at Taxila conducted by Sir John Marshall brought to light a very large number of coins of this Indo Greek and later rulers of North West India including the issues of several previously unknown rulers Two noteworthy finds of these coins at Parehwar near Amarkot and Bajapur in the N W F respectively brought some new types of the coins of Philopator and Soter Megas to light In another hoard of 970 coins a new type of Didrachmes of

Menander was notable and a Hemidrachme of Zoilos with standing Herakles was quite a new variety. This necessitated the revision of our information regarding the period of this king. M. F. C. Martin's contribution to this branch of studies in this Journal incorporating the description of the coins exhibited by him at Benares in 1929 is worth studying. Students of these coins are referred to articles Nos. 82, 173, 149, 274 and 296 of the Numismatic Supplements.

Kshatrapa.—The most important contribution to this branch of numismatics is the Sarvania hoard of coins which gave several new dates to previously known Kshatrapa kings and at least one new sovereign. Rapson's successful attempt to assign an interesting copper coin to a Kshaharata prince Bhumaka who preceded Nahapana and his comparison with the bow and arrow type of Spalirises with Azes makes a definite advance.

One hoard of 330 silver coins from Central Provinces and two hoards of about 500 coins each were recently examined by Acharya and his description bringing out some novel features and dates appears elsewhere in this Supplement.

Kushans.—Of the Kushan coins also, though no new hoard is recorded, several new types and rarities, especially of Huvishka and Vasudeva have received due attention from scholars interested. Whitehead has noticed a new type of gold double stater of Kadphises II with Siva leaning on the bull behind him and copper of Huvishka with king seated cross-legged and wind god OADO. Tarapore has described a coin of Vasudeva with the degraded greek legend (PA) onano on left margin on the obverse. A new gold coin of Vima Kadphises with Ling on elephant and complete legend in Greek on the obverse and Siva and bull and Kharoshthi legend on the reverse; another of Huvishka with king on elephant and standing figure of a goddess and the third of Kanishka with the king at altar and the goddess on a lion were described by Martin. The fabric of the last two, however, as seen in the plates makes us rather apprehensive about their genuineness. A. Ghose, a keen collector of the Kushans and the Guptas has mentioned some new varieties of Huvishka and Vasudeva. On the specimen of Huvishka with half length figure of King and Sun god he has the letters Miipo. On a coin of Vasudeva he has a trident in the right hand of the king at altar. Similarly on a coin of Huvishka with Skanda and Visakha on the reverse he shows that the legend is broken in parts.

Gupta.—Coins of the Gupta sovereigns were current for a long period over the vast Gupta Empire and its borders and that account for a large number of their coins being available in the U.P. and Bengal. Nelson Wright has described a new variety of battle axe type of Samudragupta and W. E. M. Campbell has noticed a find of about 20 gold coins of Samudragupta found

in village Kasarwa, Ballia district of U P Attempts were made by Allan and Hiranand Sastri at deciphering the legend on Asvamedha coins with the help of two varieties known so far but the last word has yet to be said from some more specimens that may be obtained in future One of couch type, the other of Archer type with Laxmi seated on lotus and the third of copper Archer type of Chandragupta II have been published One peacock type with the legend Mahendrakumarah and two new varieties of lion slayer type of Kumaragupta have been brought to light by Hiranand Sastri and Pannalal The latter scholar has also proved that the goddess seated on the lion is Parvati and not Laxmi N K Bhattasali has assigned two uncertain coins in the Cabinet of Indian Museum to the ruler Samāchāra and O C Ganguli has shown that Vamyagupta was the name of the ruler who issued the coins under the appellation of Dvādaśāditya R B Prayag Dayal has described among other coins of Kumaragupta one thin gold token resembling the copper coin of Kumaragupta with Garuda in the upper half and the name of the king Śrī Mahendraditya in the lower half

Tribal Coins—A big hoard of coins of the Audumbaras one of the north western tribes found in the Kangra district of the Punjab was examined and described by R D Banerji The coins had legends in Kharoshthi and Brahmi script, the latter of the first century B C type Banerji discovered two new names on the coins Sivadasa and Rudradasa over and above Dhara ghosa which was known to Sir Cunningham

Indo Sasanian—Taylor has published an exhaustive article on Successive degradations of Indo Sasanian coins right up to the thick and dumpy pieces popularly known as Gadheya coins which were current in Gujarat and Malva for a considerable period Whitehead has described a hoard of White Hun coins found in Kanishka's chaitya at Shahjī ki dherī near Peshawar and supplemented the same by describing few coins of Kidara and Mihiragula type from his own collection

Mediæval dynasties of Central India—Nelson Wright has noticed eight coins of Gangavadeva found at Isurpur in Saur District which unlike the thin and broad coins known so far were thick and only $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter Burn suggested that the coins may be a posthumous issue by Gangeyadeva's son Karana who was a great conqueror Rapson has brought to our notice a big hoard of Bull and Horseman type coins found at Linsdowne in the Garhwal district of U P Except for a few coins of Sallakshanapala and Anangpāla of the Tomara dynasty the major portion of the hoard refers to Chahadadeva of Narwar Two types of coins of this ruler are known and this find is not of the usual Narwar type which bear dates from 1233 to 1254 These coins represent Chahadadeva as an independent sovereign The question has been further discussed with the help of contem-

porary inscriptions by R. D. Banerji when he described a big hoard of about eight hundred coins from Gwalior State. That find has the rude figure of Chauhan horseman on one side and the three lined inscription bearing the names of the ruler on the other side. Coins of Chahadadeva, Asalladeva and Gopaladeva are almost equal in number while two hundred and fifty were useless being worn out. A find of 48 silver coins from Panwar in the Rawal State has been assigned by Banerji to Madanvarman of the Chandella dynasty. Though gold coins of both the larger and smaller varieties are known to exist in several Museums silver issues of this dynasty are very rare only one coin having been described by Sir A. Cunningham. In that find there were 8 of the larger type and 40 of the smaller variety. The legend is exactly the same as on gold ones.

Banerji corrected the assignment of the gold coins of Mahipala which were previously assigned to Mahipala of the Tomar dynasty of Delhi. The coins of this dynasty are of the Bull and Horseman type while these gold coins which follow the arrangement of coinage of the Chedi King Gangeyadeva must be assigned to Mahipala I of the Gurjara Pratihara dynasty of Mahodaya. Similarly a find of gold coins from C.P. reported to be of Gangeyadeva were attributed by him to the Parmara chief Udavaditya.

Coins of the Gujarat Chalukyas popularly known as Solankis were noticed for the first time by Burn who assigned two gold coins found at Pandwaha in Jhansi District of U.P. to Siddharaja Jayasingh of Anhilwada in Gujarat. Dikshit assigns two coins found by him at the Paharpur excavations to the early Palas rulers.

Assam and Arakan — P. R. T. Gurden was the first man to work on these coins and he has described 143 coins found near Garhgaon in the Sibsagar District. These coins are assigned to Siva Singh who ruled from Saka 1636 to 1666. The name of the Queen Pramatheswari is also there and unlike other coins of the dynasty the inscription is in Persian and not in Devanagari. A. W. B. Botham who has been consistently working on native state coins has closely applied his attention to some of the tough problems of these coins and offered plausible solutions. He has described a collection of the coins of the Kachari Kings unearthed in the neighbourhood of Mubong the old Capital of Kachari Kings. These coins resemble the issues of Ahom Koch and Jaintia Kings and are assigned to Naravandeva and Satrudaman. He has also proved that the Ahom coins of 1648 A.D. could not be of Pratapsingh and favours the view that they were anonymous like those of Jaintia Kings whose chronology he has revised. He is of opinion that the Jaintia coins were issued at the time of accession of each King and that each date indicated the beginning of the rule of a new King.

Banerji has described some coins with recumbent hump d bull and trident and assigned them to four new kings of Arakan. The names of the kings which occur over the bull are Lahitakar Ramyakara, Pradyumnakar and Anta or Antakara.

Sultans of Delhi—Coinage of the Sultans of Delhi seems to have received due attention as early as the middle of the last century. Edward Thomas had the honour of proving himself a pioneer in this branch of study. His 'Chronicles of the Pathan Sultans of Delhi' with the supplementary notices held the field for a pretty long time and is still a valuable work of reference. The catalogues of these coins in the Museums at Lahore and London by C J Rodgers and S Lanepoole respectively with the fresh discoveries by other Numismatists recorded in the Proceedings and Journals of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and other scientific periodicals kept the information pouring from time to time. The Indian Museum Catalogue Vol II issued in 1907 was the latest work on the subject when our Society was started. From this back ground emerged the distinguished scholars H N Wright and H R Nevill who after founding this Society flooded the field practically every year with the fresh information and learned observations in the pages of this periodical which has been adopted as the organ of the Society ever since its inception. The location and history of the mint towns of these Sultans by the latter and a summary of all known coins of the five dynasties of these monarchs contained in a series of articles in Supplement No XXXV by the former with his studied article entitled 'The observation on the Metrology of the early Sultans of D lhi' contributed jointly with the latter in NS No XXXVIII well nigh cover the whole field. A catalogue of these coins in the Lucknow Museum issued in 1920 by R B Prayag Dayal and various articles contributed in the pages of this periodical by other members of our Society like J Allan R Burn B G Bleazby R B Whitehead H M Whit tell etc have also thrown a considerable amount of light on the study of these coins. No less than 35 contributions are contained in various issues of the Numismatic Supplements.

Last but not the least is the valuable publication of 'The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of D-lhi' incorporating the rich collection of these coins in the Museum of Archaeology at Delhi. It is in fact a corpus of these coins and the last word on the subject. We are glad to note that this up to date and comprehensive contribution is dedicated to our Society at the occasion of its Silver Jubilee.

Sultans of Bengal—Students of the coinage of Bengal also are indebted to E Thomas for his exhaustive publications of the 'Initial Coinage of Bengal', Part I (1866) and Part II (1873). This was followed by the Catalogue of the Indian Museum Vol II wherein H N Wright brought to light certain new types in 1907. W H Valentine dealt with the Coinage of Bengal

in his Catalogue of Copper Coins Part I published in 1914 Coins and Chronology of the early independent Sultans of Bengal published by N K Bhattacharya in 1922 is perhaps the text book on the subject Turning to the file of this Journal we find that H N Wright and R Burn have contributed some articles on the new hoards found at different times which contained some unknown types Similarly R D Banerji published some unpublished coins and corrected the readings of some in earlier publications H R Nevill brought to light some unknown types of the coins of Ghiyassuddin Bahadur and Mahmud Shah bin Ibrahim Shah Stapleton's description of a find of 182 silver coins from Raipara of Husaini and Suri Dynasties also merits careful attention as some new coins have been noticed and add considerably to our knowledge For a study of the coins of the Sultans of Bengal in this Journal a reference to articles Nos 13 20 55 95 110 157 158 283 and 284 is invited

Bahmanis of Gulbarga—Very little spade work seems to have been done in the earlier years about the coinage of the Bahmani Kings Notes on some of these coins by H Blochman J G Delmerick Gibbs and O Codrington were published in the issues of the Numismatic Chronicle and the Journals of the Royal Asiatic Societies of Bengal and Bombay Richard Burn made a few additions to Codrington's Numismatic History of the Bahmani dynasty on the strength of 869 coins found in Betul (C P) (*vide* N S No VII) This was followed by Thana wala's note on some rare silver coins C J Brown also noted on two later finds of these coins but no new facts could be gleaned out of them H M Whittell with the evidence of a coin of Alaaddin Bahman Shah dated 760 disputed the last date of his reign noted in history This was followed by a valuable contribution of his in N S XXXVII (234) wherein he made an attempt to collect in one paper all available information regarding the known coins of the rulers of this dynasty This information was supplemented by a note on a gold coin of Alaaddin Humayun Shah by Ch Muhd Ismail and an article by M A Saboor The latter has discussed at some length the historical facts gleaned from the known coins of this dynasty Articles 49 62 129 199 231 261 and 264 of the Supplements may be seen for details of the above material

Adilshahis of Bijapur—The coins of the Adilshahi Kings of Bijapur do not seem to have attracted the attention of many scholars A glance at the Bibliography of these coins shows that there are only half a dozen articles contributed in the issues of this journal Rev Taylor was the first to publish some copper coins and Laris of the Kings of Bijapur (*vide* N S XV articles 90 and 91) which was supplemented by his note on three gold coins of Muhammad Adil Shah T Sreenivas published a fourth gold coin of this king in the report of the Archaeological Department of the Nizam's State of 1921 24

Ch Muhammad Ismail discussed the epithet Ablābah of Ibrahim Adil Shah which is found on his copper coins in articles 231 and 254. He further gave full and correct readings of the five available gold coins of Muhammad Adil Shah. Nothing more of the coins of this dynasty has yet come to light.

Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar.—Practically little is known about the coins of the Nizam Shahi Kings. A solitary attempt by Framji Thanawala at describing about half a dozen copper coins of Burhan I, Murtaza I, and Burhan II of Nagar, Doulatabad and Burhanabad mints is noticed in article 48 of the supplement No VII.

Qutubshahis of Golkunda—We have a solitary article No 64 in our Supplement XI wherein Richard Burn published the coins of Abdullah Qutub Shah and his successor Abdul Hasan with the dates 1068 and 1095 respectively. They bear a legend that is very touching. Some more coins have since come to light but unfortunately they are not yet published.

About the coinage of the Imad Shahi Kings of Berar and the Barid Shahis of Bidar we know very little. Stray coins are noticed here and there.

Sharqis of Jaunpur—About the coinage of the Sharqi kings of Jaunpur earlier notices by J. G. Delmerick, J. Gibbs and Sherring can be seen in the volumes of the Numismatic Chronicle, Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal while in volumes of this Supplement we find but two articles, one by H. R. Nevill about a new copper coin of Jaunpur (*Vide* XXVI-158) and another from the pen of H. M. Whittell in No XXXVI-228. The latter has discussed at length the history and chronology of these kings with special reference to original authorities and the subsequent notices and has added a catalogue of all the known coins and coin types of the four rulers (Ibrahim, Mahmud, Mahmud and Husain Shah) of this dynasty including those contained in the catalogue of these coins in the British, Indian and Lahore Museums.

Sultans of Gujarat—Earlier notices and descriptions of the coins of the Sultans of Gujarat are to be found in Vol. LVIII of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal by E. E. Oliver and in the catalogues of these coins in the British and Indian Museums by S. Lane-Poole, C. J. Rodgers and H. N. Wright. But a more concentrated and detailed study of these coins was made by G. P. Taylor who from Ahmedabad—the capital of these Sultans, despatched the results of his researches to be published in the Journals of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, (Vol. XXI) as well as in the Numismatic Supplements articles 46, 162 and 200. He was succeeded by another ardent Numismatist Hodivala, who brought a large number of unpublished coins of this dynasty to light (*vide* J. B. R. A. S., Vol. II) and discussed the types, metrology and history of these coins in details.

The mystery of the Shah-i-Hind coins was also dispelled by him (*vide* N S. XL-276). A. Master, K. N. Dikshit (*I.A.*, Vol. XLVII) and T. B. Harwood also made some contributions to the study of these coins (*vide* articles 107, 235, 270). An exhaustive catalogue of these coins in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay including all known coins in other private collections and Museums, was issued towards the end of the Jubilee year of the Society.

Khiljis of Malwa.—A student of the coinage of Malwa must be aware of the original work done by J. G. Delmerich published in Vol. XLV of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. L. W. King improved upon this material and published the 'History and coinage of Malwa' in two parts in N.C. III and IV (4th series). In his catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. II, H. N. Wright has recorded all the coins in the Cabinet of that Museum in 1907. This was supplemented by an 'Addenda', which appeared in N S. XI-63 two years later. In the light of further coins noticed by him in certain other Museums and private collections he contributed a comprehensive list of the fresh notices in N.C. Vol. XII (5th series). C. J. Brown's note on some copper coins discussed in Balaghat, C.P. (*vide* N.S. XXIV—145) reveals a debased type of these coins current in Gondwana.

The latest contribution on such of the coins, that still remain unnoticed and are acquired for the cabinet of the Prince of Wales Museum from the Hamilton collection, from the pen of C. R. Singhal is appearing elsewhere in this issue.

The Mughal Emperors.—Coins of the Mughal emperors have received the greatest attention of the Indian Numismatists. It may be that partly due to the abundance in which they are found and partly due to the easy identification they afford that comparatively more scholars are attracted towards this branch. Like other coins, those of the Mughals were also noticed in the middle of the last century and certain rich collections were already formed within the next four decades. C. J. Rodgers deserves the credit of being the first to carry systematic research on these coins. It was he who prepared a catalogue of these coins in the Central Museum, Lahore including his own collection purchased by the Punjab Government as early as 1893. This was preceded by the catalogue of these coins in the British Museum by Stanley Lane-Poole by only a few months. The former was brought up to date with corrections in previous publications by R. B. Whitehead in 1914 while Addenda to the latter collection are published from time to time by J. Allan and H. Nelson Wright had already published a scholarly volume of the coins in Indian Museum, Calcutta, a couple of years prior to the formation of the Numismatic Society of India. The most comprehensive of the catalogues of these coins is that of the richest cabinet of the Lucknow Museum published by C. J.

Brown in 1924 In this connection mention must be made of the scholarly and illuminating treatise, viz 'Historical studies in Mughal Numismatics' by Hodivala issued as the second occasional memoir of the Society in 1923, which gives us all that is required for a critical student of Mughal Numismatics. Turning to the file of this journal we find that out of a total of 327 articles recorded in the 45 issues that are out hitherto no less than 145 contributions are made towards the study of Mughal coins by various scholars G P Taylor whose contributions numbering 40 mostly on Mughal coins appear in almost every issue of the NS from its very inception to his death in 1920. His keen observation and systematic study of the coins opened a number of topics for research in Mughal Numismatics. Another lot of contributions of outstanding merit come from the pen of Hodivala who from his very first appearance in NS XLVII in 1924 made it felt that the knowledge of original and contemporary authorities is very essential for a thorough study of the coins. His scholarly articles based on the knowledge of these authorities with the discussion of the minute details added force and finality to the subject he dealt. His inventory of the Abulfazal's list of Akbar's mints, the discussion of the location and reading of several Mughal Mints, his study of the chronology of the Zodiac coins of Jehangir are typical examples of his scholarship. He has laid the student of Mughal Numismatics under a deep debt of obligation by correcting a number of mistakes in previous publications and affording a reliable guidance to these studies.

Richard Burn with his establishment of types of Mughal Coins and a list of mint towns. Whitehead with his revised list of the same and a notice of many new types and Wright by his useful notes have provided valuable references for the study of Mughal coins. G B Bleazby, Framji Thanawala, Irvine Vost and Brown are among those who are responsible for bringing a large number of new specimens to light and the discussions of various aspects thereof. As regards the coinage of the later Mughals a large number of mints have been brought to light by various scholars. Several of these need exclusion in view of their assignment to the local authorities by R G Gyan. The task of scrutinizing the local history of all such mint towns with a view to assign them to the respective local authorities is yet to be undertaken.

Indian States—The coins of the Indian States seem to have been considered all along a tough problem and that accounts for the paucity of articles on them. Even a veteran Numismatist like Banerji used to shrug his shoulders at the sight of thick dumpy pieces of Indian States with fragmentary inscriptions in more languages than one. The early attempts of Webb and Valentine in this field as well as the Vol IV of the coins in the Indian Museum are far from exhaustive and fall far short

of the entire field to be covered. For preparing a Corpus of the coins of States all over India, a number of scholars ought to visit the capitals of these States for examining various coins in the state treasuries and collecting information about the respective mints from state records. Baroda appears to be the only state of which the later coins have been described at sufficient length by Taylor and Gyan. The latter has published several new types and discovered a mint at Amreli in Kathiawar. P. Thorburn has described several coins of Dholpur, Bundi, Jodhpur and Mampur from his own collection. A gold coin of Bappa Raval with the Bull, Cow and Calf described by G. H. Ojha and a Hathkeshwar Kori of Junagadh described by Taylor are both unique and deserve special attention.

South Indian Coins—South Indian coins are equally neglected and excepting Elliot's book with four plates and a few detached articles by Raghav Aiyangar, and M. T. Desikchari there is no guidance for assigning and dating big hoards of gold coins found from Southern India. Kundangar has described few typical coins in the Kolhapur Museum and has shown two distinct types which he designates as Kolhapur and Satavahana types. Martin has assigned three coins from his collection as those of Gautamiputra Sri Satakarni, Vasisthiputra Sri Pulumavi and Vasisthiputra Siva Sri Satakarni. J. H. Henderson the author of the coins of Haider and Tipu Sultans has discussed in a learned article the origin of the Mauludi era and from Tippu's correspondence containing corresponding dates in both the eras he has substantiated his solution. Aiyangar has noticed three new finds of the Padma tankas of the Yadavas of Devagiri from Singhana II (1131*) to Sri Rama (1193*) Rajarajachola and two sets of rare coins one of which he connected with Madhava deva (1208-39 A.D.) who was a subordinate of Kakatiya kings and whose line ruled over Addanki for over 100 years. Rev. H. Heras has made one more attempt to solve some of the South Indian Numismatic puzzles whereas he proposes to assign the so-called Gajapati Pagodas of Orissa as coins of Mallikarjuna of the Vijayanagar dynasty.

Indo European—H. A. Wright found difficult at the time of examining a treasure trove find of 119 Native styled rupees of Shah Alam bearing the mint name Murshidabad, to definitely fix the year where the native coinage ceased and company's coinage began. He examined the various materials likely to be helpful and ultimately laid down the special features of interest disclosed from the said find. John A. Bucknill has contributed a learned article describing the coinage of the British East India Company's settlement at Penang. There was a welcome attempt at the Danish coins of Tranquebar collected and noticed by Rev. H. Heras.

Miscellaneous coinage and literature—A Master who has specialized in Post-Mughal coins of Ahmedabad has described

a number of specimens at great length with special reference to various mint marks and ably supplemented the same by a historical survey of that period

The bibliography of the literature on Indian coins by C R Singhal and of Sasanian Numismatics by F D J Paruck have been a great help to workers in the respective fields

Master's article on 'Arthasastra on Coins and Minting' reviewing the numismatic terms used, and describing the Organization for Coining, H Stagg's commendable effort at supplying the history and description of His Majesty's Mint at Calcutta, and the Prize Essay on the Monetary System of India at the time of the Muhammadan Conquest by P N Bhatta charya, form a scholarly type of literature likely to be useful to future workers in this field

G V ACHARYA

R G GYANI.

INTRODUCTION

1 The chief source for the study of this period is numismatic. The silver coins which are of a high degree of rarity, show the most profitable field for research as they are of Sasanian type and are therefore connected with a firm chronological background. On the other hand the gold and base gold coins follow the Kushan style, the type springs from the Late Kushān series the varieties of which have not yet been classified either chronologically or geographically, and which, after an existence of several centuries merges into the series struck in Kashmir by the Karkotaka or Nāga Dynasty in the seventh century A.D. This series of gold coins in addition to showing no sharply determined commencement or end must have been affected by the cataclysmic invasions of India by the White Huns in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., yet it shows no marked signs of such influence. Its long life indicates that it may have been struck by several dynasties, a supposition confirmed by its findspots as the writer possesses specimens unearthed as far to the east as Kanauj and Kosam in the U.P., and Prayag Dayal describes in J.P.A.S.B., XXX, 1934, Num. Suppl., XLV a find of 12 from Haridwar District. For the above reasons this article ignores the gold series and draws its numismatic arguments solely from the silver coins and the few bronze coins of Sasanian type.

2 During the years 1930 and 1931 the writer had the good fortune to add to his collection four small trouvailles of silver coins of the Little Kushan dynasty, including several important and unpublished types. While on furlough in England in 1932 he was greatly encouraged in his study of these by the kindness of Mr. John Allan, Keeper of the Coins in the British Museum who not only gave him permission to publish any coins in the cabinets under his charge but also gave him numerous references to publications dealing with the period.

The object of this paper is to publish these recently found coins, to show that Kidāra ruled in the fourth century A.D. and not in the fifth as previously supposed, and to endeavour to reconstruct the history of the period from the scanty historical and numismatic evidence available.

3 This evidence however, is of such a flimsy nature that few even of the main steps in the argument may be taken as finally proved, though the circumstantial evidence in their favour affords strong grounds for presuming them correct.

Now arguments based on circumstantial evidence cannot proceed with the even forceful flow of pure logic or mathematics

They must start with a careful sifting of a portion of the evidence from which a theory can be formed only on the broadest lines. This theory must then be tested to see if it is consonant with the remaining evidence, and, if it stands the test, it may then be slightly amplified by a detailed consideration of some other portion of the available evidence. This amplified theory must again be tested, and, if not discredited, may be amplified still further; the process continuing till all available evidence has been utilized.

The writer therefore apologises for the length of this article. Though he could have arrived at the same conclusions in fewer words he has endeavoured to test the results in the light of all the evidence he has been able to trace.

THE CHINESE HISTORIANS

4 The story of the dynasty can be obtained, in its broadest outlines, from the statements of the Chinese annalists. These however give practically no chronological data and are most obscure in their geographic statements owing to their lack of method in transliterating foreign place names into Chinese.

Our chief Chinese source is the 'Wei-shu' or annals of the Wei Dynasty (386-536 A.D.) of which I have used Specht's translation. Many extracts from this and from earlier annals were included in the encyclopædia of Ma-touan-lin (13th century A.D.), parts of which have been translated by Remusat and by Julien. For the identification of the Chinese place names I have depended altogether on Marquart.

5. The following extracts have been translated by the writer from the above-mentioned French translators, and a glossary attached giving Marquart's identifications of the Chinese place-names. It must be remembered that the Kushāns, originally a branch of the Yueh-chi confederacy, are habitually referred to by the Chinese under the name "Yueh-chi".

6. *Extract I.*—From Specht's translation of the Wei shu.

'The Kingdom of the Ta-Yueh-chi has for its capital the town of Lou-Kien-Chi to the west of Fo ti cha, at a distance of 14,500 li from Tai. The Ta-Yueh chi found themselves threatened on the north by the Jouan-Jouan, and were exposed on several occasions to their raids. They therefore migrated to the west and established themselves in the town of Po lo, 2,100 li from Fo-ti Cha. Their King Ki-to-lo, a brave and warlike prince, raised an army, crossed to the south of the Great Mountains, and invaded Northern India where the five Kingdoms to the north of Kantho-lo submitted to him.'

Note :—Ma touan-lin says 'Ensuite, leur roi Ki-to-loetc.'; which implies that Ki-to-lo was their King at the time of their migration to Po lo

Glossary :—

Ta-Yueh-chi	..	Great Kushāns.
Lou-Kien-chi	..	Balkh (Marquart, pp 88, 89)
Fo-ti-cha ..	..	Bamān (Marquart, p. 279).
Tai ..	..	The Wei capital in Northern Shansi (Marquart, p. 55).
Jouan-Jouan	..	A tribe in Central Asia akin to the White Huns.
Po-lo ..	..	Balkan. On the north of the old bed of the Oxus where it flowed into the Caspian Sea East of Krasnovodsk (Marquart, p. 55).
Ki-to-lo ..	..	Kidāra The true form of his name is shown by the Brāhmi script on his coins.
The Great Mountains..		The Hindu Kush.
Kan-tho-lo	..	Gandhāra, which corresponds to the modern Peshawar District (Marquart, p. 211).

7. The above does not afford us a clue to the dates of these happenings, and for such we must turn to Ma-touan-lin who gives us a general history of the Great Kushāns. He tells us that after they conquered Northern India under Vima Kadphises (c. 90 A.D.), the Great Kushāns became rich and powerful.

Extract II.—From Julien's translation of Ma-touan-lin.

'They remained in that condition (i.e. rich and powerful) until the time of the Second Han Dynasty (221-263 A.D.) when they found themselves threatened on the north by the Jouan-Jouan and were exposed on several occasions to their raids.'

8. The Chinese Annalists do not carry the story of the Great Kushāns beyond Kidāra's invasion of India, so we must now consider their statements regarding the Little Kushāns.

Extract III.—From Remusat's translation of Ma-touan-lin.

'The capital of the Little Yueh-chi is the town of Fou-leou-cha. Their king was a son of Ki-to-lo; he was placed in charge of this town by his father when this prince was forced, by the attacks of the Jouan-Jouan, to march Westwards.

Glossary :—Little Yueh-chi Little Kushāns.
Fou-leou-cha .. Peshawar (Marquart, p. 211).

Extract IV.—From Specht's translation of the Wei-shu 'Kidāra, having been pursued by the Hiung-nu, and having retired to the West, ordered his son to establish himself in this town of Fou-leon-cha. These people are consequently called Little Yuch-chi.'

Note —Specht notices that the Wei-shu refers here to the Hiung-nu while T'ong Tien and Ma-touan lin both say Jouan-Jouan.

9 The Chinese give no further historical details about the Little Kushāns, but, in describing their country, state that merchants from it introduced great improvements in glass making into China in the time of the Second Wei Dynasty, during the reign of Tai-yon (398–409 A.D.). This suggests that the establishment of the Little Kushān Dynasty in Gandhāra should be dated prior to 409 A.D.

10 We have now got a sketch of the history of the Little Kushān Dynasty in its broadest outlines

At some period between 221 A.D. and 409 A.D. a branch of the Great Kushāns was driven from Bactria by the Jouan-Jouan and dispersed in two directions —

- (a) Westwards, along the northern borders of the Sasanian Empire towards the Caspian,
- and (b) Southwards, across the Hindu Kush into Northern India.

This southern branch was led by Kidāra and occupied Gandhāra. At a later period Kidāra again felt pressure from some Central Asian tribe, about the name of which the Chinese felt some uncertainty, and, leaving his son in Peshawar, moved westwards to resist them.

As it is highly improbable that the Kushāns, who were not strong enough at the time to hold Bactria, could have kept up intimate contact between their branches in India and on the Caspian, I assume that Kidāra's dominions stretched westwards from Gandhāra along the basin of the Kabul River and so he transferred his army from Peshawar to Kabul in order to prevent his foes from crossing the Hindu Kush from Balkh (see para. 38 below). He therefore left his son in Peshawar, as ruler of his eastern provinces.

The Chinese do not tell us the history of the later Little Kushān Kings in Peshawar.

THE KUSHANO-SASANIAN RULERS IN BACTRIA.

11. The above wide chronological limits for the date of the dispersal of the Kushāns from Bactria can be narrowed considerably by a study of the Kushano Sasanian coin series.

Professor Herzfeld has divided these into two groups —

- (a) Those struck by Princes of the Sasanian Royal Family as Viceroys in Bākh and Merv. These bear the title 'King of Kings of the Kushāns'.
- (b) A later series struck by provincial governors bearing the title 'King of the Kushāns'.

The Kushāns cannot have been driven from Bactria by the Jouan Jouan till the end of this later series, and Sasanian rule in Bactria can scarcely have survived the upheavals accompanying this dispersal.

Further, the known history of the Sasanian Empire must refer in some way to these disturbances.

12 Herzfeld has shown that the first series continued from about 230 A.D. to 284 A.D., when on the Sasanian conquest of Sakastān, the heir apparent was transferred as Viceroy to that province, and that the second series commenced at that date and continued to some point in the reign of Shapur II (309–379 A.D.).

Ammianus Marcellinus tells us that Shapur II was engaged in wars on his eastern borders from about 350–358 A.D., the Kushāns being named among his opponents (see para 20 below) and Herzfeld has suggested ('Kushano Sasanian coins', p. 36) that this series of coins may have continued up to the end of these wars.

I therefore assume, as a working hypothesis to be tested by the evidence of the Little Kushān coin series, that the Eastern wars of Shapur II which ended in 358 A.D. were directly caused by the dispersal of the Kushāns from Bactria and that this date occurred during the reign of Kidāra.

PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATION OF LITTLE KUSHĀN COINS

13 I have already explained (para 1 above) that the silver and bronze coins of the Little Kushāns show the most profitable field for research. General Cunningham published some of these in *Num Chron.*, 1893, accompanied by a plate (No. VI) on which Nos. 1, 2, 5, 6 and 7 are silver coins and Nos. 8 and 9 are copper or bronze. Another silver coin was published by Mr. Vincent Smith but was allocated incorrectly to the main Sasanian series (*Indian Museum Catalogue*, Vol. I, 1906 Plate XLIV, No. 8). The plates accompanying this article show the above coin types and all other varieties known to the writer, with the exception of some of the copper coins of Tarika which are too poorly preserved for reproduction.

14 The objects of this preliminary study are as follows —

- (a) To pick out those coins which must belong to the main dynasty and not to provincial governors.

- (b) To determine the order of succession of the rulers of the main dynasty on stylistic grounds
 and (c) To test whether the coins support the assumption made in para 12 that the dynasty flourished in the latter half of the fourth century A D

15 Of the silver coins five types are closely inter linked —

Kidara type I	Pl I Nos 1 2
Kidara type II	Pl I Nos 4 5
Piro type I	Pl I Nos 15 16 18 and Pl II Nos 19-21
Piro type II and Varahran	Pl II Nos 22 and 23 Pl II Nos 26 29 and Pl III Nos 30-36

The arrangement of these coins presents little difficulty. All are found in North Western India all are of the same dynasty and we know from the Chinese annalists the Kidara was the first of his dynasty to rule in India.

The two types with full faced bust Kidara type II and Piro type I are closely connected with one another. A detailed stylistic comparison of all the types is given in Appendix II to this paper but at this stage it is only necessary to refer to the following salient points which are common to these two types —

- (a) Full faced bust
 - (b) Obverse legend in Brahmi script
 - (c) Shoulders draped with palmettes
- and (d) Fire altar on reverse has bust of Hormuzd appearing in the flames

Among the coins at present known Piro type I shows closer kinship with Kidara type II than is shown by any other coin. We may therefore assume that Kidara and Piro were next to one another in dynastic succession and that type I of Kidara preceded type II. This point is amplified in para 27 below.

It appears in consequence that Piro was the son to whom Kidara committed the charge of Peshawar.

15 Next comparing the two types of Piro's coins we see they have the following points in common —

- (a) A crown of two rams horns surmounted by a fluted globe with flanking fillets
- (b) Beard passed through a ring
- (c) Shoulders draped with palmettes

The coins of Varahran are very similar to Piro type II. Though the crown is different it is again surmounted by a fluted globe with flanking fillets. The beard is again passed through a ring and the shoulders of both are draped with palmettes.

These considerations make it a reasonable assumption that Varahran succeeded Piro in Peshawar.

16. The remaining coins illustrated in plates IV and V do not appear to have been struck by the main dynasty, but by provincial satraps or governors owing allegiance either to the Little Kushāns or to the Sasanians. This point will be discussed more fully in paragraphs 25 to 28

17. It will be seen that the first type of Kidāra shows the King's face to the right in accordance with the usual Sasanian practice. His second type, however, as does the first type of Piro, shows a full-face portrait; while the second type of Piro and the coins of Varaharān show a reversion to the previous class as their portraits face to the right.

These variations have a deep historical significance as they indicate the fluctuating political relationships between the Little Kushāns and the Sasanian Empire. Professor Herzfeld has shown on pages 3-5 of his memoir on Kushāno-Sasanian coins that:—

'The direction to the left was the Arsacid one and all the feudal princes who had the royal right of coining and whose lands formed an integral part of that curiously diffuse empire, had to adopt the Arsacid style. The opposite direction of the head proves a greater degree of independence, and hence is adopted by the Sasanids immediately after they had thrown off the Arsacidan yoke.'

Herzfeld also drew attention to the fact that rebels against the Arsacid rule, up to and including Ardešhir I during his actual rebellion against Artabnus V, struck coins bearing a facing portrait. Further, he showed that the same custom, *mutatis mutandis*, was followed in Sasanian times; the suzerain dynasty striking coins with their heads to the right, feudatory princes following their example, while rebels and independent princes struck coins with portraits either full-face or to the left.

Applying this rule to the coins under discussion, it will be seen that Kidāra was at first feudatory to the Sasanian empire, that he later became independent and that, during the reign of Piro, the Sasanians reasserted their claim to suzerainty, as this king, and his successor Varaharān both struck coins with their portraits to the right in acknowledgment of this claim. The change in legend from Brahmi to Pehlevi which occurs at the same time as this change in direction on Piro's coins confirms that Sasanian influence was strong in Gandhāra at this period.

18. The fact that the reigns of Kidāra and his successors Piro and Varaharān should be referred to the latter half of the fourth century A.D. is clearly demonstrated by the following points:—

(a) Type I of Kidāra is directly copied from coins of the middle period of Shapur II. It is slightly exop-

- tional in the great breadth of the crenellations on the crown, in this respect the nearest analogy is to the copper coin with Greek Kushan legend 'poßopo' (Cunningham N C, 1893, plate IV, 9) which Herzfeld (l c p 37) refers to Balkh during the first period of his reign (See also para 21)
- (b) The satrapal coin Pl V, No 54 is closely connected with the same copper coin of Shapur II, by the arch of pearls which surmounts the central crenellation of each crown
- (c) The satrapal, coin, Pl V, No 56 bears a crown modelled on that of Ardeshir II (379-383 A D)
- (d) The satrapal coins Pl V Nos 55 and 67-71 bear crowns modelled on that of Shapur III (383-388 A D)
- (e) Find No V described in Appendix III to this paper, contained two coins Varahrân IV (388-399 A D)
- (f) Find No VI contained coins both of Shapur III and Varahrân IV
- (g) The reverses of Kidâra type II and of Piro type I show supporters facing the altar with swords at the 'carry', and, in addition a bust of Hormizd in the flames on the altar These coins can only be referred to the fourth century A D as these points occur in the main Sasanian series only on coins of Shapur II to Varahrân IV
- (h) No coins of Yazdegerd I (399-420 A D) appear to have been found in conjunction with coins of this dynasty

10 From the testimony of the Chinese historians and of the coins it would appear that Kidâra flourished about the middle of the fourth century A D, and, in addition the coins show us that he was at one time tributary to Shapur II but later became independent It appears that some echoes of these events are preserved by contemporary historians and by an inscription recently discovered by Professor Herzfeld at Persepolis

STATEMENTS BY CONTEMPORARY HISTORIANS

20 Ammianus Marcellinus an officer in the Roman Army who fought against Shapur II in Mesopotamia tells us that from 350 to 385 A D this monarch was occupied in war against tribes on his eastern frontier and that his most important opponents were the Chionitæ and Guseni The latter name has long been recognized as a textual corruption for Cuseni or Kushâns In 358 A D Shapur made peace with these tribes

and picked a quarrel with Rome. In 359 A D he invaded Mesopotamia and besieged the Roman fortress of Amida, the modern Diarbekr, where he was assisted by contingents of his former foes. The text of this passage (Ammian 19, 2, 3) is, unfortunately, very corrupt, but for the reading which restores the Cuseni or Kushāns as one of the contingents before the walls of Amida cf Marquart's 'Erānsahr', p 36 Note 5.

21 Professor Herzfeld (*l c*, page 36) has found an inscription at Persepolis dated in the year 47 of Shapur II, corresponding to 356 A D. This was written by Slōk, High Judge of Kabul who prayed that Shapur would return to Kabul in safety. This taken in conjunction with Ammian's statement that Shapur II spent the winter of 356-57 A D in the furthestmost limits of his Kingdom, on the borders of the Chionitæ and the Euseni shows that Kabul was Shapur's base for the campaign of 356 A D, and was near these tribes.

Now Kabul is an excellent base for operations against Gandhārā but is not nearly as suitable as Herat for operations north of the Hindu Kush. The operations of 356 A D were probably chiefly directed against Gandhara which indicates that Kidāra had already occupied that area.

Sir John Marshall has found several of the Merv coins of Shapur II mentioned in para 18(a) above in excavations at Taxila (see ASI AR, 1914-15, Nos 48 and 49 and ASI AR, 1915-16, Nos 51 and 52). These may have been brought down to India during the Little Kushan invasion. They were the coins current in Bactria immediately preceding the date I assume for Kidāra's occupation of Gandhara.

22 Professor Herzfeld (*l c* page 50) attributes certain coins to the Chionites. These coins, one of which Cunningham illustrated (Num Chron, 1894 Pl VII, 1) bear a bust to the right wearing the headdress of Shapur II, and as they are very similar to the Merv coins of Varahrān V, they were probably struck there¹. As the direction of the bust shows that the Chionites were tributary to the Sasanians Professor Herzfeld has attributed these coins to the period immediately following the peace of 358 A D. For identical reasons I would assign the first type of Kidāra's coins which are of Gandhara provenance, to the same period. As a natural corollary it follows that the Euseni or Cuseni of Ammian were the branch of the Great Kushans led by Kidāra, whose invasion of Gandhara must have taken place before 356 A D. I am of opinion that this invasion

¹ If the Chionites were in occupation of Merv at a period when the Jouan-Jouan had just occupied Bactria it is probable that both names are identical. Herzfeld (*l c* p 19) read the tribal name on the Chionite coin as OIOVO —Avestan 'hyaona', Parisk 'Aiyonan' Latin 'Chionitæ'. The Chinese 'Jouan' is very similar, and perhaps identical with these other forms.

and the contemporary move of another portion of the tribe from Balkh to the Caspian were the immediate cause of the Eastern wars of Shapur II, and I would therefore date Kidara's invasion of India at circa 348-50 A D, and his subjugation by Shapur II in 358 A D.

23 The Armenian historian Faustos of Byzantium refers on two occasions (Book V, Chaps 7 and 37) to warfare between the Kushāns and Sasanians in 367/8 A D. From these it would appear that the Kushāns were the aggressors and inflicted two crushing defeats on the Sasanians annihilating one of their armies and on another occasion, forcing Shapur II to fly for his life from the field of battle.

As we know from the coins that Kidara after a period of allegiance to Shapur II later became independent I would suggest that the events referred to by Faustos were the immediate result of Kidara's declaration of independence which I would consequently date in 367/8 A D. Cunningham read the reverse legend of type II of Kidara's coins as a date either 239 or 339 and referred these dates to the era of Kanishka. If the former reading is correct and if Ston Konow is correct in dating Kanishka's Accession in 128/9 A D then 239 plus 128/9 equals 367/8 the exact date of the war Faustos tells us about. I do not however stress this coincidence as both the reading of the coin and the date of Kanishka are controversial points.

24 From the above it would appear that the branch of the Great Kushān race which had remained in Bactria and which had come under Sasanian domination about 230 A D was threatened during the third century A D by the Joun-Joun a Central Asian tribe which was massing on their northern borders. This pressure gradually increased, and towards 350 A D forced the Kushāns out of Bactria. A portion of the tribe migrated westwards towards the Caspian and a second portion under their king Kidara invaded India and settled in Gandhāra. These movements caused a general unrest among all the tribes on the North Eastern border of the Sasanian empire which Shapur II was forced to quell by series of punitive expeditions between 350 and 378 A D.

THE SATRAPAL COINS

25 Before attempting to discuss the extremely meagre data available for reconstructing the later history of the main Little Kushān dynasty it will be advisable to consider a series of coins which appear to have been struck by provincial governors or satraps

These coins are mostly of silver but a few, which appear to have been found only in Bannu District, are of copper. The copper coins alone bear the title of Satrap and all legible specimens are of one ruler, Tarika.

A number of silver coins are illustrated on plates IV and V. These have the same flat fabric as the coins of Kidāra, Piro and Varahrān and some have been found on several occasions in conjunction with them. Stylistically they are obviously of the same period but their points of dissimilarity are so many that they appear to have been struck by provincial governors in different areas and not by Kings of the main dynasty.

26 These satrapal coins are readily divisible into two classes according to the direction in which the portraits face and some can be given an approximate date when they copy the head dress of the ruling Sasanian emperor.

Coins numbered from 43 to 55 in the catalogue (Appendix I) form the first class as all show a full faced portrait. They are akin to the full face type of Tarika in many respects, notably in the fact that their busts are not draped with palmettes. As Tarika definitely calls himself a Satrap it is probable that these others held similar rank.

27 Reference is invited to the second table in Appendix II which shows in tabular form the major stylistic differences in the coins under discussion. Attention is drawn to the very gradual sequence of changes by which the type Varahrān is evolved from type I of Kidāra, through the latter's second type and through both types of Piro. The salient point in the comparison of these five types is that coins of Kidāra type II and of Piro type I show identical treatment in respect of ten of the eleven stylistic points which are compared in the table, Piro having a beard while Kidāra has none.

Now, turning to the satrapal coins which show a full faced portrait, it will be noted that the many variations from the style of the main dynasty preclude the possibility of including one or more of these rulers in the main line of succession without serious disturbance to the sequence of changes which we have just traced. At the same time it must be remembered that these rulers all show a full faced portrait and all must therefore belong to the period when the main dynasty was independent. Consequently if any one of these rulers were to belong to the main dynasty he could only be inserted as the successor of Kidāra and the predecessor to Piro. The fact that Kidāra type II and Piro

type I are so nearly identical in style precludes the possibility of inserting any ruler at this point and confirms the theory that the coins under discussion were struck by provincial governors.

It should be noted that coin No 55 of this group bears a head-dress modelled on that of Shapur III and must consequently date from the period of his reign (383-388 A D). The series may in consequence be dated as between the rough limits of 368 and 385 A D.

28 The second class of silver satrapal coins consists of numbers 56 and 67-71 in the catalogue. These appear to be a continuation of the first class with the notable difference that the portraits now follow the normal Sassanian type in facing to the right. They were struck by governors owing allegiance to the Sassanian monarch either directly or indirectly through Piro or Varahrin during their period of sub-servience to the Sassanian power.

It is noteworthy that the head-dresses of all are copied from those of Sassanian rulers, a point which suggests that they were direct feudatories of these kings and ruled over districts conquered by the Sassanians from the Little Kushāns.

The period of Sassanian expansion must have commenced during the reign of Ardeshir II (379-383 A D) and have continued during that of Shapur III (383-388 A D) as coin No 56 bears the head-dress of Ardeshir II and the remainder bear that of Shapur III.

29 Professor Wilson states that Shapur III was entitled 'The Warlike' and conjectures (*Ariana Antiqua*, p 387) that —

'As he preserved the peace with Rome, he must have indulged his martial propensities at the expense of his neighbours in the East. It is not improbable that he effected some conquests in that direction.'

Wilson also stated that coins of Shapur III were found in the relic chamber of the Great Tope at Hidda in considerable proportion' (*Ar Ant* pp 43 and 387), a remarkable fact when we remember that 'We do not find the coins of the second Sapor in Afghanistan in any numbers though there are a few' (*Ar Ant* p 386).

Even further to the East the writer has seen two small finds evidence of renewed Sassanian influence at this period. The first from Hashtnagar in Peshawar District contained two coins of Shapur III and four of Varahrin IV the second of unknown provenance but seen in Rawalpindi City, contained one coin of Ardeshir II, four of Shapur III and two of Varahrin IV. The dealer owning this second lot was not in the habit of importing coins from Afghanistan.

Again coins of Shapur III and Varahrin IV appear in conjunction with those of the Little Kushans in the 5th and 6th

gave its name to the province of Zabulistan to the South of Kabul. The tribal name appears on the coins in the Greek Kushan script as 'Zoboa' and in Brahmi as 'Jabula', 'Jaūla' and 'Jabūlah' and, in the Kuvra inscription of Toramana as 'Jaūla', and a study of the earlier Zabuli coins (see para 37 below) appears to show that they were established on the Indian borderland towards the close of the fourth century A D.

33 Among the most important finds of early White Hun coins is the deposit discovered by Masson in the Great Topi at Hidda near Jelalabad in the Kabul Valley.

This hoard has never been analysed with accuracy and has unfortunately been dispersed, but it appears from the description given in *Ariana Antiqua*, pages 396-399 that though it included several coins dating from the latter half of the fifth century, the great majority at any rate of the Sasanian issues, were struck in the closing decades of the fourth century. This is a strong indication that many of the White Hun coins in this deposit should be referred to the same period.

Most of the White Hun coins found in this Topi are of the thin broad class with strongly repoussé heads. The greater proportion of these have legends in the Greek Kushān script, some having, either alone or in addition to a Greek legend, occasional Brahmi characters in the field.

Dr Heinrich Junker has read some of these Greek-Kushān legends and finds that the coins are Zabuli issues of Balkh mintage.

34 As these Balkh coins bear legends solely in the Greek Kushān script it follows that those bearing isolated Brahmi characters must have been struck south of the Hindu Kush.

This supposition is supported by the discovery of Mr Hargreaves, in archaeological excavation at Peshawar, of a hoard of very similar coins bearing Brahmi isolated characters. This hoard has been described by Mr Whitehead in *J.P.A.S.B.*, Num. Suppl., XVI, pp 481-483, and the writer has obtained duplicates of these in Peshawar District.

35 That the White Huns had raided as far as Peshawar prior to 400 A D is suggested by a legend recorded by Fa Hsien that an Ephthalite king had 'formerly endeavoured' to remove Buddha's begging bowl from Peshawar, but had been foiled by a miraculous exhibition of passive resistance on the part of the relic.

The Chinese pilgrim Fa Hsien described his visit to Gandhāra in the first decade of the 5th century A D and the legend is given in full on page 14 of Giles' translation.

36 The early Zabuli coins of the classes referred to in paras 33 and 34 have, in almost all cases, their reverses totally obliterated by the deeply repoussé obverse head.

On only a few coins are the details of the reverse at all

clear, and a large percentage of these (e.g. Whitehead, Num. Suppl., XXI, No. 18) show a bust of Hormizd appearing in the flames surmounting the first-altar, which is a fourth century characteristic as shown in para. 18 above.

Another Zabuli coin (Cunn. l.c. VII, 2) which from its similarity to the Merv coins of Varahrān V appears to be of Merv mintage, was undoubtedly struck during the fourth century as it is copied from the coins of Varahrān IV.

37. The evidence discussed in the preceding paragraphs indicates that prior to the close of the fourth century the White Huns had struck coins in Merv, Balkh and south of the Hindu Kush and had even penetrated as far as Peshawar, though this appears to have been little more than a raid. It is therefore reasonable to assume that it was the gradual advance of this people that threatened the Western dominions of Kidāra and forced him to leave Gandhāra to his son Piro, and that the same invaders succeeded, about the beginning of the fifth century, in ousting the Little Kushāns from Peshawar District and putting an end to Sasanian domination in that area.

CONCLUSION.

38. We are now in a position to continue the summary of the history of the Little Kushāns from the point at which we left them in para. 24.

It appears that Kidāra, after throwing off the Sasanian yoke in 368/8 A.D., established a large empire. The Chinese annalists says that five districts to the North of Gandhāra submitted to him and the coins of Tarika show that his Indian dominions stretched South as far as Bannu.

At the same time, the statement of the Chinese that he established his son as King in Gandhāra and moved to the West when pressed by some Central Asian tribe (which I have shown to be the White Huns) can only be explained by the assumption that he ruled over a considerable area to the West of Gandhāra. If this western extension of his kingdom included Kabul it is only natural that he should transfer his capital there to resist invaders from Balkh, leaving a Viceroy at Peshawar to govern his Indian dominions. One should remember that Gandhāra cannot be threatened seriously by Central Asian invaders except from the West.

We know from the Chinese that Kidāra set up his son in Gandhāra and the coins (see paras. 15 and 27) show that this son was Piro. The date of this abdication (see para. 30) cannot be fixed but it was probably between 375 and 380 A.D.

39. We have no record of the wars between Kidāra and the White Huns beyond the fact that the latter were ultimately successful. While the Kushāns were engaged in these wars the Sasanians seem to have taken the opportunity of extending

their Eastern dominions Ardeshir II reconquered at least one district over which he set a satrap (coin No 56) and Shapur III in addition to annexing several other districts (coins 67-71) forced Piro to acknowledge his suzerainty in Gandhara. Varahran who succeeded to Piro was also a vassal of the Sasanians.

The triumph of the Sasanians was however shortlived for their recently conquered provinces in Kabul and Gandhara were overrun by the White Huns apparently about 400 A.D. Sasanian influence disappears from Gandhara about this date and it appears that the Little Kushans retreated into the mountain area and the Upper Indus Valley and Kashmir. It is not however proposed to trace the history of the Little Kushans beyond this point.

40 It is realized that the above reconstruction is based on the most flimsy evidence. It is not a structure built around a firm framework of concrete fact but a fabric woven from many threads any one of which alone, may be easily snapped.

At the same time it is a theory which appears to fit in with every known fact. It is consonant with the recorded statements of Ammian Marcellinus and the Chinese historians. It explains the cause of the Eastern wars of Shapur II the inscription of Srok High Judge of Kabul and the sobriquet 'The Warlike' earned by Shapur III and in addition all known coins all recorded findspots and all variations in script and portraiture are woven into the fabric.

41 I wish to record my grateful acknowledgment of the help given me by Mr J. Allan of the British Museum who guided my readings permitted me to study his cabinets and prepared the casts and photos for the accompanying plates by Mr R. B. Whitehead who permitted me to read his manuscript chapter on the White Huns which will shortly appear in Volume II of the Cambridge History of India and by Mr Dikshit and the staff of the Indian Museum Calcutta who deciphered the legends of the coins illustrated on the accompanying plates.

APPENDIX I

CATALOGUE OF COINS

Part I Main Dynasty

KIDARA

Type I R Drachm

Obv — Bust of king to right diademed ends of diadem floating upwards behind head, wearing mural crown with three crenellated turrets as shown on coins of Shapur II crown adorned with floating fillets and central crenellation surmounted by crescent and fluted globe bushy hair no beard, wears ear ring necklace bust ends in four lobes grenetis Brahmi legend (commencing 2 o'clock) —

'Kidara Kushana Sha'

Rev — Fire altar with triple base and capital fillet adorning shaft, surmounted by flames in which bust of Hormizd appears to right, on either side attendant facing altar holds sword at the carry grenetis

1	(Plate 1)	Wt 55.7 grs	R	In exergue Br 'Sha	Author, Hoard IV
2	(Plate 1)	Wt 51.5 grs		do	Author, Hoard III
3				do	Electro type in British Museum

Type II R Drachm

Obv — Bust of king facing diademed ends of diadem floating upwards from shoulders wearing crown with three foliate ornaments the centre one having five plumes and the flankers three each, crown adorned with floating fillets and fluted globe, bushy hair on either side of neck no beard, wears ear ring and necklace shoulders draped with palmettes, grenetis

Brahmi legend (commencing 10 o'clock)

'Kidara Kushana Sha'

Rev — As on Type I

4	(Plate 1)	Wt 48.9 grs	R	In exergue un read Brahmi legend which may be a date	Author, Hoard III
5	(Plate 1)	Wt 53.0 grs		Do	Author, Hoard III
6		Wt 56.0 grs		do	British Museum ex Cunningham collec tion 1894 published in Num Chron 1893 Plate XV I
7		Wt 56.0 grs		Do	Do do Plate XV 2
8				Do	Do Ex Cunning ham collect on 1894 unpublished
9				Do	Excavated at Taxila vide A.S.R. 1915 16 p 36 item 1
10 14				Do	Excavated at Jamal garhi vide A.S.R. (1 frontier Circle) 1920 21 Appendix I items 140 263 and 264

PIRO.

Type I R Drachm

Obv —Bust of King, facing diademed ends of diadem floating upwards from shoulders, wearing crown with two ram's horns curving outwards and central foliate ornament of five plumes, crown adorned with floating fillets and fluted globe bushy hair on either side of neck small moustache beard with end passed through ring wears ear ring and necklace, shoulders draped with palmettes, grenetis

Brahmi legend left, shâ'

right, 'Pirosa'

Rev —Fire altar with triple base and capital fillet adorning shaft, surmounted by flames in which bust of Hormizd appears to right on either side attendant with plumed head dress faces altar with sword at the carry, grenetis

- | | | | | |
|----|---------------|---|---------------------------|-----------------|
| 15 | (Plate 1) | R | In exergue Brahmi 'na' | Author Hoard VI |
| | | | To right Brahmi 'Piladha' | |
| 16 | (Plate 1) | R | In exergue Brahmi, 'na' | Author, Hoard V |
| 17 | Broken ½ coin | | Do | Author Hoard IV |

Type I (a)

Obv —As type I but Brahmi legend varied —
right 'shahî' left 'Piro'

Rev —As type I

- | | | | | |
|----|-----------|---|---|------------------|
| 18 | (Plate 1) | R | In exergue, Brahmi 'na' | Author, Hoard VI |
| | | | To right, Brahmi 'Piladha' | |
| 19 | (Plate 2) | | Do | Author, Hoard VI |
| 20 | (Plate 2) | R | In exergue, Brahmi, 'na' | Author Hoard V |
| | | | To right, indistinct Brahmi characters commencing with ba | |
| 21 | (Plate 2) | | Do | Author, Hoard V |

Type II R Drachm

Obv —Bust of King to right diademed, ends of diadem floating upwards behind head, wearing crown with two ram's horns curving to back and front and central foliate ornament of three plumes, crown adorned with floating fillets and fluted globe, bushy hair behind neck, small moustache, beard with end passed through ring, wears ear ring and necklace, shoulders draped with palmettes, grenetis

Before face —Brahmi 'Pî'

Pehlevi legend (commencing 4 o'clock) —

Rev —Fire altar with triple base and capital, fillet on shaft, surmounted by flames, on either side attendant, with close fitting broad brimmed head dress facing altar with sword at the carry, grenetis

- | | | | | |
|--------|-----------|---|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 22 | (Plate 2) | R | In exergue, Brahmi 'na' | Author, Hoard V |
| 23 | (Plate 2) | | Do | Author, Hoard VI |
| 24, 25 | | | Do | British Museum, ex
Major Hay, 1860 |

VARAHRÂN

Type I. R Drachm

Obv. — Bust of King to right, diademed, ends of diadem floating upwards behind head, wearing crown with foliate ornaments, showing three, five and three plumes respectively, crown adorned with floating fillet and fluted globe bushy hair behind neck, small moustache, beard with end passed through ring, wears ear ring and necklace, shoulders draped with palmettes, grenetis

Pehlevi legend (commencing 4 o'clock) —

'Lur Varahrân'.

Rev. — Fire altar with triple base and capital, fillet on shaft, surmounted by flames, on either side, attendant, wearing close fitting, broad brimmed head-dress, facing altar with sword at the carry, grenetis

26 (Plate 2)

27

Author, Hoard V
Indian Museum,
Calcutta, Plate
XXIV 8 Repub-
lished Paruck XIII
296

28

British Museum, ex
Deane, 1919

Type I (a) As on Type I but legend 'Varahrân or 'Varahrân apzûn'

29 (Plate 2) *Obv.* — To right, Brahmi 'Pî'.

R In exergue, Brahmi 'Nû' Author, Hoard VI

30 (Plate 3) R In exergue, Brahmi 'Nû' Author, Hoard V.
'Nadaya'

31, 32 (Plate 3) R In exergue, Brahmi 'Na' Author, Hoard V
'daka'.

33-36 (Plate 3) R In exergue, Brahmi 'Nada' Author, Hoard VI.
'Nada'

37, 38 Similar to 29-36 British Museum, ex
Grant, 1923

39-41 Similar to 29-36 British Museum ex
Hay, 1860

42. Do British Museum
(India Office
Collection)

Part II Provincial Rulers.

VARO SHAHI

Type I R Drachm

Obv. — Bust of ruler, facing, diademed, ends of diadem floating upwards from shoulders, wearing crown with three foliate ornaments, the centre one having three plumes, the flanks two each, between these ornaments crescents, crown adorned with floating fillets and smooth globe, bushy hair on either side of neck, no beard, wears ear rings and necklace, bust ends in four lobes, grenetis Brahmi legend — (10 o'clock) 'Varo'

(2 o'clock) 'Shāhi'.

Rev. — Fire altar with double base and triple capital, fillet adorning shaft, surmounted by flames with triangular flanking ornaments, on either side, attendant, facing altar, holds sword at carry, grenetis

43 (Plate 4)

British Museum ex
Whitehead 1922

Type I (a)

As on Type I but sole legend Varo

44 (Plate 4)

British Museum ex
Cunningham 1894
published Num
Chron 1893 Plate
XX 7

45

British Museum, ex
Cunningham, 1894

46

British Museum, ex
Brereton, 1859

PIROCH

Type I R Drachm

Obv —Bust of ruler, facing diademed, ends of diadem floating upwards from shoulders, wearing crown with three foliate ornaments each of three plumes, crown adorned with fluted globe surmounting crescent bushy hair on either side of neck clean shaven, wears ear rings, necklace and jewelled collar, bust ends in four lobes, grenetis

No legend

Rev —Fire altar with double base and triple capital fillet adorning shaft, surmounted by flames, on left, attendant, facing altar, holding sword at the carry, on right, ornamental globe resting on symbol like Buddhist triratna, surmounted by flat platform from which palm branches arise, grenetis

In exergue, Pehlevi legend 'Piroch'

47 (Plate 4)

48

Author, Hoard III

British Museum ex
Cunningham, 1894,
published Num
Chron 1893,
Plate XV 5

Type I (a) As on Type I but central foliate ornament on crown omitted
49, 50 (49 Plate 4)

Author, Hoard III

BUDDHABALA

Type I R Drachm

Obv —Bust of ruler, facing diademed, ends of diadem float upwards from shoulders, wearing crown with two outspread wings and central foliate ornament of three plumes, crown adorned with floating fillets and fluted globe surmounting crescent, bushy hair on either side of neck small moustache, clean shaven chin, wears ear ring and neck lace, bust ends in four lobes, grenetis

No legend

Rev —Fire altar with double base and triple capital fillet adorning shaft, surmounted by flames, on either side attendant facing altar with sword at the carry, grenetis In exergue Brahmi legend —'Buddhabala'

51 (Plate 4)
52 (Plate 4)
53

Author, Hoard IV
Author, Hoard III
British Museum,
Parkes Weber Gift,
1906

ANONYMOUS

Type I A Drachm

Obv —Bust of ruler, facing diademed, ends of diadem float upwards from shoulders, wearing crown with central crenellated ornament surmounted by jewelled dome and flanking foliate ornaments of two plumes, bushy hair on either side of neck, clean shaven, wears ear ring and necklace, bust ends in four lobes, grenetis

No legend

Rev —Fire altar with double base and triple capital fillet adorning shaft, surmounted by flames in which bust of Hormuzd appears to right, on either side, attendant, facing altar, with sword at the carry, grenetis

No legend

54 (Plate 5)

British Museum, ex Whitehead
1922

BHĀSA

Type I B Drachm

Obv —Bust of ruler right diademed ends of diadem float upwards from shoulders, wear flat cap with vertical flutings surmounted by crescent and globe, bushy hair on either side of neck, clean shaven, wears ear ring and necklace bust ends in four lobes, large crescent behind shoulders; grenetis Brahmi legend (2 o'clock) 'Bhasa'

Rev —Fire altar with double base and triple capital fillet adorning shaft, surmounted by flames in which bust of Hormuzd appears to right, on either side, attendant facing altar with sword at the carry, grenetis

55 (Plate 5)

British Museum ex Cunningham,
1894 Published Num
Chron 1897 Pl XV, 6

UNIDENTIFIED SATRAP OF ARDESHIR II

Type I A Drachm

Obv —Bust of ruler right, diademed, ends of diadem floating upwards behind head wears close fitting cap surmounted in front with jewelled globe adorned with fillets bushy hair behind neck clean shaven, wears ear ring, necklace and jewelled collar, grenetis

Illegible Pehlevi legend

Rev —Fire altar with double base and triple capital fillet adorning shaft surmounted by flames in which bust of Hormuzd appears to right on either side attendant faces altar with sword at the carry grenetis

In exergue illegible Brahmi legend

56 (Plate 5)

British Museum, ex Whitehead
1922

TARIKA

Type I Æ Round

Obv —Bust of ruler, facing, diademed, ends of diadem floating upwards from shoulders, wear head dress surmounted by crescent, clean shaven, wears ear ring and necklace, bust ends in four lobes, grenetis

Rev —Brahmi legend in two lines —‘Kshatrpa Tarika’, grenetis

57

British Museum ex Cunningham
1891, published Num Chron
1893, Plate XV provenance
Bannu

58 (Plate 5)

59 60 (59 Plate 5)

British Museum ex Talbot, 1903
Author, provenance Akra, Bannu
District

61

Electrotype in British Museum,
published Rapson (J R A S,
1903) ‘Notes on Indian Coins
Seals’, Plate V, 11

Note —No 61 being double struck the inscription is not legible
The coin may have been struck by another ruler, though
it appears to me to be of Tarika

Type II Æ Round

Obv —Head to left, details indistinct

Rev —As on type I

62,

British Museum, ex Cunningham
1894 published Num Chron
1893 Plate XV, 9, provenance
Bannu

63, 64

Author provenance Akra Bannu
District

Type III Æ Round

Obv Head to right, details indistinct

Rev Apparently as type I

65, 66

British Museum, ex Cunningham,
1894

SADHANI

Type I Æ Drachm

Obv —Bust of king to right, diademed, ends of diadem floating upwards behind head, wears ornamental flat topped crown as shown in the coins of Shapur III, crown adorned with floating fillets and pearly globe, bushy hair, no beard, wears earring and necklace, bust ends in four lobes, grenetis

Before face, vertical Brahmi legend ‘Sadhani’

Behind head Brahmi ‘Pra’

Rev —Fire altar with single base and triple capital, fillet adorning shaft, surmounted by flames in which bust of Hormizd appears to right, on either side attendant, facing altar with sword at the carry, grenetis

67 (Plate 5)
68 69

British Museum ex Rogers 1894
British Museum ex Cunningham
1894

UNIDENTIFIED SATRAP A OF SHAPUR III

Type I Drachm

Obv —Bust of king to right helmet as on coins 67 69 though ornaments on flat topped crown var e l and reminiscent of coin 55

Before face unread Greel Kushan legend

Rev —F re altar with double base an l tr ple cap tal fillet adorning shaft surmounted by flames in which bust of Hormiz l appears to left on either side attendant fac ng altar w th sword at the carry grenetis

70 (Plate 5)

Author Hoar l IV

UNIDENTIFIED SATRAP B OF SHAPUR III

Type I Drachm

Obv —Bust of ruler to right d ademel ends of d adem float ng upwards behind head wear ng flat topped crown as shown on the coins of Shapur III crown adorned with globe and floating fillets bushy ha r beard appears to pas through ring wears necklace bust ends in four lobes grenetis

Before face unread Pehlevi legend

Rev —Bust of ruler (?) to left diademed wears pearled coronet fillet tied into hair at top of head bearded bust ends in four lobes grenetis

Before face unread Pehlevi legend

71

British Museum ex Cunningham 1894

APPENDIX II

A Stylistic Comparison of the Coins of the Little Kushan Rulers and Satraps

This comparison has been relegated to an Appendix as a discussion of it would interrupt the argument in the main paper unnecessarily. It has also been reduced to tabular form for clearness.

The first table shows the differences which appear worthy of note. The second compares the various coins with respect to these differences.

TABLE I

Reference	Feature	DIFFERENCES		
		a	b	c
A	Flan of coin	R Thin spread fabric	R Smaller, thicker flan	Æ 65°
B	Direction in which bust faces	To front	To right	To left
C	Chin of portrait	Clean shaven	Bearded, end of beard passed through ring	
D	Emblems surmounting head dress	Crescent and globe	Globe alone	Neither
E	Fillets on head dress	Present	Absent	
F	Ornamentation on bust	Shoulders draped with palmettes	Bust ends in four lobes representing shoulders and chest	
G	Obverse legend	Name and Title	Name only	
H	Script of obverse legend	Brahmi	Pehlevi	Greek Kushan
J	Reverse legend	Primary	Secondary	
K	Script of reverse legend	Brahmi	Pehlevi	Greek Kushan
L	Flames on fire altar	Bust of Hormizd among flames	No bust among flames	Triangular ornament flanking fire
M	Fire altar	Triple base and capital	Double base, triple capital	Single base, triple capital

APPENDIX II --(Contd.)

TABLE II

Dynasty	King and Type	Reference to Catalogue	Features differentiated (See Table I)											
			A	B	C	D	L	F	G	H	J	K	L	M
Little Kushan Rulers Independent Period	Kidara Type I	1-3	a	b	a	a	a	b	a	a	b	a	a	a
	Kidara Type II	4 14	a	a	a	b	a	a	a	a	b	a	a	a
	Puro Type I	15 21	a	a	b	b	a	a	a	b	a	b	a	a
	Puro Type II	22 25	a	b	b	b	a	a	b	b	a	b	a	a
	Varahran	26 42	a	b	b	b	a	{a b}	b	{b c}	{a Nil}	b	a	a
Little Kushan Satraps Independent period	Varo Shahn	43-46	a	a	a	b	a	b	a	b	Nil	c	b	b
	Piroch	47-50	a	a	a	a	a	b	Nil	a	b	b	b	b
	Buddhabala	51 53	a	a	a	a	b	b	Nil	a	a	b	b	b
	Anonymous	54	a	a	a	c	b	b	Nil	c	Nil	a	b	b
	Bhasa	55	a	a	a	a	b	b	a	c	Nil	a	a	b
Satraps under Sassanian Rulers	Tarikha Type I*	57 61	c	a	a	c	b	b	Nil	Nil	a	Nil	Nil	Nil
	Unidentified	56	a	b	a	b	a	b	a	b	a	a	b	b
	Ardeshr II													
	Sadhasa under Shapur III	67 69	b	b	a	b	a	b	b	a	Nil	a	a	c
	Unidentified A under Shapur III	70	a	b	a	b	a	b	Not Clear	c	Nil	a	a	b
	Unidentified B under Shapur III	71	b	b	b*	b	a	b	Not Clear	b	b	Nil	Nil	Nil

* Tarikha Types II and III are too poorly preserved for a detailed analysis

APPENDIX III

Notes on Finds and Findspots of Little Kushan Silver and Copper Coins

All finds known to the author are listed below. All other coins of the dynasty which he has traced are also listed grouped according to the collections in which they appear. The table shows the composition of each find or group in detail.

List of finds etc

- I — Excavated by the Archaeological Survey of India at Taxila *vide* A S R 1915 16 page 36 item 5
- II — Excavated by the Archaeological Survey of India at Jamal Garai *vide* A S R Frontier Circle 1900 21 p 3 and Appendix V item 140 263 and 264. A Sasanian coin of Varahran IV was found in same block of buildings but not in conjunction with these coins
- III — Exact provenance not known—purchased by author in Rawalpindi from a petty coin dealer whose other coins all appeared to be of local provenance
- IV — Exact provenance unknown—purchased by author in Peshawar City
- V — Purchased by author in Peshawar. The vendor stated he bought them from a cultivator who dug them up in Swabi Tehsil Peshawar District. He could give me no further information
- VI — Exact provenance unknown—purchased by author from a dealer in Rawalpindi
- VII — In British Museum ex Major Hay 1860 provenance unrecorded
- VIII — do ex W L Grant 1923 do
- IX — do ex Col H E Deane 1919 do
- X — do ex India Office Collection do
- XI — In the Indian Museum Calcutta Catalogue Vol I Pl XXIV 8 do
- XII — In the British Museum ex R B Whitehead 1922 do
- XIII — do ex General Cunningham 1894 do
- XIV — do Parkes Weber Gift 1906 do
- XV — do ex W S Talbot 1903 do
- XVI — do ex C J Rogers 1894 do
- XVII — do ex Brereton 1859 do
- XVIII — Electrotypes in British Museum. Provenance and ownership of original unrecorded
- XIX — Found by author at Akra Bannu Dist
- XX — In the British Museum ex General Cunningham 1894 provenance Bannu District

Notes

To save space finds IX, X and XI have been omitted from the table showing the composition of the various finds. Each contained 1 coin of the independent ruler Varahran of the type of numbers 26 to 49. Certain finds contained Sasanian drachms as noted below —

- X 2 of Varahran IV
 XI 1 of Shapur III
 and 1 of Varahran IV

REFERENCES

Classical Authors

- Faustus of Byzantium—Translated by Victor Langlois Paris 1867
 Ammianus Marcellinus—Translated in Bohn's Classical Library

Chinese Annals

- Giles—'Fa Hsien'
 Julien—A translation from Ma Touan Lin by Stanislas Julien published in *Les Huns Blancs* by Vivien de St Martin Paris 1849
 Remusat—*Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques* by Abel Remusat Paris 1829
 Specht—*Etudes sur l'Asie Centrale d'après les Historiens Chinois* by Florent Specht Paris 1890

Archæology

- Hargreaves—Archæological Survey Report, Frontier Circle 1930-31, by H. Hargreaves
 Marshall—Excavations at Taxila by Sir John Marshall Archæological Survey of India, Annual Reports for 1914-15 and 1915-16
 Wilson—*Ariana Antiqua* by Professor H. H. Wilson London 1841

Historical Geography

- Marquart—*Eranšahr* a commentary on the Geography of Moses of Chorene by Dr J. Marquart Berlin, 1901

Numismatics

- Cunningham—Coins of the Later Indo Scythians, Little Kushans Numismatic Chronicle 1897
 Herzfeld—'Memoir on Kushano Sasanian Coins' by Professor Ernst Herzfeld Archæological Survey of India Memoir No 38 Calcutta 1930
 Junker—'Die Hephthalitisch Münzinschriften' by Dr Heinrich Junker Berlin 1931
 Whitehead—A find of Ephthalite or White Hun Coins' by R. B. Whitehead J P A S B., Calcutta Numismatic Supplement No XXI

M F C MARTIN



1A



2A



4A



5A



15A



16A



18A





19A



20A



21A



22A



23A



26A



29A





30 AR



31 AR



32 AR



33 AR



34 AR



35 AR



36 AR





43 AR



44 AR



47 AR



49 AR



51 AR



52 AR





54R



55R



56R



58
Æ



59
Æ



67R



70R



71R



COINS OF THE LITTLE KUSHANS

343 OBSERVATIONS ON DIFFERENT TYPES OF SILVER PUNCH
MARKED COINS, THEIR PERIODS AND LOCALE

My first paper on 'The Classification and significance of symbols on the silver punch marked coins', published in the Numismatic Supplement No XLV for 1934, and in the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol XXX No 3, 1934, was more or less descriptive. Here I intend to discuss in detail other points.

Since the discovery of Dr Spooner, and my own finding that the bigger symbols seen on the obverse side of the coins indicate a methodical grouping of symbols, it has become easier now to differentiate and classify them, and find out the coins of the same class bearing the same symbol groups, which were undoubtedly minted in the same period, as most of them are punched with the same dies. In a group of coins punched with the same group of symbols in a hoard, all the different shapes, such as round, elliptical, rectangular, and square with clipped corners are found as illustrated on Pls IV to XXI, of my paper published in the Numismatic Supplement No XLV. The rectangular or round shape is thus no criterion of the chronological period of punch marked coins, as supposed by some scholars.

Even the coins of the earlier periods as illustrated on Pls VI and VIII, are found in all the four shapes, although most of the earlier types of coins which are illustrated on Pls I, II, III and XXXI, in the NS No XLV, and described hereafter, are irregularly round in shape. This latter fact most probably led Cunningham to say that 'the earlier coins are generally thin and broad, of irregular shapes, some are oblong and some are nearly round'. Numismatists who have handled a sufficient number of silver punch marked coins would vouchsafe the correctness of this. The coins of earlier periods are broader and thinner, of irregular shape with rounded corners, of a different standard of weight and impressed with a group of only four crudely designed symbols, and rarely of five. The shape of coins was apparently no matter of consideration, in the very early days of coinage, only the weights and symbols were cared for chiefly.

The silver punch marked coins of comparatively later periods are more geometrical in shapes, being circular, elliptical, oblong, and square with clear corners, clipped or unclipped, thicker and smaller. They always bear groups of five symbols, showing finer and geometrically correct delineation and conforming to the thirty two *Rattis* standard weight. This is

my conclusion from a study of over eight thousand silver punch marked coins from my own and other private collections and from eight different hoards now lying unpublished and unclassified in the three well known Museums of India.

Another theory that the silver punch marked coins with blank reverse or marked with only one or two very small symbols on their reverse are of earlier period, as compared with those showing three or more symbols. In other words coins punched on their reverse sides with many minute symbols say from three to nine or fourteen are considered to belong to a later date.

This is another incorrect theory still prevailing amongst the scholars but after the discovery of the fact that the bigger symbols seen on the obverse side of the coins indicate a methodical grouping the first three of which are common and the variation of the other two constitutes a series of that particular group, as will be evident from the symbol groups illustrated on Plates IX to XXI and also on Pls I II III IV V and VI NS No XLV,¹ which illustrate the groups seen on the coins of the earlier types in which only the first two are common the remaining are changed to form their series, this has enabled us now to recognise the coins of the same class which bear the same symbol groups out of any hoard of coins and it will be found that some of these similar coins have blank reverse sometimes showing anvil marks while others of the same class will show one two, three or more up to nine small symbols on their reverse.

Coins bearing the same symbol groups are undoubtedly of the same period and were minted under the same authority or king. The plausible explanation as to why some coins of the same class have blank reverse and others are marked with a large number of symbols is, that some of the coins of the same class which remained in circulation for a longer time say for a century or more, bear more marks than those which somehow or other were kept confined and could not come into full circulation and thus escaped being marked many times like the others, till they all reached the hand who last hoarded them. The explanation is further supported by the fact that coins of the same class from the same hoard bearing a large number of symbols on the reverse look much worn and are lighter in weight comparatively, than those of the same class which are of blank reverse or bear only one or two small symbols. I have found many such instances in several hoards, and I think it is wrong to say that coins bearing none or one symbol on the reverse are of earlier period. One or two instances would not be out of

¹ This supplementary or the second part of the article should be read with the help of the previous one published in the Numismatic Supplement No XLV for 1934 or the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* Vol XXX 1934.

(2) Reverse symbols which are not seen amongst the obverse groups of symbols. These have been punched with two to nine symbols on the reverse (compare the figures in the 3rd and 4th columns of Plates IX to XVII, coins No 1 to 92 (N S No XLV). What can be the explanation for such small reverse symbols? Do the smaller symbols which exactly resemble some of the conspicuous symbols on the obverse groups carry any special significance? These are the questions which confront us and require explanation. Various theories of the punching on the reverse side of the coins have been put forward by previous scholars. Some thought that they are the marks punched by the ancient guilders others explained them partly to be Mint marks and partly marks of the guilders. No doubt the idea of a Mint mark came from the study of Indo Greek coins of the 2nd and 1st century B.C. Whether the early Indians knew and put the Mint marks on the punch marked coins is a question that has not yet been definitely settled.

Sir Alexander Cunningham in his *Coins of Ancient India* has described a gold coin¹ excavated from Taxila, bearing on one side the figure of a standing bull facing to left, which he wrongly thought to be a lion and a figure resembling the Vajra formed by two crescents put on the two sides of a dot and two arrow heads one above and the other below, on the other side of the coin² a somewhat similar symbol was seen on the reverse side of some silver punch marked coins obtained from the same place, illustrated as Figs 1 and 2 on Pl II, in his C.A.I. This led Cunningham to think that it may be the mark of Taxila³ but he was not definite about calling it a mint mark besides no other instance of the kind was known to him. On the other hand, it is well known that a particular symbol⁴ which is first seen on the gold and copper coins of Kadphises II, was then followed by all the great Kushans on their copper and gold issues even retained by the later Kushans on their coins with a little modification and after them adopted by the great Guptas with further modifications probably as a royal mark on their gold Dinars and Suvarnas. Some scholars have taken the symbol to be a 'mint mark', Vincent Smith has, however, correctly called it 'Monogrammatic Mark'. The idea that some of the small reverse symbols on the punch marked coins are mint marks thus remains unsupported, but the theory that they are all guilder's marks is also not fully satisfactory.

SOME OF THE CONSPICUOUS REVERSE SYMBOLS ARE COIN TEST MARKS OF THE EARLY PERIOD.—The study of 1,351 silver punch marked coins known as the Lotapur hoard of Unao

¹ C.C.A.I. Pl II No 18

² See Fig 3 Pl 6 of this article

³ C.C.A.I. p 61

⁴ See Fig 4 Pl 6 of this article

on the obverse and bent over the upper smaller piece, the latter being marked by a Nandipada and a turtle. On coin No B7¹ the extra piece was mounted by turning over the edges of the lower original damaged coin on the four sides to hold the upper piece a fish symbol occurring on the additional piece. Both the fish symbol and the Nandipada turtle combination appear to be very popular being found on 64 and 60% of the coins of the present hoard. The most plausible explanation about the two coins is that separate pieces of silver were added to the original damaged coins to make up the loss of their weights when they came to be tested. The coins were apparently not destroyed or withdrawn from circulation on account of their damaged condition but mended under official orders and most probably the official marks of the Rupadarsakas were put on them as a guarantee of their full weight before they were re-circulated. Both the coins now weigh 26.6 and 25.45 grains respectively which very nearly approaches the average weight of the coins of thinner type in the hoard which was calculated to be 26.5 grains. This is a practical example showing how the coins were occasionally tested in the early days. Thomas quoting Manu on this point,² mentions that weights and measures should be checked every six months and probably the coins were included as they were determined by the weights.

It need not be pointed out here that the Rūpadarsaka was an officer in the service of the king and not a guilders man, as is clear from the Arthashastra of Kautilya.³ The issue of coin was an Imperial concern, under the officer Lakṣṇadhyakṣa, the mint master of those days, who was not only in charge of the supervision of coin minting department, but was also the officer who knew the Lakṣṇas the symbols punched on the coins. The very word Lakṣṇadhyakṣa is indicative of the system of punching symbols on the coinage of the ancient period under a well organised department.

It becomes clear now that coins which remained in circulation for a considerable period and were checked again and again by different officers naturally show a large number of 'test marks', in the shape of the small symbols on the reverse some times as many as twelve or fourteen. These coins look much defaced and worn becoming comparatively lighter in weight, and are sometimes found mixed with coins of later period specially with the Mauryan coins described in the next chapter which had a wide circulation throughout the Mauryan Empire from one end of the country to another end.

In conclusion it can be said that most of the small reverse symbols which are conspicuously seen on a large number of coins

¹ For the illustration of the coin see Fig. 1 Pl. 6, of this article.

² Manu Ch. VIII 403 षट्सु षट्सु च मासेषु पुनरव परीक्षयम् ॥

³ 2.12.30—Kautilya's Arthashastra

in a hoard, are the 'test marks' put by the Rūpīdarśaka after testing the coins. Some of the marks may be due to the guilders, but it looks extraordinary that the guilders would have taken the trouble to mark every coin, when there was already an official system of testing and marking the coins. It may be also noted here that sometimes the small test-marks are by mistake punched on the obverse side, adding to the actual number of the 5 symbols of the group, but this does not interfere with the grouping arrangement, and with a little care can be made out distinctly from the regular group of 5 symbols on the obverse.

II. SOME COMMON SYMBOLS

As stated before, some of the symbols which are conspicuously observed in the groups on the obverse of the coins are also seen in a minute form, on the reverse of the coins of the same period, as well as on the pieces of chronologically earlier period, for which some plausible explanation should be found. All such symbols which are seen on both sides are illustrated for the sake of facility on Plate 6 of this article.¹ A few instances would help to clear the above statement.

Figure A, *Pl 6 of this article*, which is conspicuously seen on all the coins from 1 to 12 on Pls I, II and III,² as the first figure of the symbol groups, on the obverse is also seen like Fig a on the reverse of coin No 1, Pl I (N S No XLV)

Fig B, *Pl 6 of this art*, the 3rd Figs in the groups on coins Nos 1 and 2, Pl I (N S No XLV) appears as Fig b, *Pl 6 of this art*, on the reverse of coin No 3, Pl I, and No 5, Pl II (N S No XLV)

Fig C, *Pl 6 of this art*, the 3rd figures in the groups of symbols on coins 3, 4, and 5 Pls I and II (N S No XLV) is also punched as Fig c, *Pl 6 of this art* on the reverse of coin No 10 as the 5th figure, Pl III (N S No XLV)

Fig D, *Pl 6 of this art*, the 4th Fig on coin No 10 Pl III (N S No XLV) is seen like Fig d of *Pl 6 of this art* on the reverse of coin No 6, Pl II, and also with its face to right on coins 11 and 12 on Pl III (N S No XLV)

Fig E *Pl 6 of this art*, seen on the Golikhapur early coins of Magadha, which is the 1st figure of the groups on all the coins from 4 to 105 on Pls IV and V (N S No XLV) appears

¹ The capital letters refer to the figures of the obverse side, and the small letters to the symbols of the reverse side on Pl 6 of this article.

² All such references to plates are meant for the plates illustrated in the Numismatic Supplement, No XLV or the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* Vol XXX, 1931 unless stated otherwise.

as Fig e, *Pl 6 of this art* on the reverse of coins Nos 75 and 96, illustrated in the 5th column, *Pl V* (NS No XLV)

Fig F, *Pl 6 of this art*, the fourth figures in the groups on coins 4 to 59, *Pl IV* (NS No XLV) is impressed like Fig f, *Pl 6 of this art* on the reverse of the coin No 105 (NS No XLV)

Fig G *Pl 6 of this art*, the third figures of the groups on coins Nos 101 and 102 on *Pl V* (NS No XLV) is seen as the reverse symbol like Fig g, *Pl 6 of this art*, on coins Nos 86 and 103, *Pl IV* (NS No XLV)

Fig H, *Pl 6 of this art*, the 5th figures of groups on coins Nos 43 and 101 *Pl IV, V* (NS No XLV) is also punched as Fig h, *Pl 6 of this art*, on the reverse of the coins Nos 19 20, and 213, *Pl IV* (NS No XLV)

Fig I, *Pl 6 of this art* the 4th figure of the group on coin No 102, *Pl V* (NS No XLV) is seen as Fig i, *Pl 6 of this art* on the reverse of coins Nos 4 and 87, *Pls IV and V* (NS No XLV)

Fig J, *Pl 6 of this art* the 4th figure on coin No 4 of *Pl VI* (NS No XLV) illustrating a third type of coins, is seen as Fig j, *Pl 6 of this art*, on the reverse of coins Nos 2, 3, 4, and 5, with and without dots on *Pl VI* (NS No XLV)

Fig K, *Pl 6 of this art*, the 3rd figures of groups on coins Nos 1 to 5, *Pl VI* (NS No XLV) facing both ways, is punched as Fig k, *Pl 6 of this art*, on the reverse of coin No 4, *Pl VI*, as a small figure (NS No XLV)

On the other two types of coins illustrated on Plates IX to XXI, the following symbols are noteworthy —

Fig L, *Pl 6 of this art*, seen as the obverse symbols in the groups on a good many coins, $\frac{\text{No 2}}{\text{Pl IX'}}$, $\frac{\text{Nos 25 and 28}}{\text{Pl XI'}}$, $\frac{\text{No 55}}{\text{Pl XIV'}}$, $\frac{\text{Nos 76 to 80}}{\text{Pl XVI'}}$, $\frac{\text{No 90}}{\text{Pl XVII'}}$, $\frac{\text{No 93}}{\text{Pl XVII'}}$, $\frac{\text{No 118}}{\text{Pl XIX'}}$ and $\frac{\text{No 141}}{\text{Pl XXI'}}$ appears as a reverse symbol on coins $\frac{\text{Nos 24 and 28}}{\text{Pl XI}}$, $\frac{\text{Nos 33 and 37}}{\text{Pl XII}}$, $\frac{\text{No 72}}{\text{Pl XV'}}$, $\frac{\text{Nos 76 and 77}}{\text{Pl XVI}}$, $\frac{\text{Nos 87 and 88}}{\text{Pl XVII}}$, $\frac{\text{Nos 108, 117 and 118}}{\text{Pl XIX}}$ and $\frac{\text{No 120}}{\text{Pl XX'}}$ (NS No XLV)

Fig M, *Pl 6 of this art*, notably seen as a group symbol on coins $\frac{\text{Nos 7 and 10}}{\text{Pl IX}}$, $\frac{\text{Nos 13, 17A, 19 and 20}}{\text{Pl X}}$, $\frac{\text{No 32}}{\text{Pl XII'}}$, $\frac{\text{Nos 43, 49 and 50}}{\text{Pl XIII}}$, $\frac{\text{No 64}}{\text{Pl XV'}}$, $\frac{\text{No 112}}{\text{Pl XIX}}$ and $\frac{\text{No 152}}{\text{Pl XXVII'}}$ appears

in a smaller form punched on the reverse of coins $\frac{\text{No } 7}{\text{Pl IX}}$,
 $\frac{\text{No } 39}{\text{Pl XII}}$, $\frac{\text{No } 51}{\text{Pl XIII}}$, $\frac{\text{No } 70}{\text{Pl XV}}$, $\frac{\text{Nos } 86 \text{ and } 92}{\text{Pl XVII}}$ and $\frac{\text{No } 141}{\text{Pl XXI}}$
 (N S No XLV)

Fig N, *Pl 6 of this art*, the obverse symbol on coin
 $\frac{\text{No } 71}{\text{Pl XV}}$ is punched on the reverse of coins $\frac{\text{No } 42}{\text{Pl XIII}}$, $\frac{\text{No } 68}{\text{Pl XV}}$,
 $\frac{\text{No } 80}{\text{Pl XVI}}$ and $\frac{\text{No } 114}{\text{Pl XIX}}$ (N S No XLV)

Fig O, *Pl 6 of this art*, seen on the obverse of coins
 $\frac{\text{No } 8}{\text{Pl IX}}$, $\frac{\text{No } 16}{\text{Pl X}}$, $\frac{\text{Nos } 33 \text{ and } 36}{\text{Pl XII}}$, is seen on the reverse of coins
 $\frac{\text{No } 32}{\text{Pl XII}}$, $\frac{\text{Nos } 54, 57 \text{ and } 61}{\text{Pl XIV}}$, $\frac{\text{Nos } 68 \text{ and } 70}{\text{Pl XV}}$, $\frac{\text{No } 75}{\text{Pl XVI}}$ and
 $\frac{\text{No } 92}{\text{Pl XVII}}$ (N S No XLV)

Fig P, *Pl 6 of this art*, another conspicuous figure
 on the obverse of coins $\frac{\text{No } 23}{\text{Pl XI}}$, $\frac{\text{Nos } 40 \text{ and } 41}{\text{Pl XII}}$, $\frac{\text{No } 42}{\text{Pl XIII}}$,
 $\frac{\text{No } 83}{\text{Pl XVI}}$, $\frac{\text{No } 89}{\text{Pl XVII}}$, $\frac{\text{Nos } 113 \text{ to } 115}{\text{Pl XIX}}$, and $\frac{\text{Nos } 121 \text{ to } 124}{\text{Pl XX}}$, is
 also seen on the reverse of coins $\frac{\text{No } 41}{\text{Pl XII}}$, $\frac{\text{No } 58}{\text{Pl XIV}}$, $\frac{\text{No } 92}{\text{Pl XVII}}$,
 $\frac{\text{No } 113}{\text{Pl XIX}}$, and $\frac{\text{No } 132A}{\text{Pl XXI}}$ (N S No XLV)

Fig Q, *Pl 6 of this art*, a peculiar symbol seen on the
 obverse of coin $\frac{\text{No } 114}{\text{Pl XIX}}$, is found impressed on the reverse of
 coins $\frac{\text{No } 41}{\text{Pl XII}}$, $\frac{\text{No } 92}{\text{Pl XVII}}$ and $\frac{\text{Nos } 111, 113, 114 \text{ and } 115}{\text{Pl XIX}}$ (N S.
 No XLV)

Fig R, *Pl 6 of this art*, so conspicuously seen on the ob-
 verse of a large number of coins $\frac{\text{Nos } 3 \text{ to } 6}{\text{Pl XI}}$, $\frac{\text{Nos } 12, 14, 17 \text{ and } 18}{\text{Pl X}}$,
 $\frac{\text{Nos } 22, 29 \text{ and } 30}{\text{Pl XI}}$, $\frac{\text{Nos } 34, 35 \text{ and } 38}{\text{Pl XII}}$, $\frac{\text{Nos } 45 \text{ and } 51}{\text{Pl XIII}}$, $\frac{\text{No } 54}{\text{Pl XVI}}$,
 $\frac{\text{No } 81}{\text{Pl XVI}}$, $\frac{\text{No } 87}{\text{Pl XVII}}$, $\frac{\text{No } 102}{\text{Pl XVIII}}$, $\frac{\text{No } 127}{\text{Pl XX}}$, is seen on the reverse
 of a few coins $\frac{\text{No } 54}{\text{Pl XIV}}$, $\frac{\text{Nos } 88 \text{ and } 90}{\text{Pl XVII}}$ (N S No XLV)

Fig S, *Pl 6 of this art*, a prominent symbol seen on the
 obverse of later coins $\frac{\text{Nos } 105 \text{ to } 107}{\text{Pl XVIII}}$ and $\frac{\text{No } 134}{\text{Pl XXI}}$

is punched on the reverse of coins Nos 72, 73 and 47
Pl XV,
Nos 100, 101, 105 and 106, No 134
Pl XVIII, Pl XXI (N S No XLV)

Fig T, *Pl 6 of this art*, another conspicuous symbol seen on the obverse of two types of coins Nos 70 to 74
Pl XV,
No 75 and 75A, Nos 93 to 96, Nos 97 to 100, Nos 135 and 136
Pl XVI, Pl XVII, Pl XVIII, Pl XXI
and No 149
Pl XXXII, is found punched on the reverse of both the types of coins Nos 70 to 74 No 95 Nos 97 to 104 Nos 135 and 136
Pl XV Pl XVII, Pl XVIII Pl XXI
and No 149
Pl XXXII (N S No XLV)

Fig U, *Pl 6 of this art* an early symbol seen on the obverse of coins Nos 97 98 and 99
Pl XVIII, is seen on the reverse of Nos 99 and 103 Nos 125, 127 and 128, Nos 135 136 and 143
Pl XVIII Pl XX, Pl XXI
and No 149
Pl XXXII

Fig V, *Pl 6 of this art*, one of the most common symbols, seen generally in the hoards as an obverse symbol on coins Nos 93 to 96 Nos 97 to 107 Nos 108 to 119
Pl XVII, Pl XVIII, Pl XIX,
Nos 120 to 131 No 143 and Nos 148 and 149, is seen punched
Pl XX, Pl XXI Pl XXXII
of a minute size on the reverse of coins Nos 5 and 8
Pl IX,
Nos 22, 23 and 26, Nos 32, 34 and 35, Nos 44 45, 46 and 51
Pl XI, Pl XII, Pl XIII,
Nos 54, 56, 60, 62 and 63, No 71 No 83 Nos 87, 88, 92 and 96¹
Pl XIV, Pl XV, Pl XVI, Pl XVII,
No 108 Nos 123 125 and 127 and Nos 137 and 140 (N S
Pl XIX, Pl XX Pl XXI
No XLV)

This should not be taken as a complete list there may be other symbols which will be seen punched on both the sides of other coins not included in the illustrated *corpus*, other classes


¹ Coins from Nos 1 to 92 are chronologically earlier than Nos 93 to 138 as explained hereafter

of coins with different symbol groups will be found punched on the reverse with symbols already described above

We may now see whether there is any significance attached to particular symbols being punched on both sides of some coins

Let us take for instance the last symbol described above, Fig V, Pl 6 of this Art the simple form of 3 arches one placed over the other two with a base line and a crescent on top which was described by previous scholars as the figure of a Chaitya of the Buddhists, to which it has no resemblance, but later it was described by Bhagawanlal Indrap as the Meru Hill

But some modern scholars count it as the representation of a hill with a crescent on its top The symbol was first mentioned by me to be connected with the Mauryas, as I found it on half a dozen remains of definitely known Mauryan monuments, as well as on many cast copper coins dug out from the Mauryan levels at different ancient sites as described below —

(1) The hill with a crescent symbol  is seen on the well

known Sohagaura cast copper plate, one of the earliest known inscriptions now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta Several descriptions of it have been published by various scholars at different times, in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1894, p 44, in the *Indian Antiquary* of 1896, in the *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society* of 1907, in the *Journal of Behar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol VI, p 203, and in Vol X, p 189, with different interpretations but all agreeing to assign it a place between the period of 320 and 300 B C i e in the pre Asokan period The latest description by Dr K P Jayaswal published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XXII, shows that it was a notice put on the thatched granaries specially built in the time of drought or famine for the distribution of grain, etc amongst the tenants The plate bears the hill with a crescent symbol, on the top of the lines as the central figure, (see *Fig 1, Pl. 7 of this article*) along with the other symbols which are also found on silver punched coins This symbol (3 arched hill with a crescent) is conspicuous on a large number of silver punch marked coins found from one end of the country to the other, including Afghanistan and Ceylon which I had secured from 18 different places¹ situated far apart, and also occur in several large hoards now in the Patna and Lucknow Museums, which I date in the same period as the Sohagaura Plate of 320 to 300 B C in the time of Chandragupta Maurya This conclusion I pointed out in an article on 'the silver punch marked coins and their age' published in a private booklet read before the Numismatic

¹ See notes in the 6th column opposite coin No 128 Pl XX Num Suppl No XLV and J P A S B Vol XXX 1934

Pl 8, of this art.)¹ scattered here and there exactly alike the two cast copper coins excavated at Sarnath from near the base of the Asokan Pillar, which also bear the two similar symbols of the hill-with-a-crescent, and the hollow cross like figure



Plate 6, Fig. 8 of this art (with an elephant, a *swastika*,

a tree in railing, a Nandipada or the Brahmī ma, and a flag standard).² These dishes were exhibited at the annual meeting of the All India Numismatic Society in December 1933, at Baroda by Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, and explained by him to be of the Mauryan period, bearing the seal of the king.

Attention is specially drawn to the two symbols the hill with a crescent and the hollow cross described above which are also seen on the terra-cotta dishes, and also on the rectangular cast copper coins excavated from Bulandibagh (Patna) and Sarnath.

But the two cast copper coins bearing also the same two symbols with others described above which were dug out at Sarnath from near the Asokan Monolith, one from 1' 8" above and the other 1' 3" below the Asokan level there, according to the calculation of Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda in 1927 were pronounced by him to be of the Sunga period. It is curious that he did not take into account the depth of their finding in the Asokan level according to his own calculation, and wrongly assigned them a later date of 2nd century B C, about a century later. The coins are undoubtedly of the Mauryan period, which is further corroborated from the find of a large number of exactly similar cast copper coins at Bulandibagh from the Mauryan level.

The interpretation of the seal impressed on the terra-cotta dishes, bearing the two particular symbols along with others described above, is that the seal is of the Mauryan period, and most probably they are the imperial marks, the Narondrāṅka or the Rājāṅka of the Mauryan king, and the dishes in the opinion of Dr. K. P. Jayaswal were in the use of the Mauryan army.

The system of putting the imperial marks on the imperial properties was well in practice in the time of the Mauryan kings, which is clearly established from the Arthashastra of Kautilya; he says in line 249 of Chapter 3, part V —

अथनरेन्द्राङ्क मन्त्रावरुणमायुधमार्ग प्रवेशयेत् ।

¹ The terra cotta dishes and the coins are all in the Patna Museum, and I am indebted to Dr. K. P. Jayaswal who showed it to me and kindly supplied me with the photographs of the dishes.

² See figs 3 and 4 of Pl 8 of this Article. A S I R. 1927 28. Sarnath excavations by Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda.

Society's Meeting held at Delhi in 1931. The idea was further supported by the chemical quantitative analysis of the coin bearing the hill and moon symbol¹ which tallied very nearly with the ingredients of the silver coins described by Kautilya in his *Arthashastra*² and the prevalence throughout the country of that particular class of coin³.

(2) The same hill and moon symbol is also seen engraved on the base of the sand stone polished pillar excavated by Dr Spooner⁴ in 1912 at a depth of about 15 feet at Kumrahar (Patna) as illustrated on *Pl 7, Fig 2 of this article*. The monolith was found lying in an inclined position without any capital and without any inscription on it as generally found on Asokan monoliths. In the words of Dr Spooner 'The base itself is carefully smoothed but not polished and bears a number of interesting symbols and Masons marks amongst them a set of three rows of three circles each is conspicuous and also the symbol 8. I am unable to offer any explanation of this symbol which I believe has long been familiar in India. One point of interest in regard to it may however escape notice and that is that very similar marks occur on certain of the Achaemenian monuments of early date'. But he neither noticed nor described the figure of a *flag staff* of ancient days (which were seen cut in stone on the gates of the main stupa of Sanchi) nor the symbol of the *hill with a crescent* engraved very prominently in the centre of the base. The presence of this symbol on the unexpected lowermost part of the pillar is not without its significance. The pillar is not Asokan but of an earlier date and scholars are now inclined to believe it to be connected with Chandragupta Maurya although Dr Spooner could not decide whether it was erected by Asoka or Chandragupta. Some scholars think it to be the remains of Chandragupta's Hall of Audience.

(3) A small matrix bearing the same symbol of a three arched hill and a crescent (*Pl 7 Fig 3 of this art*) was also dug out from 18 feet below the surface from the same site at Kumrahar⁵.

(4) Three terracotta dishes impressed with a seal in the centre bearing four symbols (*Figs 1 and 2 Pl 8 of this art*) were excavated by Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh at Bulandibagh from the Mauryan level of 15 to 18 feet along with a large number of square or rectangular cast copper coins (*Figs 3 and 4,*

¹ Silver 68.5 parts copper with lead and other base metal 31.5


² लवणायश्चयदुर्भागताश्च कथं रूपं नीत्स्वपुष्पीषाञ्जनानमन्यतम मायवीजयुक्तं कारयत् ।

³ See Num Suppl No XLV Pl XX coin No 178 for symbol group and its find places in the 6th column

⁴ AS of India AR 1912 13

⁵ ASI Report 1910 13 Pl ALIX No 10

Pl. 8, of this art.)¹ scattered here and there exactly alike the two cast copper coins excavated at Sarnath from near the base of the Asokan Pillar, which also bear the two similar symbols of the hill-with-a-crescent, and the hollow cross like figure

 Plate 6, Fig. 8 of this art. (with an elephant, a *svastika*,

a tree in railing, a Nandipada or the Brahmi *ma*, and a flag standard).² These dishes were exhibited at the annual meeting of the All India Numismatic Society in December 1933, at Baroda by Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, and explained by him to be of the Mauryan period, bearing the seal of the king.

Attention is specially drawn to the two symbols the hill with a crescent and the hollow cross described above which are also seen on the terra-cotta dishes, and also on the rectangular cast copper coins excavated from Bulandibagh (Patna) and Sarnath.

But the two cast copper coins bearing also the same two symbols with others described above which were dug out at Sarnath from near the Asokan Monolith, one from 1' 8" above and the other 1' 3" below the Asokan level there, according to the calculation of Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda in 1927 were pronounced by him to be of the Sunga period. It is curious that he did not take into account the depth of their finding in the Asokan level according to his own calculation, and wrongly assigned them a later date of 2nd century B C, about a century later. The coins are undoubtedly of the Mauryan period, which is further corroborated from the find of a large number of exactly similar cast copper coins at Bulandibagh from the Mauryan level.

The interpretation of the seal impressed on the terra-cotta dishes, bearing the two particular symbols along with others described above, is that the seal is of the Mauryan period, and most probably they are the imperial marks, the *Narendrāṅka* or the *Rājāṅka* of the Mauryan king, and the dishes in the opinion of Dr. K. P. Jayaswal were in the use of the Mauryan army.

The system of putting the imperial marks on the imperial properties was well in practice in the time of the Mauryan kings, which is clearly established from the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya; he says in line 249 of Chapter 3, part V :—

सैन्येन्द्राङ्कं सम्भारयन्मायुधानां प्रवेष्टयेत् ।

¹ The terra cotta dishes and the coins are all in the Patna Museum, and I am indebted to Dr. K. P. Jayaswal who showed it to me and kindly supplied me with the photographs of the dishes.

² See figs. 3 and 4 of Pl. 8 of this Article. A S I R. 1927 28. Sarnath excavations by Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda.

The arms and the allied objects are to be marked with the imperial mark, and kept in the magazine (Āyudhagāra), again in Part 2, Chapter 29, Pr 46, he says

परपञ्चना राजाङ्कन परिवर्तयिता रूपस्य पूर्वं साहसदण्ड दद्यात् ।

'When a person substitutes an animal bearing the royal brand for a private one, he shall be punished with the first amercement'¹ This shows clearly that the royal cattle were branded with king's mark, the Rājānka, just as is done in modern times the bullocks and horses of the cavalry being branded in British India. The British Government Mark of an arrow head standing on a capital I ↑ is impressed on every article of the Government of India from a small steel nib to swords and fire arms like pistols or big machine guns. The well known British Coat of arms depicted by a lion and a unicorn standing on the either sides of a shield with a crown is always seen impressed on the government stationery, publications buildings and even on the copper coins of 1835 and 1858.

To what Mauryan Emperor do these terra cotta dishes and the cast copper coins bearing the two particular symbols the hill with a crescent and the hollow cross or square cross belong? An answer to this question is attempted below —

(5) A polished monolith with Aśoka's edicts engraved on it was dug out at Rampurwa, with a lion capital in 1910. The lion capital is now kept in the entrance hall of the Indian Museum at Calcutta and a big solid copper bolt about 25 inches long and over 4½ inches in thickness tapering at the two ends which originally connected the capital with the monolith is also preserved there mounted on the wall just behind the lion capital.

On the copper bolt are engraved in dots with a fine pointed punch four symbols (*Fig 5 Pl 8 of this article*)² three of which are like those seen on the Bulandibagh terra cotta dishes, and the rectangular cast copper coins described above. Only the figure of a small square as seen on the terracotta dishes is missing but in its place is a Nandipada along with another indistinct figure to the left.

I do not think it a far fetched conclusion to say that the cast copper coins and the terra cotta dishes which also show two of the symbols viz the hill with a crescent and the hollow

¹ [The proper translation would be One who substitutes others animals by the royal brand. The unauthorized use of the royal mark is considered penal.—Author]

² I am indebted to Mr N G Majumdar Superintendent Indian Museum Archaeological Section Calcutta for kindly supplying me with the impression of symbols on the copper bolt.

cross as on the copper bolt of the Asokan period belong approximately to the same period

As stated before the silver punched coins bearing the simple three arched hill with a crescent symbol among others in a group are probably of the period of Chandragupta as well as the cast copper round and square, and the die struck coins of Magadha and Gandhara (Taxila) are also to be attributed to him. Those illustrated in this Art on Pl 9 Figs 1 to 10 are all Chandragupta's N Western coins and those on Pl 10 Figs 1 to 4 of this art are his Eastern issues. (Also see C A I Pl II Figs 1 2 6 7 8 9, 11 12 13 14 17 19 Pl I, Figs 24 to 27 and 29.) It may be objected (1) that the symbol of the hill with a crescent on the Sohgaura plate may be the mark of some officer, (2) that the symbol engraved on the base of the Kurnahar pillar may be a mason's mark like the other marks such as the 3 arrow heads the nine small circles and 3 straight lines probably indicating the orientation and location of the pillar in the buildings (3) that the hill with a crescent symbol on the cylindrical matrix may be the mark of a private person (4) the same symbol seen on the Bulundibagh terra cotta dishes may be the potter's mark and (5) the engraved figure of the hill with a crescent on the copper bolt of Rampurwa may have been the copper smith's mark. But the question arises as to how could the very same symbol can be the mark of an officer a mason's mark, the mark of a private person a potter's mark and a copper smith's mark when it is conspicuously seen on a large number of silver punch marked coins as well as on several types of cast copper and die struck coins of Magadha and Gandhara (Taxila) both under the sway of Chandragupta Maurya.

The most plausible explanation of the above mentioned facts then seems to be that the symbol of the hill with a crescent which was known in the early days was adopted by Chandragupta Maurya as his imperial mark the Narayāṅka or Pāyāṅka mentioned by Kautilya and is seen on his monumental remains as the system of marking the imperial properties with his Rājāṅka was the practice of the period. The symbol it seems became the dynastic mark as it is also seen on the Asokan monuments and coins. It appears also on the signed coins of Dasaratha¹ the grandson of Aśoka. Aśoka used the same symbol with an addition of the figure of the hollow cross (Fig 8 Pl 6 of this art) as both appear together on his monuments like those seen on the copper bolt of the Rampurwa monolith Kurnahar terra cotta dishes and a large number of rectangular and round cast copper coins found on the ancient sites of Magadha and

¹ The signature of Dasaratha is illustrated in C A I, P. III Fig. 1 which was first noticed and identified by Dr. K. P. Jaiswal published in the J B O I S Vol XX of 1934 with a translation on page 280.

Gandhara (Taxila) illustrated in this article on Pl 8 Figs 3 and 4 Pl 10 Figs 5¹ and 13²

The theory that the hill with crescent symbol was connected with the emperor Chandragupta Maurya was also confirmed by Dr H. P. Jayaswal who identified it as the monogrammatic Rajank of Chandragupta in his Presidential Address in the Seventh Indian Oriental Conference held at Baroda in December 1933

While surveying the work done during the year he referred to my identification of Chandragupta's silver punch marked coins bearing the hill and crescent symbol and as a further support of the theory gave a very befitting explanation of the story of the Greek writers referred to by MacCrindle in his famous book *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great* about Chandragupta that he was licked by a lion while asleep in a jungle where he fled to save his life from the wrath of the Nanda king the Nandrus of the Greek writers and that a wild elephant mounted him on its back when he got awake. The story was naturally rejected by the historians as a myth. But Dr Jayaswal very plausibly explained the story which originated from Chandragupta's die struck Karshapanā coin of Taxila bearing the figure of a standing lion with protruding tongue in front of the hill and the crescent symbol as if licking it and an elephant with the same symbol over its back as illustrated on Pl 9 Fig 4 of this art³. The story most probably originated in Taxila on the basis of the coin just as the origin of the Muhammadan story of Alexander's having a horn originated from the head gear on his coins. The people knew the hill and crescent symbol as the Rajanka of the great emperor and took this figure on the coins representing Chandragupta symbolically. The recognition of the Rajanka of Chandragupta enabled the writer to identify the cast and die struck copper coins as well as the silver punch marked coins of Chandragupta with some certainty as illustrated in this article on Pl 9 Figs 1 to 10 and Pl 10 Figs 1 to 4⁴ of Magadha Vidiśa and Gandhara. The identified cast copper and silver coins of Aśoka bearing the two symbols the hill and crescent figure and the hollow cross are illustrated on Pl 8 Figs 3 and 4 and Pl 10 Fig 5 of this art⁵. A bronze passport Mudra of Aśoka bearing the hollow cross is also shown as Fig 13 Pl 10 of this article it is not a coin and was obtained from Kosambi.

¹ Fig 5 Pl 10 of this art is a Bronze Passport (Mudra) of Aśoka obtained from Kosambi

² See C.C.A.I. Pl I Fig 28 Pl II Figs 15 16 and 20 and Pl III Fig 6

³ See C.C.A.I. Pl III Figs 1 and 2

⁴ C.C.A.I. Pl I Nos 25 26 27 and 28 Pl II Nos 1 2 6 " 8 9 II 12 14 17 and 19

⁵ C.C.A.I. Pl I Fig 28 Pl II Figs 15 16 and 20 Pl III Fig 6

It may be pointed out here that the hollow-cross symbol is not seen on the silver punched coins ; probably it was not used on the silver coins of Aśoka, but a peacock takes its place with the hill-and-crescent figure.

Carlyle¹ noticed the figure of a peacock engraved on the Asokan pillar of Lauriya Nandangarh, which he took to be the royal mark of Aśoka.

The peacock and the hill-and-crescent symbols are seen on some silver punched coins on both sides which can be attributed to Aśoka² illustrated on *Pl. 10, Fig. 12 of this article*.

are seen punched on their reverse with the hill and crescent symbol¹

Similarly the identified Mauryan coins illustrated on Pl XVII No 96 Pl XIX No 108 Pl XX Nos 123, 125 and 127 (NS No XLV) are also found punched on their reverse with the symbol of the hill and crescent which was probably used by the Rupadarśaka as the imperial mark for punching on tested coins in Chandragupta's time on his as well as on the current coins of the preceding kings of Magadha. This seems to be the most plausible and natural explanation of the symbol, the Rājanka being punched on the reverse of the coins of Mauryan and pre Mauryan coins both.

It may be objected that the hill and crescent symbol is also seen on a large number of silver and copper coins of the Western Satraps of the 2nd and 3rd century A D. How could the symbol be taken as the Rajanka of the emperor Chandragupta? The explanation again is naturally simple and is derived from a careful study of the post Mauryan coins of the Hindu Kings from the 2nd century B C down to the 3rd century A D of Northern and Southern India. The hill and crescent symbol being adopted as the Rājanka by Chandragupta in the beginning of the 4th century B C continued as the dynastic symbol on the Mauryan coins for several generations as described before, and was conspicuously the chief symbol on the currency of the period having had a very wide circulation in the biggest empire in India and thus persisted with some modification even on the coins of the Sunga kings and others who succeeded the Mauryas. The copper coin of Bahasatimita (Brhaspati Mitra) bears the same symbol of the 3 arched hill and crescent standing on a railing with a Nandipada on its top in place of the crescent (see Fig 6 on Pl 10 of this article)²

The coins of Pushyamitra and Agnumitra of the Sunga dynasty retained the same hill symbol but without the crescent as described and illustrated by Dr K P Jayswal in the J B & O R S Vol XX, Parts III and IV of 1934.

On the silver and cast copper Kuninda coins it was further modified into a hill of 6 arches of 3 stories with a Chhatra on top as illustrated on Pl 10, Fig 7 of this article³

On the cast copper coins of Kosambi with the lank bull it appears as a bare hill of 6 arches in 3 tiers as in Fig 10, Pl 10 of this article⁴

We see the same symbol further modified on the lead and potin coins of the Andhras of the south Gotamiputra Vihvaya

¹ See reverse symbols in the 4th columns of the plates referred to above

² CC VI, 11 V Fig 11

³ CC VI 11 V, Figs 2 and 3

⁴ CC VI Pl V, Fig 7

kura has a hill of 10 arches of 4 tiers with a Swastika on his coins (see C C A I, Pl XXI, 6). Gotamiputra Sri Yajna changed it into a hill of 6 arches of 3 tiers, with a crescent on its top and added a conch and a flower on either side of it with a wavy line below, on his silver and lead coins, as illustrated on Pl 10, Fig 9 of this article¹

On the coin of Mulandā it is seen as a hill of 8 arches of 3 tiers the topmost being bigger, as illustrated on Pl 10 Fig 5 of this article

The Western Satrapas adopted the same symbol in its original simple form of the 7 arched hill and crescent with a further addition of the sun and crescent on the right and left side of it with a wavy line below, representing a river an illustration of the silver coin of Rudradāman I son of Javadaman dated Śaka 87 (A D 165), is given on Pl 10, Fig 11, of this article

The symbol continued for about a couple of centuries on the Satrapa coins of Malwa and Gujarat till the rise of Chandragupta Vikramāditya, who replaced the hill and crescent symbol with his Garuda emblem on his silver coins of the same type, when he conquered Malwa and the symbol of the hill and crescent disappeared for ever, having persisted for over six centuries in various forms on the silver, copper, lead, and potin coins of northern and southern India. Several such examples of a symbol or figure persisting for centuries on the coins of various kings in different parts of the country are known in the Indian Numismatics, for instance the symbol probably representing the Rajanka of the Great Kushans seen on their Dinar-

In the city of Rajagaha (Rajgir) Harshapanas of 20 Mashakas¹ or 100 Rattis were prevalent and a Pada of 5 Mashals²

Its other form on the probably pre Mauryan silver punched coins is somewhat like the above described figure of 3 arched gates standing separately, the middle one being the bigger of the two but without a crescent as illustrated on *Pl 9 Fig 13 like Fig 6, Pl 6 of this article*

Its third modified form on silver punch marked coins is seen enclosed in another arch without any crescent but standing on a tank containing two swimming fishes with a Damaru on the top of the enclosing arch, as is seen on the silver coins of pre Mauryan type illustrated on *Pl 9 Fig 12 like the Fig 7 on Pl 6 of this article*

Fig 8 Pl 6 of this art The figure of a peacock perched on a hill has been already described it seems to be connected with Asoka see coin *Fig 12 Pl 10, of this article* His other silver coins bearing other symbols have not been identified as yet Similarly the silver punched coins of Bindusara his father is awaiting identification

It would not be in vain to search them out of the coins illustrated in the Numismatic Supplement No XLV on Plates XVII and XVIII from amongst the coins Nos 93 to 101

Another conspicuous symbol *Fig T, Pl 6 of this art* described as bales of cotton by Cunningham and Caduceus by Theobald appears on the obverse of pre Mauryan coins but it reappears with the hill and crescent symbol on the coins of the Mauryan period and is also seen on the reverse of the Mauryan coins only Whether it was reintroduced by Chandragupta or Bindusara or Asoka on the coins is difficult to say in the present circumstances of our scanty knowledge about the symbols

It will be seen by the study of the group symbols of the Early the Middle period* and Mauryan coins that some of the symbols seen on the Mauryan coins were quite new which never appeared on the Early or the Middle period coins while some are exactly similar to those which were punched on the coins of the Middle period and the Early coins³

Fig I Pl 6 of this article is another pre Mauryan symbol which appears on the obverse and reverse of pre Mauryan coins but has not been seen on the Mauryan coins

Fig B Pl 6 of this article is another noteworthy symbol and is one of the earliest figures known on the punched coins I have not seen a single hoard of early or later period coins in

¹ The Mashaka was a copper coin of 5 Rattis mentioned by Kautilya and Manu

² Describe in the next Chapter of this article

³ Compare the symbol groups of Pls XVIII XIX and XX with those illustrated on Pls I to VIII and IX to XVII of NS No XLV or TPASB Vol XXX

which the symbol is not seen either as a single figure or in combination with compound symbols. The only exception is the lot of 33 bent bars Salakas of 100 Rattis weight found with other 1,173 pre-Mauryan coins and the drachm and tetra-drachm of Alexander, excavated from the Bhur mound, the earliest site at Taxila by Sir J. Marshall in 1924-25¹.

This figure was designated as the Taurine symbol by previous scholars, but Sir J. Marshall calls it the Nandipada, and Dr. Jayaswal thinks that it may be the Brahmi 8 M on the Mauryan coins as it appears inverted like Fig. 9, Pl. 6 of this art. on their cast copper coins similar to the letter M on some of the Asokan inscriptions.

In what sense it was actually used in the very early days of the Buddha and perhaps pre-Buddha times is difficult to say at present. A careful survey of all the symbol groups as stated above will show the truth of the statement. It seems to be one of the earliest symbols which survived for a long time but is now forgotten.

III SILVER PUNCH MARKED COINS OF DIFFERENT PERIODS AND LOCALITIES

In the first part of my article published in the Num. Suppl. No. XLV, and J.P.A.S.B., Vol. XXX, silver punched coins have been divided into three periods and tentatively designated there as the coins of the *later*, *middle*, and *early periods*. The terms and divisions need explanation and elucidation with facts and figures.

It is a well known fact that the system of manufacturing inscribed coins of silver and copper cast or die struck bearing the name of the King in the genitive form came in vogue in Northern India most probably after the Indo-Greek system of coinage from the 3rd quarter of the 2nd century B.C. though the punched coinage continued up to the 3rd century A.D. and in the Deccan their gold coins² with or without legend with punched symbols are known up to the 9th century of the Christian era. In the opinion of some scholars the silver punched coins were minted so abundantly in the 3rd century B.C., that they remained in currency up to the 1st or 2nd century A.D. in the Northern part of the peninsula.

A large number of copper and some silver inscribed coins were published long before by Sir A. Cunningham in his coins of Ancient India. Most of them have been read and identified to be the coins of the last quarter of the 2nd and beginning of the 1st century B.C. of the Sunga Kings who succeeded the Mauryas,

¹ Archaeological Survey of India Report 1924-25, Pl. IX.

² A gold punch marked coin of the Deccan is illustrated on Pl. II Fig. 7 of this article note the legend at the bottom side.

by Dr K P Jayaswal both on the basis of palaeography and the Pauranic records of dynasties which are now recognized by most of the Western scholars like Rapson, Rhys Davids, Pargiter and others. It should not be understood that the inscribed coins were first introduced in the last quarter of the 2nd century B C in the country. The system of minting inscribed coins was known in the time of the Mauryas specially on the copper coins or even earlier in the NW part of India, as is evident from the copper coins illustrated in CCA I, Pl II, Figs 17, 21 and 22, and Pl III, Figs 5, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 13 of which the coins No 17, Pl II, and No 5, Pl III are undoubtedly Mauryan as they bear the simple figure of the hill and crescent. These coins have been read, identified and published by Dr Jayaswal in the JB & O R S, Vol XX, of 1934 and also mentioned in the J R A S of October 1935, to be the Mauryan coins of the NW parts of the country.

The punch marked coinage was at its zenith and minted abundantly in the time of the Great Mauryas after which it declined being displaced by the issue of inscribed or 'signed' coins (as Dr Jayaswal calls them) by the Sunga kings. These identified Mauryan punch marked coins have been designated as the coins of the *later period* by me, the term being synonymous with the Mauryan period.

COINS OF THE MIDDLE PERIOD

The ancient kingdom of Magadha which was no bigger than the modern districts of Patna, Gaya, Monghyr and Bhagalpur in the time of the Buddhá¹ began to expand into an Empire from the time of Ajātaśatru who came to the throne about eight years before the Nirvāna or death of Gautama Buddha by engulfing the confederacy of Vaisali—modern Tirhut, the kingdom of Kosala, modern Oudh including Kashi, modern Benares, and in the time of the Nanda Kings some 150 years after, the Empire of Magadha further expanded by adding Avanti, modern Malwa, Panchal² modern Farrukhabad, and the Bareilly Divisions, and the kingdom of Sūrasenas of Mathura, reaching up to the border of the Punjab when Dhana Nanda, the contemporary of Alexander was ruling over Magadha, the then biggest Empire in Northern India in the last quarter of the 4th century B C. All the said records are counted as the historical facts by Western scholars³ and also mentioned by the Greek historians.

¹ *Cambridge History of India* Vol I, Chap VII—The Early History of the Buddhists by Dr Rhys Davids pp. 171 to 174

² *Ibid*—Chapter XIII by Prof Rapson, pp 305 to 316

³ Pargiter Rapson Vincent Smith and others. A mention of the Great Magadha Empire is made by the Greek historians in the time of Alexander. See *Camb Hist of India* Vol I p 372

As it is now fully established without an iota of doubt that the silver punch marked coins were in currency long before the Alexander's invasion of N W India we cannot ignore the silver and copper punched coins of the Magadha Kings from the time of Ajatásatru down to the Nandas. It seems an impossibility to think that the Nanda Kings and their predecessors could have managed the vast Empire of Magadha without any silver and copper coinage if not gold.

What and where are their coins will be the question confronting us. But the answer is very simple and comes from the punch marked silver coins themselves.

The coins are generally found mixed abundantly with the Mauryan coins bearing the hill and crescent symbol up to the present day from one end of the country to the other we handle them without knowing whenever we handle a lot of punch marked coins. They are awaiting identification.

Sometimes they are found in hoards without any Mauryan coins. I know of two such hoards consisting of purely pre-Mauryan coins which I had the opportunity of carefully examining. The one is already published by Sir J. Marshall a hoard of 1,173 coins as the Bhur mound Taxila hoard found with the coins of Alexander and Philip Arrhéus his successor and a Persian coin of the Darius type in the A.S.I. Report 1924 25 with illustrations. Another lot was purchased by Mr. Srinath Sah of Benares from Ahraura town of Mirzapur District. Only 150 coins out of 300 or more could be secured the rest went to the melting pot. All these coins appear to be hoarded before the Mauryans came to power as not a single coin bearing the hill and crescent symbol is seen on them neither on the obverse nor on the reverse side of the coins. Some 50 of these coins are in my cabinet which I have illustrated on Plates IX to XVII with a mention of their find place in the 6th column of the plates in the Numismatic Supplement No XLV for 1934.

All the coins from the successors of Ajatásatru¹ the contemporary of Buddha down to the last Nanda king who was succeeded by the Mauryans are designated as the punched coins of the Middle Period in the article for the sake of differentiation and identification. The identified Mauryan coins help to differentiate them chronologically. All such coins as far as I could collect up to 1932 are illustrated in a tentative chronological order (described hereafter) on Pls IX to XVII coins Nos 1 to 92 in the Numismatic Supplement No XLV now awaiting identification of their kings by the scholars and numismatists.

¹ Ajatásatru came to the throne about 8 years before the demise of Buddha in about 491 B.C. *Cambridge History of India* Vol I p 31^a but according to Ceylon Chronology in 500 B.C.

The Mauryas could not have been the only kings who minted the Punch marked silver coins, as some numismatists have thought it to be the case¹. It appears that these earlier rulers coined abundantly, so much so that even after their downfall and the change in the system of coinage, they continued in currency up to the 2nd century A D

EARLY PUNCH MARKED COINS

A brief political and geographical history of Buddha and pre Buddha period though scanty would be helpful for the explanation and identification of Early punched coins

It is now historically recognized by the indologists and historians from the study of Early Sanskrit and Buddhist literature that India before Gautama Buddha was divided into many big monarchies and small kingdoms as well as some republics of free clans,² of which 16 monarchies are specially mentioned in the early texts, they are —

- Anga³ (modern Bhagalpur and Monghyr Districts)
- Magadha (a portion of Southern Behar, Patna and a part of Gaya District)
- Videha (Janakpur and the vicinity in N Behar)
- Kāśī (Benares District)
- Kośala (Oudh)
- Vajji (Vaisālī of Lichhavis in N Tirhut)
- Vamsa or Vatsa (Allahabad District on the S bank of the Jumna river)
- Pāṇchala (Bareilly and Farrukhabad Divisions)
- Kuru (Meerut and Delhi Districts)
- Surseni (Mathura District)
- Avanti (Mālwa)
- Gandhāra (Peshawar and Frontier Districts)
- Kamboja (Territories to the N W of Indus)
- Kalinga (Orissa)
- Sauvira (Sophr of Ptolemy, the sea board in Sindh)

Malla, Cheti, Machha and Assaka are also mentioned but their location is not correctly identified

Out of these kingdoms and monarchies of Northern India the following kingdoms are specially mentioned of the lifetime of Buddha which had undergone some political and geographical changes —

¹ The Mauryan Silver punched coins indicate a highly evolved stage of coinage as compared with the early punched coins

² *Cambridge History of India* Vol I p 175

³ *Ibid*, p 177

Kośāla¹—including Kāśī—(modern Oudh and part of U P.), in area about the size of France, with its king Pasenadi or Prasenajit, the contemporary of Buddha.

Magadhā—(Patna, Gaya, Bhagalpur and Monghyr Districts), with its old Capital Rājagahā—Rajgir, the ruins of which are considered the oldest identified remains in Behar, with Bimbisār its king also contemporary of Buddha. The kingdom was further expanded into an empire by Ajātasatru his son, after the life time of Buddha, who invaded Kāśī, the Vajjian confederacy of Vaiśālī (N Tirlhut) and the great kingdom of Kośāla² and built a fortress at Pāṭaliputra on the southern bank of the Ganges in about the middle of the 6th century B.C.

Avanti,—including Asvaka (Malwa), whose king was Pajjot (Pradyota) also contemporary of Buddha with his capital Ujjeni.

The kingdom of Surasena of Mathura (Mathura) with its king Subhūta another contemporary of Buddha.

Vamsa or Vatsa—(on the Southern bank of Jumna in the Allahabad Division) with its capital Kosāmbi modern Koām, with its ruler Udena also a contemporary of Buddha though there is no mention of Pinchāl and Gāndhāra and some Southern Kingdoms of Saurashtra and Āndhra in the Buddhist books, yet they all existed undoubtedly in the time of Buddha.

Coins were current in the lifetime of Buddha and even before his birth, which are clearly mentioned with their names in the early Buddhist literature like Aṭṭhakathās already referred to before, and the early Jataka stories which deal with the social and economic life of 7th and 6th centuries B.C. The commentary of Vinaya Pitaka³ tells us that in the time of Bimbisāra Padas of 5 Māshakas or 25 Rattis were prevalent, Kārshāpanas of Silver and Gold Nishka and Copper Māshakas are also mentioned in the stories of Champeya Bhūri Dutta Udaya and Sankhapālī Jātakas as stated by Dr. Bhandarkar in his Carmichael Lectures, 1921⁴.

Cunningham in his coins of Ancient India has emphatically mentioned in two places⁵ that Kāhāpana (Kārshāpana) was known in the lifetime of Buddha.

In conclusion it can be safely said that copper and silver punched coins existed in the time of Buddha and were current in the different independent monarchies of his period.

Again to the questions whether the punched silver and copper coins of the Buddha's lifetime still exist? If available, how could they be identified?

¹ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 178 to 186 by Rhys Davids.

² Vincent A. Smith's *Oxford History of India* p. 46.

³ Dr. Bhandarkar's *Carmichael Lectures* 1921, p. 111, Calcutta University Press.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 48-50.

⁵ *CCAJ*, pp. 20, 42 and 54.

My humble reply is that they exist and are available and can be identified to some extent. There are silver and copper punched coins in my own cabinet and in the cabinets of other numismatists as well as in the Museums of Lucknow Patna Bombay and Taxila which I have reasons to believe are of early types of the period of Buddha of the different monarchies which were independent at that time like the small kingdom of Magadha before it expanded into an empire Kōśāla Panchala the kingdom of Surasenā Asmāla and Gandhāra which I have already studied—of these only 3 types of the local coins of Magadha Kōśāla Surasenā have been illustrated in my paper published in the Numismatic Supplement No XLV for 1934 and also in the Journal and Proceedings of Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol XXX 1934 No 3.

The early local Gandhāra (Taxila) punch marked coins were published partly and illustrated by Sir J. Marshall in the Archaeological Survey of India Report 1924 25.

The Wai hoard now in the Bombay Museum published by Cordington in the J B R A S Vol VII are probably the early coins of Asmaka.

There are two new hoards of early types now sent to me for classification—one of which I think comes from the site of Ancient Panchala a description of which will be published soon.

All such local coins of the lifetime of Buddha and earlier of the then independent monarchies of Kōśāla Magadha Surasenā Saurashtra and Gandhara excavated from the localities which lie within the identified area of those ancient kingdoms are classed as the punched coins of the Early Period and I do not think it an unnecessary repetition to describe them again with reasons for classifying them as such into the three chronological divisions described before.

(1) The punched coins of Buddha and pre Buddha periods of a different standard weight of 25 Rattis which are found from particular identified localities of the ancient independent kingdoms from the middle of the 6th century B C¹ and earlier back to the 7th or 8th century B C are classed as the Early coins. They generally bear 4 bold and rarely one to two symbols of crude but bold and simple designs.

(2) Punched coins of the post Buddha period down to the time of last Nanda King when Magadha became an Empire in Northern India already described before which are met even now from places situate wide apart in the country of 32 Ratti standard weight with 5 symbols of many similar types in every hoard are classed as the coins of the Middle Period—of the times covering from the middle of the 6th century B C to the last quarter of the 4th century before Christ.

¹ Buddha died in 483 B C according to Rhys Davids but in 544 B C according to Ceylon texts which seems to be authentic.

(3) The punched coins of the Mauryan¹ period most of which have been identified by me are the Imperial coins of Magadha the biggest Empire in ancient Indian History, and of 32 Rattis standard weight; they are found up to the present day in large numbers, generally mixed with the pre-Mauryan coins from one end to the other of the country, even from the border of Sistán, Kabul Valley and Deccan, have been designated as the punched coins of the Later Period, ranging from the last quarter of the 4th century B.C. down to the last quarter of the 2nd century B.C., when the Śunga Kings came to power. It is well known now that after the down-fall of the Mauryas—the system of punched coins was displaced by the signed or inscribed coins. No punch-marked coins of the 1st century B.C. are known to exist, though they were current probably for several centuries, after the Mauryas.

Three very much worn silver punched coins weighing only 35 and 42 grains instead of 57·6 grains the full weight were discovered by Cunningham from the deposit at the foot of Vajrásana (Buddha's throne) in the temple of Mahābodhi of the 2nd century A.D. at Buddhagaya—clearly indicating that the coins represent a degenerated condition of silver currency and were worn nearly blank by long use.²

Coins of two different hoards illustrated on Pls. I, II, III and VI in the Num. Suppl. No. XLV, each of a peculiar type and particular symbol-groups of 2 different periods found from places situated in the identified area of the then independent Kingdom of Kośala of pre-Buddha or post-Buddha days are now known. No coins of these two types and symbol-groups have been excavated in any other part of the country up to this time like the other common punched coins.

I think it would not be wrong to allot them to the kingdom of Kosala to the period when it was an independent kingdom, before Ajátasatru engulfed it into Magadha in the middle of the 6th century B.C. These coins may be of the lifetime of Buddha or of the period before his birth.

The said coins in my collection were found on weighing to be about 24 Rattis or 43 grains or a little below, hence I took them to be the coins of 24 Rattis standard weight as mentioned in my previous thesis, but this was not an accurate calculation, some allowance should have been made for their wear and tear due to their old age. They are actually of 25 Rattis standard weight, is further supported by another hoard of over 1,400 coins exactly of the type and symbol-groups as illustrated on Pl. VI of the Num. Suppl. No. XLV, excavated from Kheri District of Oudh, now in the Lucknow Museum, known as Paila hoard.

¹ Chandra Gupta Maurya came to the throne in 321 B.C. *Cambridge History of India*.

² For illustration of the coin, see Fig. 15, Pl. I, C.C.A.I., and its description on p. 55.

The majority of coins in the lot weigh over 24 Rattis and some are as heavy as 24 7 Rattis and I now take the opportunity to correct it. They are the Padās or $\frac{1}{4}$ of 100 Rattis standard weight coins which were current in the lifetime of Buddha and even earlier. There is a mention of this 25 Ratti Kahapana Karshapana in the *Attakatha* referred to before in the *Satpatha Brahmana* coins of 100 Rattis are mentioned which are not known in *Kautilya's* or *Manu's* works which are of relatively later dates.

I also conclude that in the lifetime of Buddha and earlier copper and silver coins of 25 Rattis and their multiples of 50 and 100 Rattis weight or sub multiples of 25 and $12\frac{1}{2}$ Rattis were current. All such coins are already existing in the *Taxila Museum*¹ and there are some in my own cabinet which I shall publish when describing the copper punch marked coins in another article.

Another lot of 25 well preserved coins illustrated on Pl XXXI in the *Num Suppl* No XLV which were purchased from Mathura fresh from a hoard. 2 or 3 of them weigh a little over 25 Rattis—which may be due to the selection of a heavier Ratti in that locality. These coins also come under the same category of 25 Rattis weight bearing 4 bold crude and simple symbols and are the local coins of the independent kingdom of Surasenas of Chandra Bansi dynasty of the period long before Mahapadma Nand included it in his Empire of Magadha in about 350 B.C. I am inclined to put the coins two centuries earlier in the lifetime of Buddha being of the Padā type.

Another lot of coins illustrated on Pl VIII of the NS No XLV which are the half Puranas of 16 Rattis come under the category of post Buddhistic coins. A hoard of 1251 exactly similar coins was excavated in the Unao District (Oudh) now in the Lucknow Museum a brief description of which has already been given before as well as the Golakhpur hoard illustrated on Pls IV and V of the NS No XLV which have been published by Mr Walsh in the *JB & ORS* seem to be the coins of post Buddhistic period. As stated elsewhere the Golakhpur coins are a connecting link between the Early and the pre Mauryan coins. They are the earliest known coins of 32 Rattis weight with 5 symbols bearing chiefly the figure of the sun² and a Chakra³.

The coins are most probably of the time of Uddai Bhadda son of Ajātasatru of Magadha of the 5th century B.C. as described before.

Other coins obtained from Magadha of a finer execution and of 32 Rattis standard weight bearing the similar 2 symbols

¹ Not yet published.—The coins are illustrated on Pl VII of this article Figs 1 to 5.

² Probably representing Surya Vanshi Kings of Magadha.

³ The Chakra symbol probably a kind of Chakravarti Rājā.

of the sun and the Chakra with variations may be taken as the coins of the Surya Vansi Kings and Emperors of Magadha.

And it is not wrong to say that the coins bearing the symbols of the sun and a Chakra along with other three figures are all of Magadha Empire of the post-Buddha period, notwithstanding, that they are found up to this time from one end to the other of the country.

The above mentioned facts and reasons may not appeal to be fully convincing to scholars not thoroughly acquainted with the silver punch-marked coins of different types, but the theories offer the most befitting explanations of the facts and findings, of the early history and geography of India in the lifetime of Buddha, and the findspots of such crude local coins as well as their weight of a different standard of 25 Rattis, not known to Kautilya or Manu, but mentioned in the early Brahmana and Buddhistic books.

GROUPING OF SYMBOLS ON THE PUNCHED COINS.

As stated before the Early coins of Buddha and pre-Buddha periods of different independent Kingdoms of Northern India are generally punched with four symbols¹ in methodically arranged groups, two of which remain unchanged while the remaining two are varied, forming sometimes long series.

The most natural explanation of changing of two symbols, with the other two remaining as constant figures on a particular type of coins found from different localities, can be that either a symbol was changed leaving the first three unchanged every time whenever a fresh batch of coins was struck, or the change was made every year to differentiate them from the coins of the previous years in the reign of the same king. The other or the 3rd symbol was probably changed when a new king of the dynasty came to the throne. If this theory be correct then it can be inferred that in a batch of early coins consisting of a series of symbols of a particular group,—the series with the variations of the 4th symbol may belong to one king, and those with a variation of 2 symbols also forming another series may be of another king of the same dynasty; a few examples will not be out of place here.

Take for instance the early coins illustrated on Pls I, II and III, Num Suppl, No XLV, the coins Nos. 2, 3, 4 and 5 seem to be of one king, but Nos 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 may be of another king of the same dynasty and the coins Nos. 11 and 12 may be of a 3rd one.

¹ Coins bearing one or two symbols of the early period are also met but are very rare. There are two such coins in my Cabinet from Madhuri, Dist Arrah.

The same case appears with the early coins illustrated on Pl VI Where the coins Nos 1, 2 and 3 are probably of one king but Nos 4 and 5 may be of another monarch of the same dynasty and so on

The same condition holds good in explaining the variations of symbols in the series of a particular group symbols on the coins of the pre Mauryan and Mauryan monarchs and emperors which bear groups of 5 symbols where the two symbols remain as constant figures with the variation of the 3rd for the king and the remaining 2 for the change of years and place most probably For example the post Mauryan early coins of the Golakhpur hoard of the Magadha Kingdom illustrated on Pls IV and V Num Suppl No XLV show the same variations

It will be noticed that the 1st two symbols remain the same on all the 105 coins but the 3rd changes in coins Nos 4 to 63 the 3rd symbol is the same they seem to belong to one king the 4th is also the same only the 5th is varied Coins Nos 70 to 89 have another symbol as their 3rd figure in the group the 4th remains also the same in all the 10 coins with variations of 5th symbol these coins may be of another king of the same dynasty Similarly coins 98 to 100 have an elephant as the 3rd symbol in the group they seem to be of another king of the same dynasty and so with the coins 101 and 102

There is no question that all these coins belong to one dynasty having been found in a single hoard from one place as already described on pages 13 and 14 of the NS No XLV

Many such instances of the pre Mauryan coins can be cited but I would suffice with one more example to avoid lengthening

The study of symbol groups illustrated on Plates IX to XVII up to coin No 92 would clearly indicate many such instances of variations of symbols in the series of group symbols

Group symbols illustrated on Pls XIII XIV and XV from coins Nos 45 to 92 of the NS No XLV will show the 1st two symbols the figure of the sun and the Chakra (formed of 3 Nandipadas in ovals and 3 arrow heads placed symmetrically round a small circle with a dot) remaining as constant figures but the 3rd symbol has changed probably with the change of the king

On coins 45 to 47 the 4th figure also remains the same they seem to be of one king while coins 48 to 49 may belong to another and coins 51 and 52 may be of a third monarch of the same dynasty But the coins 53 to 65 forming a long series are undoubtedly of another king of the same dynasty who probably reigned for a longer time¹ The coins of this class 20 are found

¹ Several other coins of class 20 series with different variations of 4th and 5th symbols not illustrated on the above plates have been noticed in other hoards after the publication of my article—they all seem to be of the same king

Dr H P Jayaswal has given a genealogical table of the Mauryan dynasty from the Vayu and Brahma Puranas¹ which may be enumerated here —

- (1) Chandragupta Maurya—who ruled the Empire of Magadha for 24 years
- (2) Bindusara his son—who ruled for 25 years
- (3) Asoka the grandson of Chandragupta—who reigned over a bigger Empire than his grand father for 36 years
- (4) Daśaratha the grandson of Asoka was on throne for 8 years only
- (5) Samprati son of Daśaratha wielded the power for 9 years
- (6) Śatśuka—ruled for 13 years
- (7) Devadharman—reigned for a short time of 7 years
- (8) Śatadharma was in power for 8 years
- (9) Brhadaśva the last ruled for 7 years

It may be noted that only 9 Emperors and kings of the Mauryan dynasty are mentioned in the Puranas and recognized by the scholars the Mauryan coins as illustrated are also of 9 classes known up to this time as described before

May it not be that these 9 classes of coins all bearing the hill and crescent symbol belong to the very 9 Mauryan monarchs of which 2 have been identified

But there may be other coins of different symbol groups belonging to the Mauryas over and above the coins already illustrated but they have not been identified as yet

CONNECTING LINKS BETWEEN TWO SYMBOL GROUPS

On a careful examination of the illustrated symbol groups in the 3rd columns of the plates, it will be noticed that the change of location of the last symbol in the group changes the group series, and the coin which indicates such a change stands as the connecting link between the two series of the same class

Take for instance coins 1, 2 and 3 on Pl I (NS, No XLV) it will be noticed that Nos 1 and 2 bear the first 3 symbols common to both marked as class L A, the fourth symbol of the coin No 2 is a design of 5 crescents with stars in their arms put round a small circle symmetrically, this very figure appears as the 3rd symbol on the coins Nos 3 4 and 5 with a hexagram as their 4th symbol in the group marked as class L B

Thus it can be said that the coin No 2 is a connecting link between the classes L A and L B, and indicates the order,

¹ J B & O R S Vol XL of 1934 p 279

viz that the coins Nos 3, 4 and 5, should be placed after the coins Nos 1 and 2, as is done on the plate or vice versa

This is not without a significance

The same methodical change of location of the last symbol in a group is also observed in the various series of different classes of coins of the pre Mauryan and Mauryan periods

For example on Plate XI, (NS, No XLV) coins 22, 23 and 24 belong to the same class marked as 13A, the first 4 symbols in the groups are common on the 3 coins, the 5th symbol on coin No 24, which is a conventional form of a tree is seen as the 4th figure of the group on coin No 25, this alteration changes the series and therefore to differentiate them they are sub-classed as 13A and 13B, forming two different series of class 13¹

Another example out of the pre Mauryan coins can be cited Coins illustrated on Pls XIV and XV (NS, No XLV) from Nos 53 to 65 of class 29A, bear the 1st 4 symbols common to them all, with various symbols as their 5th in the groups Coin No 65 has a caduceus as its 5th symbol, this symbol takes the 4th place in the groups on coins 66 to 68 of class 29B, forming a new series Thus No 65 becomes the connecting link between the two series A and B of class 29, as illustrated on the plates

Other similar examples can be cited from the Mauryan coins —Coins illustrated on Pls XVII to XX (NS, No XLV) from Nos 93 to 105 of class 40A, on which the 1st four symbols are common, with various symbols as the 5th figures in the group, but on coin No 105, the symbol of a peacock perched on a hill, occupies the 5th place, which appears as the 4th figure on coins 106 and 107 of class 40B, thus changing the series, it becomes the link between the two series 40A and 40B, as illustrated on the plate

Similarly coin No 121 of class 40C, which has its 5th symbol of a bull appears as the 4th figure on all the coins from Nos 110 to 112 of class 40D and thus stands a connecting link between the groups of two classes

The coins on the plates in this instance were not properly arranged, the coins of class 40E Nos 113 to 115 and 121 to 124 in which the coin No 121 should have been the last ought to have been placed prior to coins 110 to 112 of class 40D

In the same way the coin No 124 of class 40E having the 5th symbol of a panther following a dog is the connecting link between the series 121 to 124 of class 40E, and coins 125 to 127 of class 40H Here again the 5th symbol appears as the 4th figure on all the 3 coins from 125 to 127 of class 40H, in the series

Many other examples can be noticed in the illustrations of groups—but it must be remembered that the list is not a com-

¹ Other coins of the sub-class 13B were secured which complete the series after the publication of the article in Num Suppl No XLV

plete one, many more connecting links will be made out when other symbol groups are added in their proper places.

All the above mentioned instances indicate a methodical change of the last or the 5th symbol of one group to the fourth place in another group always keeping and indicating the connection of the series of one class with the series of another class.

This observed fact helped me much in the arrangements of the series of the different classes¹ of particular groups of 5 symbols in a partially chronological order. I however wish I could have arranged the symbol-groups and their sub-classes in a strictly chronological order, more carefully, than what has been done on the plates.

This methodical change in location of the 5th symbol may be due to the changes of kings in the same dynasty, and was the system adopted to preserve the distinctive dynastic symbol-groups on the punch-marked coins of all ages at the same time indicating the particular group symbols of the particular kings in those early days when writing and dates were not put on the coins.

It cannot be pretended that the conclusions are final, but they appear to be the most natural deductions from the observed facts. The correctness or incorrectness of these will be proved or disproved by further observations and studies of the silver punch-marked coins of different periods and other new hoards. I have simply attempted to lay out the lines of thought on the observed facts to be tested by other numismatists who have the means of studying the punched coins.

The illustrated plates need revision with some corrections here and there in the arrangement of group figures, in a better chronological order by adding further symbol-groups which are not included in the illustrations, as more coins bearing different groups of the known classes have been seen by me after the publication of the previous thesis, and many more will be added in future.

PUNCHED COINS OF DIFFERENT STANDARD WEIGHTS.

As described in the previous pages silver punched coins of 2 different standard weights, with their multiples and fractions are now known, and excavated from several ancient sites.

Kautilya in his *Arthśāstra* has described the silver Pana of 32 Rattis weight, its half, a quarter and the eighth. These are commonly found and now identified Cunningham in his C A I

¹ In the 2nd columns of the plates, the Numerals represent the particular group-classes. The capital letters indicate the sub classes of the same, and the small numbers added to the letters indicate the numbers of varieties in the series.

has illustrated a half Pana with the Mauryan Chakra, Pl I, fig 17 I have one in my own cabinet,¹ but I have not so far seen any quarter-Pana of this period, which may be found one day

The $\frac{1}{2}$ Pana is also known, there being 2 or 3 specimens in the Patna Museum and 2 with Captain Martin, bearing the Mauryan Chakra,² each weighing somewhat less than 4 Rattis. The smallest coin of the series now known is $\frac{1}{16}$ th of a Pana. Sir J Marshall has illustrated 14 such small coins out of 79 excavated from Taxila in the ASI Report, 1924-25 all weighing below 2 Rattis with the Mauryan Chakra on one side.

Manu has also described the Dharana (a weight for silver) and the Purana (a silver coin) of 32 Rattis, a small silver coin of 2 Krishnalas or Rattis in weight is also mentioned, which he calls 'Rūpya Māshaka'³ sixteen of which go to make a Purāna, the coin of 32 Rattis. The Rūpya Māshaka is so called as it was the *Mashaka*, made of silver, the usual *Mashaka* being the small copper coin of 5 Rattis. It is thus clear that Mashakas both of copper and silver were minted and known to Manu. The ratio of silver to copper was evidently 2 to 5 in early days about the 3rd and 2nd century B C, as appears from Manu's description.⁴ Calculating on this basis, the silver Kārshāpana of 32 Rattis would be equivalent to a copper Kārshāpana, weighing 80 Rattis, both the coins are well known.

The absence of a silver Kārshāpana of 80 Rattis was a stumbling block to several scholars before the discovery of the silver Mashakas, when neither the small coin was known, nor was Manu's description of weights and coins clearly understood. His Dharana⁵ was a standard weight for weighing silver, but the word Purāna he used for a silver coin of the weight of 32 Rattis. Similarly his Raupya Māshaka was a small silver coin equal in value to the copper Māshaka—a coin of 5 Rattis. The term Kārshāpana when used for a silver coin misled the previous scholars into the belief that it was also one of 80 Rattis but the total absence of such a coin was a puzzle to them. Doctor D R Bhandarkar in his Carmichael lectures felt the same difficulty, as he knew that there existed no silver punched coin of 80 Rattis. It now appears that the silver Purāna or Pana was called Kārshāpana, because it had the value of a copper Kārshāpana of 80 Rattis. In our own days we call a 2 anna piece, a

¹ The coin is illustrated on Pl II, Fig 6 of this article

² Fig 28 Pl XXVI, Num Suppl No XLV

³ The coin is illustrated on Pl II, Fig 8, of this article

⁴ Manu Sanskrit Text Ch VIII slokas 131 to 137, he mentions Rūpya Māshaka in sloka 135

⁵ Kautilya has also used the term 'Dharana' in the sense of a weight for weighing diamonds विग्रहितपद्मम् वज्रधरणम् Text १ अधि. १८ अध्या

from 3-8" below the ground it has lost 19 Rattis in weight, and bears the same symbol on one side

Pl 11, Fig 5 of this art is a one sixteenth piece weighing 7.5 grains or 4.1 Rattis, having lost 2.1 Rattis, it was excavated on 3rd March 1920 from 2'-6" below the level

More than a dozen stry coins of this series were found, and are now kept in the Archaeological Museum at Taxila. No coins like these have ever been excavated from any other part of the country

It is evident from these coins that in the kingdom of Gāndhāra the silver currency of a different standard weight of 100 Rattis with its fractions was prevalent, the coins are of much earlier date and were apparently current there before Alexander came to Taxila in 326 B C¹

Silver coins of 25 Rattis weight—the Pādas, have also been discovered from other ancient sites as already described, showing that in the early days before the rise of the Magadha Empire they were current in the independent kingdoms of the time of Buddha and before him

Though there is no mention of the coins of 100 or 25 Rattis in Kauṭilya and Manu, yet we find that coins of such weights were known to the still earlier writers of the Aṭṭakatha and Satapatha Brāhmana referred to before, and it may not be wrong to infer that such coins were current in Buddha's days and even before him 100 so far back as the 8th century B C

THE RAKTIKA OR KRSHNALA, THE ANCIENT INDIAN STANDARD WEIGHT

It is an anthropological fact that all measures and weights and even the counting were learnt by man from natural objects and adapted to suit his purpose

In India in the very early days, Abrus Picatorius the Krshnala or Raktika, which has the two names for its beautiful black and red colour was used as a unit of weight along with the barely corn, paddy and mustard seed. Its earliest mention is found in the Taittiriya Brāhmana² of about 800 B C

Different definite weights which were multiples of the Raktikas or Rattis were fixed and adopted with particular names for weighing gold, copper, silver and precious stones, for instance a Mashaka which contained 5 Rattis was used for weighing gold, silver and copper, the Dharana was a weight which contained 16 Māshakas used for weighing silver only, and for copper and gold, the Karsha and Suvarna of 80 Rattis were used. But there was a Dharana of 20 rice weight for

¹ Cambridge History of India Vol I, pp 368-374

² Dr Bhandarkar Carmichael Lecturer Calcutta University, 1921, p 60 'Krishnalam Krishnalam Vajasribhyyah prayachchhatu (I 3 6 7)

weighing diamonds as described by Kautilya¹ and Manu. But the question arises as to what was the actual weight of Kṛṣṇala or Raktika used in the time of Kautilya and before him.

The Kṛṣṇala seeds are not of exactly the same size or weight, they vary between 2.25 and 1.7 grains from a handful of seeds taken at random the biggest ones weighed on the average a little over 2.25 the medium sized ones worked out at 1.875 grains while the smaller seeds averaged 1.75 grain each. My observations on this point explain the prevalence of different Tola standards of weight still persisting.

The same question was examined by Thomas Cunningham and other scholars but they arrived at different results. Thomas found a *Ratti* of old days to be equal to 1.83 grains but Cunningham came to a figure of 1.8 grains which I have found also to be the most appropriate mean weight. The heaviest silver punch marked coin in mint fresh condition which I have come across weighed 57.5 grains which brings the *Ratti* to 1.8 grains as already calculated by Cunningham and every where in the article I have given the weight of coins in terms of *Rattis* on the basis of 1.8 grains to a *Ratti*.

In the early days the silver *Panas* or *Puranas* which were of a *Dharana* weight of 32 *Rattis* weighed 57.6 grains on account of the selection of seeds of 1.8 grains, which is the weight of the majority of seeds even now. It also appears that at some period and locality the *Raktika* of a slightly heavier weight was selected as I found in the case of the silver punched coins of the Surasena Kingdom of Mathura described before.

The same divergence of standard continued in the Muhammadan period and persists to the present day. The Tola as used by the goldsmiths and silversmiths of Benares at the present day contains 96 *Rattis* but weighs 216 grains the *Ratti* here thus equals 2.25 grains. The Government standardized Tola the weight of a Rupee of 180 grains is also supposed to contain 96 *Rattis* the standard *Ratti* thus coming to 1.875 grains. The Cawnpore goldsmiths Tola on the other hand weighs 181.87 grains.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion it can be said without exaggeration that though the study of silver punched coins is probably the most difficult branch of Indian Numismatics yet it is at the same time the most fascinating one.

The science of Numismatics merges here into Archaeology and Anthropology but there is a vast collection of antiquities

¹ विशालितपुल्ल वज्रधरम् ।

and inscriptions in the various Indian Museums accessible to every scholar, awaiting the careful study of the symbols and figures engraved on them, which are similar to those seen on the punched coins and which would in many cases help to check the chronological data of the coins

The attention of the scholars and Numismatists is drawn towards it, as the researches in this unexplored line are expected to be most useful from the historical point of view by which the real, and the noblest purpose of the Indian Numismatics will be served

DURGĀ PRASĀD

Benares,

10th Dec, 1934

Note—On page 8 of my article on 'Classification and Significance of the symbols on the silver punch marked coins of Ancient India' published in the Numismatic Supplement, No XLV for 1934, and in the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol XXX No 3, 1934 I have stated, that out of the 564 symbols illustrated on Plates XXII to XXVII, and Pl XXXII only half a dozen symbols are doubtful and a few are incomplete, and wanting

I take this opportunity now to correct and complete the doubtful symbols already illustrated there, and add the missing ones which I have found out from better specimen of coins

On Plate X of the said previous article¹ coin No 19, the 5th symbol in the group, illustrated in the 3rd column was incompletely drawn—it should be like *Fig 1 of Pl 11 of this article*

On the same plate, coin No 20, the 4th symbol in the group could not be drawn as it was very doubtful owing to superimposition of symbols. It is like *Fig 2 of Pl 11 of this article*

On Plate XI coin No 23 the 5th symbol of the group is a bare branch of a tree drawn incompletely, it has a railing below it like the *Fig 3 of Pl 11 of this article*

On Plate XII coin No 35 the 4th symbol of the group was missing—it is like the *Fig 4 of Pl 11 of this article*, and should be added there

On Plate XII coin No 37, the 4th symbol in the group which is a tree growing on a hill is not correct, it should be the same tree but without a hill like *Fig 5 of Pl 11 of this article*

Similarly the 5th symbol on coin No 59, Pl XIV, should be without a hill as stated above

On Plate XIII coin No 52 the 2nd and 3rd symbols were drawn inaccurately, they are like the symbols *Figs 6 and 7 of Pl 11 of this article* respectively. Fig 6 is a new type of

¹ Published in the Numismatic Supplement No XLV for 1934 and in the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* Vol XXX No 3 1934

Sadar Chakra, and Fig. 7 is a triscales, with 3 Nandipadas in its arms, the group should be corrected accordingly.

On Plate XV, coin No 67, and Plate XXI, coin No. 69/141, the 5th symbols in the groups were not drawn completely; they should be like the *Fig. 8 of Pl. 11 of this article*

On the same Plate No XV, coin Nos. 67, 68, 69 and 69/141, the 2nd symbols of the groups should be corrected according to the *Fig 9 of Pl. 11 of this article*, which is a Sadār Chakra with Damarus in place of Nandipadas in the 2 ovals.

On Plate XVII, coin No. 93, the 5th symbol of the group in the 3rd column, was not correctly drawn the symbol was disfigured badly owing to the flattening of the symbols, and appeared like a pillar, but it is actually a human figure with a stick in hand, like *Fig. 10 of Pl 11 of this article*

On Pl XXI, coin No 143/131, the 5th symbol is missing—it is a bull, like *Fig 11 of Pl. 11 of this article*, and should be added there

As all these symbols are also illustrated separately on Plates XXVI and XXVII, they should be corrected and added as well on these 2 plates

Fig 42a, on Plate XXVI, should be amended

Fig 75, Fig 89, Fig 112 and Fig. 119 of Pl XXVII, should also be corrected accordingly and their descriptions changed.

*

* *

A corrigenda on the next leaf is also printed for the correction of misprints in the previous article published in the Numismatic Supplement No XLV for 1934, and the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol XXX, No 3, 1934.

Corrections should be made there, and I think I owe an apology for my inability to do the correction then, before the publication of the article

CORRIGENDA

For the article '*Classification and Significance of the Symbols on the Silver Punch marked Coins of Ancient India*,' published in the *Numismatic Supplement No XLV* for 1934, and in the *Journ Proc Asiat Soc Bengal, (N S), Vol XXX, 1934, No 3*

Please make corrections before reading there

- Page 3 line 21, *read* a century and a quarter *after* *for* a century
after
- „ 18 line 18, *read* vide Pl I *for* vide Pl II
- „ 21 line 2, *add* 5th Fig *in the end of the line*
- „ „ line 3, *add* Ob 5th Fig *after* Pl IV
- „ „ line 6, *add* 5th Fig *after* Pl II
- „ „ line 12, *add* 1st Fig *after* 105
- „ 22 line 18, *delete* and Pl IV, Re of 43
- „ „ line 22, *read* 12 curved *for* 16 curved
- „ 23 line 20, *add* 2nd Figs *after* 11 and 12
- „ „ line 23, *read* Pls I to III *for* Pls I and II
- „ „ line 38, *add* and 4 *after* Coin 1
- „ 24 line 15, *add* Reverse symbol *after* No 98
- „ „ line 31, *add* 5th Fig *after* coin 19
- „ 26 line 19, *add* See Pl IV, Ob of 57, 4th Fig *after* Pl XLI
- „ „ line 21, *read* 12 rays *for* 9 rays *and read* Fig 10 *for*
Fig 11
- „ 27 line 30, *read* Pl II *for* Pl III
- „ 29 line 27, *read* Astāra *for* Ahtarā
- „ 33 line 6, *read* Yoni *for* Eye
- „ „ line 20, *read* 1 First column *for* second column
- „ 35 line 12, *read* 3rd Figs *for* 4th Figs *and add* Figs *before* 98
- „ „ line 13, *add* Pl V *after* 100
- „ 37 line 30, *delete* to XV *after* Pl IX *and read* 1 to 8 *for* 1
to 69
- „ „ line 39, *read* coin 8 and 8A *for* coin 10
- „ 38 line 18, *read* 2 arrowheads *for* 42 arrow heads
- „ „ line 22, *delete* See Pl X
- „ „ line 23, *delete the whole line* Ob of Coin 21, 2nd Fig
- „ „ line 37, *delete* and XII
- „ „ line 38, *delete* and 31, *after* 30
- „ 39 line 2, *delete* and XIII
- „ „ line 7, *delete* Ghata, pitchers or,
- „ 42 line 7, *read* a M over its back *for* a M 4 back
- „ 43 line 46, *read* coin 1 *for* coin 3
- „ 47 line 5 *read* coin 8 *for* coin 10

- Page 50 line 2, read 7 and 10, 5th Figs for 7 and 8, 4th Figs
 , „ line 49, read coin 2, 4th Fig for coin 2 3rd Fig
 „ 51 line 20, delete and from the end of the line
 „ „ line 21, delete Pl XXI, coin 142
 „ 53 line 28, read blunt for blund
 „ 56 line 23, read other coins are found for coins there are other
 coins found
 „ „ line 24, add which after above
 „ , line 25, read and in majority are for are in majority

Plate V, No 100, in column 2 read 3C1 for 3B2

Plate X, No 16 in 6th column add C C I M after V Smith and
 delete C A I, Pl 1-8 of 22nd line

Plate XXIV—add a note that Figs 198 to 244 are seen on the
Reverse of Sauraseni Coins of Mathura illustrated on
Plate XXXI

NOTE —Read Captain Martin for Mr Martin wherever it occurs in
 column 6 on the Plates

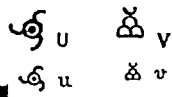
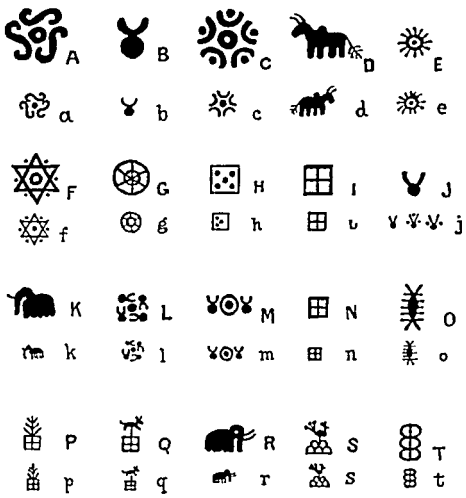


Fig 1.



Fig 3.



Fig 4.



Fig 2.

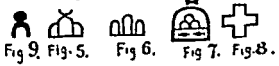




FIG 1 Sohgauna Copperplate



FIG 3

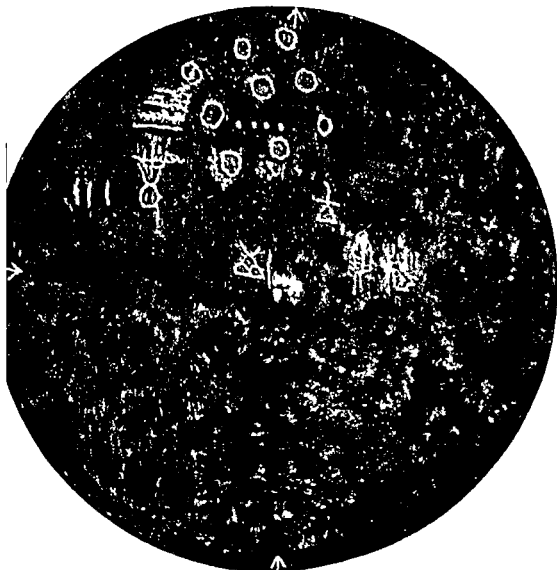


FIG 2 Base of Kumral ar pillar



FIG. 1.

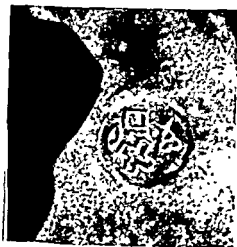


FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.



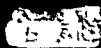
FIG. 4.



FIG. 5.



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



12



10



11



13





1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



10



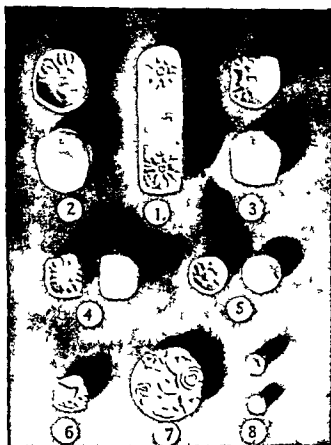
12



13



12



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11

Corrected Symbols

which the symbols and other motifs are obliquely impressed. In the localities nearest the provenance of the present coin viz Chandra on the one hand and the east coast districts on the other either potin or lead exclusively held the field. It is therefore likely that Āpilaka must have followed some local prototype, in issuing his copper coins although very few copper coins with a blank reverse have been so far found. The weight of the coin (65 grains) suggests a comparison only with Kushan copper coins which at one time circulated throughout North India.

The legend in which the epithets *rano* and *Suasirisa* appear before the king's name does not exactly correspond with that on any other Andhra coin. The legend found on certain lead coins of Āndhra desā (Rapson's *Cat* page 21) reads *raño rasulīputasa Suasiri Satakarnisa* which indicates a ruler by the name Sivasiri Satakarni with the metronymic Vasishtiputra. Āpilaka does not use any metronymic but on the other hand the use of the genitive after *Suasiri* on his coins shows that this was regarded as an epithet rather than part of his regular name as in the case of Vasishtiputra. The use of these epithets or *birudas* with *śri* at the end seem to have been almost regular with the Andhra kings and queens such as Śakti śri Veda śri Bala śri Yajna śri and the alternate form Śri Yajna in which the last name occurs renders it probable that such names as Śri Krishna Śri Chandra and Śri Rudra may also have alternatives as Krishna śri Chandra śri and Rudra śri. This may also explain why the king who calls himself *siri chandra sati* (Śri chandra sati) is known as Chandra śri Satakarni to the Puranas.

The conclusion is thus irresistible that Sivaśri Āpilaka was a scion of the Āndhra family but had an independent principality at the north easternmost limit of the Āndhra Empire over which he ruled sometime at the end of the second or beginning of the third century A D.

Obverse

Elephant standing right

In front elephant goad above



Legend around the edge of the coin commencing *IX rano Suasiris = Āpilakasa*



Reverse

Blank

Æ size 1" weight 65 grains

345. TWO NOTES, ON WESTERN KSHATRAPA COINS, AND ON VALABHI COINS.

A. THREE HOARDS OF THE COINS OF THE WESTERN KSHATRAPAS.

It is well known that the chronology of the Western Kshatrapas is fixed mainly on the strength of the comparatively large number of their coins, many of which bear dates while their inscriptions are indeed very rare. It becomes therefore necessary to study each new hoard in great detail and see if there is any possibility of fresh light being obtained on this otherwise dark period of Early Indian History.

Details about the coins of all the three new hoards have been collected and tabulated at the end of this paper for facility of reference. In the body of this paper I only wish to bring out the novel and interesting points about the coins in each of these hoards.

I. *Sonpur (Chhindwara) Hoard of 633 Coins.*



A big hoard of 670 silver Kshatrapa coins was found in 1925 by Surat Ahir and others at Mauza Sonpur in the tahsil and district of Chhindwara in Central Provinces. Out of these 37 coins were melted away by the finder for making ornaments and the remaining 633 were sent to me for detailed examination by my friend Mr. M. A. Suboor, coin expert of the Central Museum, Nagpur. On the strength of my recommendation the coins were distributed in 1927 to several museums in accordance with the procedure laid down for the distribution of Treasure Trove Coins.

Since the Western Kshatrapas are not known to have had any control at any time over Central Provinces, these coins could not ordinarily have been current in the district and the natural inference would be that some one must have acquired them from the Kshatrapa dominions and buried the treasure with the idea of removing it at a future date. The popularity of Kshatrapa coinage is testified by its find at several places far beyond their territory.


The treasure is thoroughly representative and contains coins of all kings from Rudrasena I (121s') to Swami Rudrasena III (300s') with the exception of Sanghadaman. More than half the number of coins belong to Visvasena (150), Rudrasena II (114) and Bhartridaman (110). Out of the whole lot only 200 coins are without date while the rest bear dates.

This hoard gives us several variants of the symbols or forms used for giving dates as also several new dates which are detailed below


Coin No 26

(1) The horizontal stroke which cuts the ( like) form used for four is considerably curved down at both ends 

Coin No 35

(2) Sign for 60 has the horizontal stroke at right angles to the vertical body more towards the upper end and not towards the lower end as is usually the case 

Coin No 507


(3) In the coin of Rudrasimha II dated 227 the sign of 20 is just like an ellipse without any horizontal stroke or dot in the middle 

Coin No 57

(4) In this coin there is double 'ya' in the name of Vijaya'sena

The following new dates are known for the first time from this hoard —

Damasena M K	1 (4) 7
Viradaman K	157
Rudrasena II M K	195
"	199
Bhartridaman M K	216
Swami Rudrasena III	284
,	28 (5)
,	287
	301
,	(3) 12
"	31X

Usually on the reverse of these coins we find in the central portion the Sun the Moon and the Chaitya or the Hill mark I consider that the so called Chaitya symbol  represent the hill or the earth for the following reason In stone or copper inscriptions recording grants it is generally recorded by the donor that his gift may be as permanent as or may last as long as the Moon the Sun, the Ocean the Earth and the River would last (A chandrarkkārnnava Kshiti Sarit Samakalnam) Almost

all these signs, viz. the Crescent representing the Moon, the cluster of small sphere surrounded by eight rays on all sides in the earlier coins and the cluster of eight dots in the later coins representing the Sun, the Chaitya representing the earth or the mountain and the wavy line below that symbol representing the river are impressed also on these coins with a view to give them the same permanency.

In some of the coins of this hoard, we observe some new signs which may be described as under —

Crescent (a) one crescent, (b) two crescents one over the other, (c) crescent in a circle.

Cross (a) Cross in a circle, and (b) cross in a square.

Square (a) cluster of three squares, or (b) four squares.

Circle with a thick bar bisecting it diameter-wise.

Cylinder with the vertical lines bending inwards towards the middle making it look like a Damaru.

It is not possible to surmise anything about these signs without comparing them with fresh signs which may be detailed in other Kshatrapa coins.

II. The Junagad Hoard of 520 Coins.

The second hoard of 520 coins has been lying for some time in the Junagad State treasury but unfortunately there is no record about its provenance and date of discovery.

This and the following hoards were originally examined by Mr. A. S. Gadre, the Curator of the Watson Museum of Antiquities at Rajkot, but were kindly sent to me by the Diwan Sahab of Junagad for re-examination at my request. Later on two more lots of 209 and 77 Kshatrapa Coins lying in the Bahadurkhanji Museum at Junagad were sent to me to facilitate the selection of coins for the said Museum from both these hoards at the time of distribution. In the first lot of 209 coins there were 134 coins of Swami Rudrasena III and with the following new dates :

Swami, Rudrasena III. Dates 282^s, 287, 288, 290, 291, 296, 29(7)

The present hoard of 520 coins has as many as 286 coins of Bhartridāman and as there are no coins of any subsequent ruler it may be inferred that the hoard must have been buried during the time of that ruler, i.e. towards the end of the third century A.D. The following new dates are obtained, of which the last is important :—

Rudrasimha I. 117.

Rudrasena II. 19(6) or (7), (19)7

Viśvasimha M K 211.

me to make one more attempt to offer a plausible reading of the legend on these coins as well as a few remarks by way of interpreting the legend on a systematic and palaeographic basis. I also examined a few more coins from the cabinet of the Prince of Wales Museum and noticed that there were two distinct types of these coins. The coins of the first variety resemble the Kshatrapa coins as regard the shape and size as also the form of the letters inscribed on them. The major portion of the legend is still undecipherable but it undoubtedly begin with the letters

Rajno mahā Kshatrapa which are found only on Western Kshatrapa coins. The coins of the other type are more like the dumpy and irregularly shaped coins of the later Gupta period. It appears therefore that the Valabhi coins were first minted as a local issue in the time of the later Kshatrapas (about the end of the 4th century A D) and were current till the middle of the 5th century A D when the rulers of the Valabhi dynasty appropriated them as their own currency with necessary modification in the legend shape and size. The first and the earlier type of coin is 6 in diameter and weighs 27 grams while that of the later type is 45 in diameter and weighs 29 grains. Besides in the former the lower part of the trident is like a simple perpendicular rod while in the latter there is something like an axe at right angles to it¹. In both the types there is the head of the king to right on the obverse and on the reverse the trident surrounded by the legend which begins from the figure I of the clock.

The letters are evenly distributed and there is no vacant space anywhere. Some coins bear the complete legend but the top and bottom strokes are not complete. For this reason I selected different lots of coins for different parts of the legend on those coins. I give below a copy of the legend as reconstructed from several such coins. Legend on the first variety —

Y S t j v f y c o t k y v j y f g c j d i o

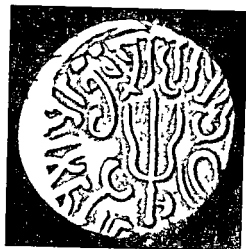
Legend on the second variety —

y y j e j w y m k y x j y j o : y j e j t

¹ This can be construed as an attempt to please the Vaishnavites by adding the representation of *paras u* (axe) the weapon of Parasurama one of the incarnations of Vishnu to the Trident the symbol of Siva (I do not consider this as a plausible explanation—Ed.)

Interpretation or decipherment :—

Cunningham in his article on these coins in *Archæological*



Survey Reports, Vol. IX, p. 28, has given two different readings as follow :—

- (1) Maha Rajno maha Kshatrapa parama samānta maha sri Bhattarakasa.
- (2) Rajno maha Kshatrapa paramaditya Rajno samanta maha sri Bhattarakasa.

Both these readings end with the words 'Bhattarakasa'. Similarly in the legend as copied by me from the present lot of coins the last four letters can be read as 'ttarakasa' which is the final portion of the name of senapati Bhattaraka, the founder of the Valabhi dynasty as is ascertained from the numerous Valabhi copper plates known to us. After correctly interpreting this part of the legend, I proceed to decipher the remaining part not on conjectural or plausible grounds but on purely palaeographic basis.

The 1st, 4th, 13th, 15th and 18th are exactly like the regular Brahmi 'ra' of the period and similar to the 20th letter which is 'ra' of Bhattarakasa. These all, therefore, have to be read as 'ra'.

Similarly the 3rd, 8th, 11th and 14th letters are very much alike the last letter 22nd which has been read as 'sa'. These letters are like 'Pra' of the Brahmi alphabets. But the Brahmi 'sa' in Gupta coins can easily assume this form by the shifting of the lower stroke little to the right.

The remaining letters are now discussed individually in the regular order. The 2nd letter has been read till now as jñio firstly because in the first type the letter is clearly inscribed as such and secondly because the 5th and 6th letters which are

of Prakashaditya. 'Pu' of Puragupta is quite vertical, has no turn to the left and hence cannot claim any consideration. I would prefer to read it as 'Pra' as in 'Pta' the curvature is with its ends downwards. The legend, therefore, as construed reads 'Rashtra sara Kshatrapasa Ku samara sara shrih Prarattarakasa'.

This attempt at interpreting the legend as copied from the coins of the later type does not lead us any way nearer to the solution of this problem.

My friend Pandit Ratilal M. Antāni of Udaipur sent me some silver coins of this type two of which are illustrated here. One of these seems to be of the earliest period and offers a clue to correct reading of the legend.

As Valabhi coins were minted with the designs obtainable in later Kshatrapa and Gupta coins, clue for deciphering the legend on them, should also be obtained from these as well as other contemporary coins known to have existed in the province. The legend on Kshatrapa coins is from beginning to the end of a uniform type beginning with the title Rājno Mahākshatrapa and ending with the names of the father and the son. In silver and copper coins of the Gupta princes the name of the king is preceded by the epithet Parama Bhāgavata Mahārājādhirājaśri. On the coins of the Rāshtrakuta King Krishnarāja the legend gives Parama Māheshwara Mātā pitro pādānudhyāta as the epithet of Krishnarāja.

Now on the coin above referred to the legend begins at XI and can be positively read as follows Rājno Mahākshatrapa . . . [Dhara]-nu Dhyāta[ku] samara saha Śri Śarvva Bhattārakasa (sya).

The legend can be translated thus —

This is coin of the illustrious Śaiva Bhattāraka who meditated on the feet of King Mahākshatrapa and who was his associate in the battlefield.

G. V. ACHARYA.

part of the Kushana period¹ can no longer be supported. These coins were clearly the main currency throughout Orissa down to the 7th century A.D. We thus find that a coin type closely imitating the Mihur type of Kanishka in copper was being issued several centuries after the disappearance of the Kushana power and in a province where Kushana coins are not known to have circulated. If the Kushana coinage was introduced in Orissa by pilgrims and merchants it is clear that it soon became popular and the local governments and moneyers selected it as a model for their coinage which was continued up to the 7th century A.D. We need not therefore necessarily place the beginnings of the Gupta coinage in the reign of Samudragupta when the Gupta empire touched or partially included the territories in which the Kushana coinage was then circulating. Before the Gupta period there does not seem to have been any regular gold coinage in Mithyadesa. Traders and pilgrims from the Punjab and Mathura visiting Benares Allahabad Gaya and Patāliputra must have been bringing with them a number of the contemporary Kushana gold coins for facilitating their transactions. Chandragupta I could therefore very well have selected this as the prototype of his own coinage even when his dominions did not extend much beyond Allahabad.

The main reason why Mr Allan regards these coins as medallic pieces issued by Samudragupta is their originality in type as compared with the slavish imitation of the Kushana prototype as seen in the Standard type of Samudragupta.

How are we to account for his (Samudragupta's) return to a relatively slavish imitation of Kushana types after the comparative originality of his father's coins? asks Mr Allan. The question is not difficult to answer. Mr Allan has himself observed that the Chandragupta Kumaradevi type of coins is only one step further removed from its prototype than the Standard type of Samudragupta viz., by the addition of the figure of the Queen on the obverse and the substitution of the lion for the throne on the reverse.² This relative originality was however due not so much to the ingenuity or originality of the mint masters as to the necessities of the political situation. It is admitted on all hands that the rise of the Gupta empire was to a great extent due to the matrimonial alliance of Chandragupta with the Lichchhavi princess Kumaradevi and the great accession of power and prestige which it brought to the Guptas. Samudragupta proudly mentions his descent from the Lichchhavi princess Kumaradevi and his selection to the throne by his father was probably to a great extent due to his Lichchhavi descent. Some scholars have even gone to the

¹ Rapson *Indian coins* pp 13 14

² *Catalogue* pp 1 141

³ *Ibid* p 14

extent of suggesting that the Lichchhavis themselves were ruling over Pataliputra down to the beginning of the 4th century A.D. and that Chandragupta succeeded to the power previously held by his wife's relatives by means of his matrimonial alliance.¹ Whether such was the case or not it is clear that Kumaradevi was a queen by her own right and the proud Lichchhavis, to whose stock she belonged must have been anxious to retain their individuality in the new imperial state. To take an analogy from English history a section of the English Parliament was anxious that even if William III were given for the sake of administrative convenience the full powers of government Mary should have the status not of the Queen consort but of the Queen reigning by her own right and that her portrait should appear by her husband's side on the coinage. Similarly the Lichchhavis may have insisted that their own name and the figure of their princess Queen Kumaradevi should appear on the new imperial coinage which Chandragupta thought of issuing on assuming the imperial title *Maharajadhiraja*.* This peculiar political situation must indeed have been responsible for the addition of such features as the name and figure of Kumaradevi occurring on the obverse. Mr. Allan is surprised that Chandragupta should have been content to issue only a joint coinage throughout his comparatively long reign. The reason is obvious. He must have thought it diplomatically expedient not to offend the susceptibilities of the Lichchhavis by discontinuing the joint type. To revert to the English example it may be noted that William III continued the joint type of coinage till the death of Queen Mary II in 1694 after which he issued for the first time coinage in his own name bearing only his own portrait. As coins of Chandragupta I bearing only his own name and figure are not found we may perhaps conclude that Kumaradevi did not predecease her husband. It may be pointed out that Mr. Allan's view that Chandragupta I had a comparatively long reign does not appear to be justified if he is referring to Chandragupta's reign as an emperor. Chandragupta must have thought of issuing coinage only in the latter part of his reign when his position had become sufficiently strong and secure to justify his assuming the imperial title and starting a new era. Within less than 9 years after the last mentioned event Samudragupta was already on the throne as is

¹ Smith *Early History of India* 4th edition pp. 220-6

* Mr. Allan observes that we need not necessarily assume that Chandragupta I struck coins on assuming the title *Maharajadhiraja* as some of the greatest Hindu sovereigns e.g. Harshavardhana do not appear to have struck coins at all (p. lxvii). I may be pointed out that we have now found several coins of Harsha the coins of Shalivahana published by S. R. Burn are undoubtedly to be attributed to that emperor as maintained by him (J.P.A.S. 1906 pp. 843-8, 9).

proved by his Gava copper plate¹. It is therefore by no means certain that Chandragupta really ruled long after he had started an era and begun his coinage.

The original feature of the reverse of these coins consists merely in the substitution of a lion for the throne of the goddess. It may be pointed out here that goddess seated on the lion is not unknown to the Kushāna coinage. Nana appears as seated on a lion as early as the reign of Huvishka². Recently Captain Martin has published a coin of the Late Kushāna King Kaneshko, where a goddess whose name is unfortunately illegible, is shown as seated on a lion in the same way in which she does on the Chandragupta Kumaradevi coins³. The mint masters of Chandragupta may well have taken the idea of representing the goddess as seated on the lion from this Kaneshko type⁴. They may have modified the prevailing throne type by the substitution of the lion as was the case with this recently published Kaneshko type probably because Durgā seated on her mount the lion was the tutelary goddess of the Lichchhavis whose name appears by her side. The presence of this legend *Lichchhaviyāh* can also be satisfactorily explained by the joint coinage theory. The Lichchhavis claimed to be equal partners with the Guptas in the new empire and so it was necessary to put their name on the reverse. This system of putting the name of an honoured ally on the reverse seems to have been suggested by the earlier practice of putting the name of the heir apparent, viceroy or governor on the reverse, as seen in the case of the coins of Azes I, Azilises, Vonones, Gondopharnes, Hermæus etc.

With reference to the reverse of these coins Mr. Allan observes that 'It is impossible that if the coin engravers had succeeded in evolving a type like the reverse of Pl. III 14 or 15 (where the incongruous back of the throne is altogether eliminated) they would have reverted in Samudragupta's reign to reverses like Pl. I, 1-4—Pl. IV 1 etc. and begun the process of freeing the type from meaningless elements anew'. If this argument were faultless we should expect that the mint masters having once succeeded in freeing the reverse from meaningless elements in Samudragupta's reign the reverses like those on Pl. I 1-4 should not reappear in later reigns. As it is we find that

¹ Even if we assume that this plate is spurious it is clear that the forgery was committed not later than the 6th century A.D. The knowledge about the duration of the reign of Chandragupta I must have been fairly accurate at that time and the forger is not likely to have committed any mistake in the dating of the plate.

² *Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum*, Vol. I Pl. XX x.

³ Numismatic Supplement for 1931 3 p. 7.

⁴ It is true that this type is at present rare but we find cases of rare types being sometimes selected as prototypes. The copper coinage of Bhumaka has for its prototype an obscure coin type issued jointly by Spalirses with Azes see Rapson *Catalogue of Anilra Coins* p. cvii and Pl. IX 237 242 and Punjab Museum Catalogue Pl. XIV No. 396.

Chandragupta II, the successor of Samudragupta, has also issued coins exactly similar in their reverse to the coins on Pl. I, 1-4 as will be clear from Mr. Allan's catalogue, Pl. VI, Nos. 1, 3 and 4. It is obvious that in spite of the originality exhibited by the mint-masters on some types, they did revert again to the Kushāna prototype as late as the reign of Chandragupta II. This may be due to local reasons, such as the partiality felt for the type in some areas, mostly in the northern parts of the Gupta empire.

We shall now consider the rest of Mr. Allan's arguments against assigning these coins to Chandragupta I. 'If Chandragupta I had issued coins, it would be remarkable' says Mr. Allan, 'that Samudragupta did not immediately continue their issue'. There is however no evidence to show that there was really a large interval between the coinage of Chandragupta I and that of Samudragupta. The legend—

Samara-śata-vitāta-vijayo jita-ripur=ajito divam jayati

on the Standard type of Samudragupta's coins need not prove that they were issued towards the end of his reign after his northern and southern victories. Samudragupta was the right hand of his father and had distinguished himself on many a battle-field during the latter's lifetime; his selection as the Yuvarāja was largely due to his proved mettle. The legend *Samaraśata*, etc. can very well refer to his victories won as Yuvarāja. It may be further pointed out that this legend on the Standard type of Samudragupta's coinage is the least bombastic and grandiloquent of his legends. The legends on his Battle-axe, Archer and Aśvamedha types:

Kṛitānta-paraśur=jayaty=ajita-rāja-jetā=jitah (Battle-axe type)

Apratiratho vijitya kṣhitim sucharitair=divam jayati (Archer type)

Rājīdhirājah prithitīm vijitya

divam jayaty=ahrita-rājamedhah (Aśvamedha type)

slayer types of Chandragupta II and Kumaragupta I and it was obviously suggested there by the presence of the lion on the obverse

The greatest objection to the Commemoration Medal theory of Mr Allan is the absence of the name of the commemorator on these coins. In the realm of Ancient Indian Numismatics we have several examples of Commemorative Medals being struck by succeeding rulers but there is not a single case so far known of a ruler commemorating his parents or predecessors but failing to put his own name or *biruda* on the commemorative medals. Agathocles and Antimachos Theos have issued a number of commemorative medals commemorating Alexander the Great, Antiochus Nikator Didotos Euthedemos Demetrios¹ etc. They no doubt give the names and portraits of the heroes they commemorate on the obverse in the place of honour, but they are very particular to add their own name on the reverse. Eukratides has also done the same on the commemorative medals issued by him in memory of his parents Helioles and Laodike². If Samudragupta had really issued the Chandragupta Kumāradevi type of coins as commemorative medals it was in the fitness of things that the names and figures of his parents should have appeared on the obverse in the place of honour, but his own name or at least his *biruda* should have figured on the reverse. Samudragupta in issuing these commemorative medals must have been anxious to proclaim the fact of his filial devotion, as it is, there is nothing whatever on these so called medals to show who had issued them. The absence of the name or *biruda* of Samudragupta on these coins is in my opinion the most convincing proof that they were not at all issued by him.

Lastly, it may be pointed out that we have some undoubted cases of commemorative medals struck by Gupta emperors. These are the *Aśvamedha* coins of Samudragupta and Kumārāgupta I, which were undoubtedly struck to commemorate the performances of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice by these emperors. The legends on the reverse of these coins

Aśvamedha parākramah and
Aśvamedha mahendrah

contain the significant *birudas* *parākrama* and *mahendra* which at once enable us to conclude that they were issued by Samudragupta and Kumaragupta I respectively. If we are to assume that like the above *Aśvamedha* coins the Chandragupta Kumāradevi coins are also commemorative medals it is indeed strange that Samudragupta should not have at least put his *biruda* on them, as he has done on his *Aśvamedha* coins.

¹ See Gardner *Catalogue of Greek and Parthian Coins* Pls IV and XXX

² *Cambridge History of India* Vol I Pl IV No 3

It will be seen from the above discussion that the Chandragupta-Kumāradevi coins cannot be taken as commemorative medals struck by Samudragupta; they were undoubtedly issued by Chandragupta I himself in his own reign. He had owed his rise to the alliance with the Lichchhavis and his wife was a queen regnant; he had therefore to stick to this type throughout his reign, or at least during the lifetime of his wife Kumāradevi.

A. S. ARTIKAR

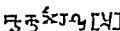
'The only copper coin that can with absolute certainty be ascribed to Kumāragupta I is in the Bodleian Library' This interesting statement occurs in the British Museum Catalogue of Gupta Coins (B M C, p xcvi) As long ago as 1889 V A Smith made the same observation 'Bodleian No 751 Collected by Tregear, probably at Ajodhya Unique This is the only copper coin which we can affirm with certainty to have been struck as such by Kumāragupta' (V A Smith The Coinage of the Early or Imperial Gupta Dynasty of Northern India, in J R A S, 1889, p 143) Tregear's collection was formed before 1848 and was acquired in that year by J B Elliot, who, eleven years later presented it to the Bodleian Library The discovery of a second specimen of a coin which had thus held the field as unique for the best part of a century is therefore, of sufficient numismatic importance to be worth recording This specimen, which is now in my cabinet can like the Bodleian coin, be ascribed with absolute certainty to Kumāragupta I, the obverse and reverse are almost identical as will appear from the description given below, with that coin as listed and illustrated by Ripson in his 'Notes on Gupta Coins' (Num Chron, 1891, Pl II, 15)

Obv King standing l, wearing cloth and jewellery, with outstretched r hand, probably holding a flower, and l hand resting on hip

[Allan thinks that the king is 'apparently throwing incense on an altar' (B M C p 113) but careful examination of my specimen leads me to make the alternate suggestion that he is holding a flower like his predecessor Chandragupta II on some of his copper coins]

Rev Garuda with outstretched wings standing facing

[I may mention here that the Garuda represented on the copper coins is really the Garuda standard of the Gupta dynasty represented in full on the gold Gupta coins The pedestal of Garuda consisting of two parallel horizontal lines with cross vertical lines indicates that the whole is the top of the Garuda standard]

Legend on rev  (Śrī Kumāraguptaḥ)

Wt 27.3

S 6

As regards the Bodleian coin the B M Catalogue informs us that its size is 7 but its weight is not given by either Rapson or Allan the obverse is without any legend while on the reverse Kumāragu[ptih] is legible My coin furnishes the honorific Śrī, which had already been read into the Bodleian coin by V A Smith so that the complete legend is Śrī Kumāragu[ptih]

The Bodleian and my coin now share the distinction of being the only known specimens of what the B M C describes as Type I of Kumāragu[ptih]'s copper coinage and which it will be our endeavour to show here is the only type of Kumāragu[ptih]'s copper coinage so far known

The coin which Smith described as a copper coin of the Umbrella type of Kumāragu[ptih] I (I M C Vol I p 116) is larger thicker and heavier than the above described two coins and is probably a coin of Chandragu[ptih] II Smith's reading of the legend on the reverse is conjectural as the coin is as he himself admits in very bad condition In 1889 Smith had written 'The existence of this type (Umbrella type) of Kumāragu[ptih]'s coinage is perhaps doubtful and rests on a single and very imperfect specimen (The Coinage etc p 142) That specimen had belonged to Sir A Cunningham It is unfortunate that the Indian Museum coin is equally unsatisfactory

Allan in the British Museum Catalogue has grouped together as Type II three coins one of which is in the Leningrad Collection the second in the Indian Museum cabinet and the third was originally in Rawlins's collection These three coins are so dissimilar to all known Gupta copper coins that they should be regarded rather as imitations of Gupta coins than as a genuine copper issue of Kumāragu[ptih] I Owing to the debased style Smith had at one time considered this type to belong to the Huna series (J R A S 1907 p 96) but later he ascribed the Indian Museum specimen to Kumāragu[ptih] II (I M C Vol I p 120) There are strong reasons why these coins should not be assigned to any Gupta emperor whether Kumāragu[ptih] I or II The gold silver and copper coins of the Gupta emperors are distinguished for their generally high artistic merit in design and execution whereas the present coins exhibit crude workmanship Smith erroneously read Śrī Ḥo' for Śrī Ku on Rawlins's coin as Allan has pointed out but the significant fact remains that this coin was found in the Hoshiarpur District Punjab along with a number of Huna coins (J R A S 1907 p 96 and pl I fig 1) Among Huna coins not a few are imitated from Gupta coins and these offer the nearest parallels to the group under discussion Again the portrait of the king whether head bust or three quarter length figures on the obverse of all Chandragu[ptih] II's copper coins except the very minute ones on which we have his name instead Similarly on the two authentic copper coins of Kumāragu[ptih] I described above we have a three

quarter length figure of the king on the obverse. On these three coins, however, although the field is large enough for a portrait of the king on the obverse, we find a different motif, viz, *Simha vāhini* or the goddess *Durgā* seated on couchant lion, a well known reverse type of Gupta gold coins, without the sharpness of relief of the original. All details seem to have been overlooked by the inexperienced collector so that the coins look as if they had been cast in rough moulds and not struck with dies carefully worked with a graver like all the authentic issues of the Guptas. It is thus difficult to subscribe to the view that these coins were issued by *Kumārāgupta I*.

It would not be out of place to mention here that Allan's description of the reverse, (wrongly described as 'obverse') as figuring 'an altar' (*B M C*, p 113) needs correction, as on Rawlins' specimen, which I have carefully examined, the lower part of *Garuda* is unmistakable, again on the Indian Museum coin illustrated by Smith (*I M C* Pl xvii, 9) the figure of *Garuda* with outstretched wings can be clearly made out. Smith, too originally described the device as an altar (*J R A S*, 1907, p 96) but rectified his error in the Indian Museum Catalogue (*I M C*, Vol I, p 120). Therefore, the reverse type of these three coins can be taken to be the usual reverse of Gupta coins, namely the *Garuda*, with a legend.

The so called coins of *Valabhī* fabric, which have long intrigued numismatists, may next be considered in passing. They are generally of an irregular shape but similar in design to, though at times coarser in execution than, the western silver issues of the Gupta emperors.

Nevertheless they are not forgeries as *Bühler* held (vide Smith's 'Observations on the Gupta Coinage' at pp 138 and 140) or imitations, as Smith originally thought (The Coinage of the Early or Imperial Gupta Dynasty, p 145). The latter, indeed, later became convinced (vide 'Observations on the Gupta Coinage', p 139) that these coins are a genuine Gupta issue. They are of copper, plated with silver, though in a few instances the plating has completely disappeared. This silver plated currency was deliberately issued on a debased silver standard at a time when there was a great dearth of silver but they cannot be regarded as a copper coinage. The British Museum Catalogue, therefore, very properly includes them among the silver issues of *Kumārāgupta I*.

Our conclusions in this paper may be briefly summarised as follows —

- (1) Only two copper coins can be ascribed with absolute certainty to *Kumārāgupta I*, namely *Tregear's* coin in the Bodleian and the coin in my cabinet. The obverse of these is King in profile standing three quarters holding flower in right hand and left on hip, the reverse *Garuda* seated facing

with outstretched wings, and inscription below :
 Śrī Kumāraguptaḥ.

- (2) The so-called 'Umbrella' type of coin ascribed by V. A. Smith to Kumāragupta I is probably a coin of Chandragupta II.
- (3) The three copper coins, two figured in B.M.C., Pl. xviii, Nos. 25 and 26, and one in J.R.A.S., 1907, described on p. 96 and illustrated in the Plate as Fig. 1, are Hūṇa imitations of Gupta coins. The obverse of these coins represents the goddess Simhavāhini seated facing on lion l. and holding probably pāśa in right hand and an indistinct object, whether cornucopia or lotus in left; the reverse represents Garuḍa with outstretched wings seated facing, and inscription below : Śrī Ku.
- (4) The coins of Valabhi fabric of Kumāragupta I are not a true copper coinage.

AJIT GHOSE.

currency, or struck for a special occasion, such as the conquest of Malwa.



Weight 66 grs.

Size .85

Legend : l. 1 Śrī-Siddha-
l. 2 rājah 11.



Weight 65 grs.

Size .8.

Legend : l. 1 ' (Śr)ī-Siddha-rā-
l. 2, jah 11

PRAYAG DAYAL.

The history and coinage of this dynasty has been completely dealt with in the pages of the Numismatic Chronicle. The first exhaustive paper on the subject was published in Vol. III, Fourth Series in the year 1904 by Dr. L. White King and the second which incorporated all the researches of the next twenty-seven years (1904-1931) was published in Vol. XII, Fifth Series, by Mr. H. Nelson Wright. In the present paper it is intended to describe a large number of such coins as have not been noticed hitherto. Almost all of these are from the cabinet of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, a majority having been purchased from Mr. G. T. M. Hamilton of Allahabad. About two dozen coins from the collection of Mr. Ratilal M. Antani of Udaipur are also included herein, and are distinguished from the Museum collection by the letters *a*, *b*, or *c*, etc., added to the serial number.

Shapes

Although the coins of Mālwa were generally minted in square form, the round type was also issued by some of the rulers. Some of the rulers minted purely round coins, and others struck exclusively square issues while there were some who seem to have issued both round and square coins —

- (a) The coins issued by Hoshang Shāh, Muhammad I and Kadir Shah (under Mahmud III of Gujarat) are all round in shape.
- (b) The coins struck by Māhmud II, Muhammad II Ibrahim Lodi and Akbar, the Mughal Emperor are all square.
- (c) The coins minted by Māhmud I, Ghuyās Shāh, Nāsir Shāh Bahadur Shāh (of Gujarat), Muhammad Adil (Suri) and Bāz Bahadur are of both varieties, viz. the round and square in shape.

The coins catalogued in this paper are different from those published so far, in one way or the other. It is not deemed necessary to narrate such peculiarities in each case as can be seen in the body of the Catalogue. Only the few more important features which are of special interest are detailed below —

- (a) Coin No. 11 is a unique billon piece of Ghuyās Shāh as heir apparent. The mint is Shādiabād, date (S)50 A H and the weight is 165 grains.

So far it was believed that Mahmud had conferred on his son the privilege of striking coins between the

year 862 and 868 H because the coins of only the 6 years had come to our notice. But the discovery of this singular piece proves that this privilege was conferred on Ghiyas Shah much earlier than 862 H. History is totally silent as to the date when Ghiyas Shah was proclaimed Heir apparent and the theory that he was so appointed about the year 862 H is based entirely on the data of coins known so far. We know from historical sources that Ghiyas Shah was taking part in the military operations with his father from a very early time. According to Farishta this ruler as he had during the last thirty four years been employed constantly in the field fighting under the banners of his illustrious father he now yielded up the sword to his son in order that he might himself enjoy ease the rest of his days (*vide* Briggs Farishta Vol IV p 236). He ascended the throne in 873 H and if he was fighting for thirty four years previously he ought to be quite a strong and grown up prince in the year 839 H which is the year of his father's accession to the throne. We also know that Mahmud was always engaged in wars against his neighbouring kings from the time he ascended the throne. In the words of Farishta. Scarcely a year passed that he did not take the field so that his tent became his home and his resting place the field of battle. This shows that the son was acting as a Commander under the banner of his father from the time of the latter's accession till his death in 873 H and it seems quite safe and natural to suppose that Mahmud must have appointed his son Ghiyas Shah as Heir apparent some years after his accession. The year 850 H in which this coin was struck cannot definitely be said to be the year when Ghiyas Shah was proclaimed the Heir apparent. He might have been declared even earlier but as this is the only piece so far known it carries the date of his becoming Heir apparent back from 862 to 850 H.

- (b) Coin No 15 is another unique rupee of Sultan Ghiyas Shah. The date is 877 A H and it weighs 164 grains. The legend on this coin is the same as on No 33 of Mr Wright but it differs in shape weight and date and is the earliest rupee of this Sultan.
- (c) Coin No 28 is the third unique silver piece of this Sultan. The weight of this tiny piece is 13 grains and as such is the lightest coin known so far in the Malwa series. According to the standard of 96 rati this is the one twelfth piece of a Tanka.

- (d) Coin No 117a is the fourth unique silver coin of Baz Bahadur. It weighs 106 grains. The silver coins of this Sultan were not known so far and this is the only piece which has come to our notice.

All these four unique coins are round in shape.

- (e) Up till now only one type of Baz Bahadur's coins was known (*vide* No 98 of Mr Wright). But in this collection three more types have been noticed.

These may be referred to in the body of the Catalogue at its proper order.

- (f) Dr White King has figured two coins of Akbar the Mughal Emperor but Mr Wright has not mentioned any. In this collection there are two copper square coins of this ruler. The date 969 A H which is the year of the Mughal conquest of Malwa can be read on one and the mint Mandu on the other.

CATALOGUE OF COINS OF MALWA

Hoshang Shah

A H 808-838 = A D 1400-1430

- (1) AR 153 grains A H 838

Similar to No 2 of Mr Wright¹ but date 838

This coin was struck in the last year of his reign

- (2) AE 66 grains Mint Shadiabad

Obverse legend is inscribed in a somewhat different way and

M M No 27 is to be seen both above and below the \int of مرگ

Pl 12

- (2a) AE 41 grains Mint Shadiabad

Similar to No 4 of Mr Wright but smaller and M.M No 11

- (2f) AE 28 grains Mint Shadiabad

Similar to above but smaller and M M No 20

Muhammad Shah I

A H 835-840 = A D 1430-1436

- (3) AR 109 grains A H 839

Obverse legend same as on No 3 of Mr Wright

¹ The article on 'The Coinage of the Sultans of Malwa' by Mr H Nelson Wright published in the Numismatic Chronicle Fifth Series Vol XII 1931

Reverse —

محمد
 شاه س هو
 شگشاه اللطاف
 سه ۸۳۹

Pl 12

- (4) Æ 120 grains Mint Shādiabād
 Similar to No 7 of Mr Wright but in double the weight

Mahmud Shah I

A H 840-873=A D 1436-1468

- (5) A 169 grains A H 841 Mint Shadiabad
 Similar to No 8 of Mr Wright but is dated احدى واربع و ثمانمائة
 1 c 841 A H

The date and mint inscribed on the circular margin is quite distinct and this is probably the earliest gold coin of this Sultan

- (5a) Sq Billon 150 grains A H 868

Similar to No 13* of Mr Wright but date ۸۷۸, the middle figure written in reverse order

- (6) Billon 92 grains A H 848 Mint Shādiabad

Similar to No 14 of Mr Wright The coins of this type generally weigh from 125 to 142 grains but this coin which weighs only 92 grains is surely of a smaller denomination not known so far

- (7) Billon 134 grains A H 858 Mint Shādiabad

This coin is also similar to No 14 of Mr Wright but is dated 8۵8 A H Mr Wright says that the dates known on this type are from 845 to 853 A H but the date on this coin is unknown so far

- (7a) Billon 60 grains Mint Shādiabād A H (85)2

Similar to No 16 of Mr Wright but date 852

- (8) Billon 61 grains A H 853 Mint Shādiabād

This is similar to No 16 of Mr Wright but is dated 853 A H The dates known so far are 845 (84)7, 848 and 854 A H

- (8a) Billon 52 grains Mint Shādiabād

Similar to No 17 of Mr Wright but محراب شاد باد in the margin and not date as in No 17 of Mr Wright

(8b) Billon 36 grains

Obverse —

السلطان
الحليم الكرم
علا الدنيا والدين

Reverse —

ابو المظفر خلع
محمود شاه

M.M No 65 to left of علا

The arrangement of legend is somewhat different from
No 18a of Mr Wright Pl 12

(9) Sq Billon 37 grains A H (8)70

Similar to No 19 of Mr Wright which has no date
The date on this coin can be read as (8)70 A H

(10) Æ 17 grains Mint Shādiābād

Similar to No 22 of Mr Wright except in weight
This coin which weighs only 17 grains is supposed to be
the third lightest coin struck by the Mālwa Sultāns

(10a) Æ 51 grains A H 872 Mint Shādiābād

Similar to No 25 of Mr Wright but date 872

Ghiyās Shāh

A H 873-906 = A D 1469-1500

I As Heir apparent

(11) Billon 165 grains A H (8)50 Mint Shādiābād

Obverse

السلطان
س السلطان ولي
عهد حليته الزمان
العالمين

Reverse

ابو الفتح الخلع
عيث شاه اللطاف
صريت بدار الملك
شاديا باد ٤٠ (A)

Pl 12

II In his own right

(12) Sq A' 170 grains A H 885

Obverse — Similar to No 31 of Mr Wright but no M M

Reverse — Similar to No 31 of Mr Wright but M M No 9
and date 885

(13) Sq A 169 grains A H 890

Obverse —Similar to above but M M Nos 5 and 13

Reverse —Similar to above but date 890

(14) Sq A 168 grains A H 891

Obverse —Similar to above but M M No 14

Reverse —Similar to above but date 891

The dates and M M on all these three coins are unpublished so far

(15) R 164 grains A H 877 Size 1 1 inch

Obverse —Legend same as on No 33 of Mr Wright but no M M

Reverse —Legend same as on No 33 of Mr Wright but date 877
Pl 12

(16) Sq R 71 grains A H 880

Similar to No 34 of Mr Wright but no M M on obverse and date (S)85 A H on the reverse

(17) Sq R 80 grains A H 894

Similar to above but M M No 8 on obverse and date 894 on the reverse

(18) Sq R 82 grains A H (S)90

Similar to above but M M No 53 on obverse and date (S)95 on the reverse

(19) Sq R 79 grains A H (S)95

Similar to above but M M Nos 53 and 74 on obverse and date (S)90 on the reverse

(20) Sq R 81 grains A H 898

Similar to above but M M No 5 on obverse and date 898 on the reverse

(21) Sq R 83 grains No date

Similar to above but M M No 16 on the obverse

(21a) Sq R 82 grains A H (S)92

Similar to No 35 of Mr Wright but date (S)92 and M M No 14

(21b) Sq R 84 grains A H (S)93

Similar to above but date (S)93

(22) Sq R 83 grains A H (S)90

Similar to No 3 of Mr Wright but new M M No 1 and No 74 on obverse This M M is somewhat different from No 72 of Mr Wright
Pl 12

- (23) Sq AR 80 grains AH (8)90

Similar to above but MM No 17 on the obverse

This MM is not known so far on this type of coins

- (24) Sq AR 81 grains AH 904

Similar to above but MM No 12 and 17 on obverse, and date 904 on the reverse

- (25) Sq AR 83 grains AH 906

Similar to above but MM No 19 on obverse, and date 906 on the reverse

The dates 904 and 906 were not known so far on this type of coins

- (25a) Sq AR 41 grains AH (8)94

Similar to No 36 of Mr Wright but date (8)94 and MM No 4

- (26) Sq AR 21 grains AH (8)96

Similar to above, but MM No 16 and date (8)96 on the obverse

- (27) Sq AR 20 grains No date

Similar to above, but MM No 5

- (28) AR 13.5 grains No date

Obverse

عياث حلب
شاه

Reverse

الطائ
الطائ

Pl 12

- (29) Sq AE 275 grains AH (8)85

Similar to reverse of No 39a of Mr Wright but MM No 6 and date (8)85 in reverse form

- (30) Sq AE 248 grains AH 885

Similar to above but date in correct form and weight 248 grains In this case the weight is new

- (31) Sq AE 127 grains AH (8)86

Similar to reverse of No 40 of Mr Wright but MM No 9 and date (8)86

- (32) Sq AE 132 grains AH (8)88

Similar to above but MM No 6 and date (8)88

(33) Sq. Æ. 118 grains. Date Illegible.

Similar to above but M.M. No. 38.

This M.M. is new on this type of coins.

(34) Sq. Æ. 130 grains. A.H. 878.

Similar to reverse of No. 41 of Mr. Wright but M.M. No. 3 and date 878 H. This is the earliest coin struck in this type.

(35) Sq. Æ. 123 grains. A.H. 896.

Same as No. 41 of Mr. Wright but of much lesser weight.

(36) Sq. Æ. 131 grains. A.H. (9)00.

Similar to above but M.M. No. 17 and of heavier weight.

(37) Sq. Æ. 128 grains. No date.

Obverse :—Similar to above but M.M. No. 53 over ط of شاه. The M.M. on the reverse is hardly to be met on this class of coins.

Reverse :—Similar to above, but new M.M. No. 2 resembling to Sun. Pl. 12

(38) Sq. Æ. 118 grains. No date.

Reverse :—Similar to above but M.M. somewhat different from M.M. No. 19. In M.M. No. 19 there is a cluster of seven circles, one being in the centre while the other six on the sides. While in this case there is a cluster of six circles instead of seven and the arrangement being in the same order. Pl. 12

(38a) Æ. 52 grains.

Obverse :

غياث شاه خلج
بن محمود شاه

Reverse :

الطان
بن
الطان

M.M. No. 17 over lower ط.

Pl. 12

(39) Æ. 40 grains. A.H. 881.

Similar to No. 42 of Mr. Wright but round and smaller.

(40) Sq. Æ. 69 grains. A.H. 890.

Reverse similar to No. 43 of Mr. Wright but M.M. No. 11 over the upper ط of الطان and date 890.

(40a) Sq. Æ. 31 grains.

Similar to above but no date and smaller. M.M. No. 17 over lower ط of الطان.

(40b) \mathcal{A} . 33 grains. A.H. 888.

Obverse :

غياث الخلع
شاه ٨٨٨

Reverse :

السلطان
بن السلطان

M.M. No. 1 of Dr. King.

Pl. 12

(41) Sq. \mathcal{A} . 71 grains. A.H. (8)95.

Similar to No. 41a of Mr. Wright but M.M. No. 38 on ث on obverse and lower ط on the reverse.

(42) Sq. \mathcal{A} . 69 grains. A.H. (8)94.

Similar to No. 45 of Mr. Wright but date (8)94 and M.M. No. 5 on the reverse.

(43) Sq. \mathcal{A} . 64 grains. A.H. 898.

Similar to above but date 898.

(44) Sq. \mathcal{A} . 33 grains. A.H. 888.

Similar to No. 50 of Mr. Wright but date 888 and smaller. The ث of غياث cuts the ا of غيا.

(45) Sq. \mathcal{A} . 60 grains. A.H. (8)78.

Similar to No. 51 of Mr. Wright but date 878 and M.M. No. 3 over date. No M.M. on the reverse.

(46) Sq. \mathcal{A} . 62 grains. A.H. 894.

Similar to above, but heavier and M.M. No. 3 over date

(47) Sq. \mathcal{A} . 64 grains.

Obverse :

غياث شاه الخلع
محمود شاه

Reverse :

السلطان
بن
السلطان

New M.M. No. 1 in lower ع .

Pl. 12

Nāsir Shāh.

A.H. 906-916 = C.D. 1500-1520.

(48) Sq. \mathcal{A} . 169 grains. A.H. 907.

Similar to No. 52 of Mr. Wright but heavier. The weight of this coin with date 907 is given by Mr. Wright as 120 grains.

(49) R. 83 grains. A.H. 911.

Legend similar to No. 53 of Mr. Wright but M M. No. 22 on obverse and No 31 on the reverse.

(50) Sq. R. 145 grains. A.H. 913. Size. .85

Similar to No. 55 of Mr. Wright but lighter and broader in size.

(51) Sq R. 16 grains. A.H. 910.

Similar to No. 57 of Mr. Wright but M M. No 23 and date 910.

The weight is only 16 grains and as such is the second lightest coin of the Mālwa Sultāns.


(52) Sq Æ 178 grains. A.H. 906.

Obverse—similar to No. 58 of Mr. Wright

Reverse.—

ن
السلطان
بن
ن
السلطان ٩٠٦ M.M. No. 20.

The difference in No. 58 of Mr. Wright and this coin is that in the case of the former, the date is below the ن of السلطان and M.M. No. 20 is above the ط of السلطان while in this case the arrangement is different.

On the obverse of this variety of coins, a mark like this  is noticed Dr White King calls it a 'bar knot' and Mr. Wright says that 'The & forms a knot in the centre of the coin'. My submission is that it is neither a bar knot nor the knot formed by & in the centre of the coin but it is distinctly a mint mark, No. 46 as figured by Mr. Wright.

Other date :—A.H. 907 (M.M. No. 20, Wt. 165 grains)

(53) Sq Æ 82 grains. A.H. (9)06.

Similar to above. This coin which weighs only 82 grains, is probably the half piece of the above variety. Half pieces in this variety are not noticed so far.

(54) Sq. Æ 159 grains. A.H. 912.

Similar to above, but on reverse M.M. No. 24 and date 912 above lower ن and ط of السلطان respectively.

(55) Sq. Æ. 163 grains. A.H. 915.

Similar to above but M.M. No 26 instead of No. 15

(56) Sq Æ. 132 grains No date.

Obverse :

ناصر شاه الخلع
بن
عيا نسا

Reverse :

السلطان
بن
السلطان

M.M. 68 over lower م of السلطان.

Pl. 12

(57) Sq. Æ. 67 grains. No date.

Similar to above but on the reverse M M No. 69.

(58) Sq. Æ. 80 grains. A.H. 915.

Similar to No 60 of Mr. Wright but on reverse M M. No. 26 instead of No 15.

(59) Sq. Æ. 75 grains. No date.

Similar to above, but on reverse M M. No. 22, which is not known on this variety of coins.

(59a) Sq. Æ. 44 grains. A.H. (9)06.

Similar to above but smaller. This piece is decidedly the half unknown piece of the above variety.

Māhmud Shāh II.

A.H. 916-937=A.D. 1510-1530.

(60). Sq. A. 168 grains A.H. 919.

Similar to No. 64 of Mr. Wright, but date 919. This date is unknown so far and it was during this year that Muzaffar Shāh II of Gujarat who had marched against Mālwa, withdrew his army without coming in conflict with Mahmud's forces.

(60a) Sq. A. 77 grains. A.H. 911.

Similar to No. 67 of Mr. Wright, but date 911 and M.M. No 26 on obverse.

This is the earliest dated coin in this variety.

(61) Sq. A. 83 grains. A.H. 917.

Similar to above, but M M. No 26 and 27 and not 26 and 28

(62) Sq. A. 83 grains A.H. 918.

Similar to above, but M M. No. 26 and 22 and not 26 and 28.

(62a) Sq AR 170 grains A H 915

Similar to No 68 of Mr Wright but date 915 and M M No 15

This is the earliest dated coin in this variety

(63) Sq AR 169 grains A H 922

Similar to above but M M No 26 and 27

(64) Sq AR 114 grains A H 927

Similar to No 69a of Mr Wright but the date which is new is 927 and M M No 31 40 and 52 on the obverse and M M No 15 on reverse

(65) Sq AR 84 grains A H 961 or 921

Similar to No 70 of Mr Wright but M M No 26 29 and 55 on the obverse and No 27 34 and new M M No 4 on reverse

Pl 12

(66) Sq AE 148 grains A H 923

Similar to No 69 of Mr Wright but new M M No 5 on obverse and No 27 on reverse Copper coins in this type are not known so far

Pl 12

(67) Sq AE 157 grains A H 918

Legend similar to No 72 of Mr Wright but M M No 22 in the ω on obverse and M M No 26 above the upper μ and date 918 over the lower μ of $\mu\lambda\alpha$ on the reverse

(68) Sq AE 134 grains A H 917

Obverse

Reverse

محمود شاه الحلق

Similar to No 73 of Mr Wright

س ناصر شاه ستا

M M No 71

Pl 12

(68a) Sq AE 114 grains A H 931

Similar to No 72 obverse of Mr Wright but ω^1 in place of ω .

(69) Sq AE 133 grains A H 918

Similar to No 74 of Mr Wright but M M No 32 and not No 30 in the second ω on obverse

(70) Sq AE 127 grains No date

Similar to above but M M No 73 in the second ω on obverse and no date

- (71) Sq Æ 60 grams No date

Similar to above but no MM visible on the obverse and MM No 17 on the reverse

This is new in weight in this variety

- (72) Sq Æ 135 grams A H 919

Similar to No 75 of Mr Wright but no MM on obverse, and MM No 26 only and date on reverse

- (73) Sq Æ 132 grams A H 919

Similar to above but MM No 31 in the √ on obverse

- (74) Sq Æ 124 grams A H 961 or 921

Similar to above but MM No 29 in the √ on obverse and the centre digit in reverse form and MM No 26 on reverse

- (75) Sq Æ 55 grams A.H 922

Similar to No 75 of Mr Wright, but noteworthy in weight

- (76) Sq Æ 123 grams A H 922

Similar to above but MM No 37 in the √ on obverse

- (77) Sq Æ 116 grams A H 923

Similar to above but MM No 4 on obverse and No 26 and 29 on reverse

- (78) Sq Æ 62 grams A H 923

Similar to above but no MM on obverse and MM No 26 and date on reverse

- (79) Sq Æ 126 grams A H 924

Similar to above but new MM No 6 in the √ on obverse
The mark which is entirely new resembles to a bird which is probably a sparrow

Pl 12

- (80) Sq Æ 125 grams A.H 924

Similar to above but MM No 55 in the √ on obverse and MM No 40 and 46 on reverse

- (81) Sq Æ 128 grams A H 925

Similar to above but new MM No 7 on the reverse This is a new mark and differs a good deal from No 41 and 76 of Mr Wright

Pl 12

- (82) Sq Æ 125 grams A H 926

Similar to above but MM No. 39 and 76 on reverse

- (83) Sq 126 grams A H 927

Similar to above but new MM No 8 on √ on obverse

Pl. 12

- (84) Sq Æ 126 grains A H 927
Similar to above but M M No 26 in the √ on obverse
- (85) Sq Æ 123 grains A H 928
Similar to above but new M.M No 9 in the √ on obverse
Pl 12
- (86) Sq Æ 123 grains A H 928
Similar to above but M M No 15 in the √ on obverse
and M M No 40 and 52 on reverse
- (87) Sq Æ 127 grains A H 928
Similar to above but M M No 15 in the √ on obverse,
and M M No 40 and 42 on reverse
- (88) Sq Æ 63 grains A H 928
Similar to above but no M M and smaller
- (89) Sq Æ 45 grains A H 929
Similar to above but legend on both sides in the reverse
order M M No 40 on reverse and much smaller in weight
- (90) Sq Æ 122 grains A H 930
Similar to above but no M M on obverse and M M No 29
and 40 on reverse
- (91) Sq Æ 126 grains A H 930
Similar to above but no M M on obverse and M M No 40
and 52 on reverse
- (92) Sq Æ 126 grains A H 931
Similar to above, but no M M on obverse and M M No 29
and 40 on reverse
- (93) Sq Æ 57 grains. A H 931
Similar to above but no M.M on obverse and M M No 40
on reverse and smaller
- (94) Sq Æ 126 grains A.H 934
Similar to above but no M M on obverse and M M No 29
and 40 on reverse
Other dates —935 (weight 125 grams), 936 (weight 122
grams), 937 (weight 125 grams)
- (95) Sq Æ 68 grains No date
Similar to No 78 of Mr Wright, but M M No 26 and 29
on reverse
- (96) Sq Æ 62 grains No date
Similar to above but M M No 29 and 40 on reverse
- (97) Sq Æ 29 grains No date
Similar to above but about half in weight

(98) Sq. Æ. 55 grains. No date.

Obverse similar to No. 79 of Mr. Wright, but no M.M.

Reverse similar to No. 78 of Mr. Wright, but M.M. No. 18, below the upper ن, No. 40 over the lower ط and new M.M. No. 10 above the upper ط.

Pl. 13

(98a) Sq. Æ. 36 grains. A.H. 917.

Similar to No. 81a of Mr. Wright, but date 917.

(99) Sq. Æ. 114 grains. Date ۱۷۱۴.

Similar to No. 83* of Mr. Wright, but date ۱۷۱۴, below (inverted) राजाचक्र(ग).

Muhammad II.

A.H. 917-921.

(99a) Rectangular, Æ 135 grains. A.H. 922 in reverse form.

Obverse :

محمد شاه خلیج
بن ناصر بن شاه

Reverse :

السلطان
بن
السلطان
۷۶۹

M.M. No. 27 and 38.

M.M. No. 17. Pl. 13

Bahadur Shāh of Gujarat.

A.H. 937-944.

(100) Sq. Æ. 57 grains. A.H. 939.

Obverse :

(بهادر شاه)
بن مظفر شاه
ن
السلطان

Reverse :

ن
السلطان
بن
ن
۹۳۹
السلطان

M.M. 29 over upper ط

M.M. 40 over lower ط

of السلطان. Pl. 13

(101) Æ 136 grains A H 940

Obverse
Reverse

(الدين)

الديا و

قطب

م

٩٣٠

ابوالفضل

بهادر شاه

ن مطهر شاه

السلطان

Pl 13

(102) Æ 141 grains A H 940

Obverse
Reverse

(ا)لد(ي)

الديا و

قطب

٩٣٠

ابوالفضل

Similar to No 89 of
Mr Wright

New M M No 11 above 'و'.

Other date —941 A H

Pl. 13

(103) Æ 192 grains A H 942

Obverse
Reverse

الدين

الديا و

(با)صر

٩٣٢

ابوالفضل

Similar to above

M M No 51 above 'و'.

Pl 13

(104) Æ 183 grains A H 944

Obverse
Reverse

Similar to above
but M M No 55
above 'و'

Similar to above

(105) Æ. 122 grains. A.H. 943 on both sides.

Obverse :

الد (ين)
الدنيا و
قطب
٩٢٣
ابو الفضل

Reverse :

ن
السلطان
٩٢٣
بهادر
(بن مطفر)

Pl. 13

New M.M. No. 12 on 'و'.

Qādir Shāh (in his own name).

(106) Sq. Æ. 102 grains No date.

Obverse :—

Fragments of legend found on Mahmud III of Gujarat's copper coins.

Reverse :—

In double sided square.

دار (ق)
Lower portion illegible and M.M. No. 5.

Pl. 13

(106a) Sq. Æ. 46 grains. No date.

Similar to above but smaller.

Qādir Shāh (Mahmud III of Gujarat).

(107) Æ. 124 grains. A.H. 945.

Obverse :

محمود لطيف
ه
شا
ن
بهادر شاه

Reverse :—

Similar to No. 90 of Mr. Wright.

Pl. 13

(108) *Æ.* 60 grains. A.H. 945.

Obverse.—

محمد شاه
ه
ش
ب

لطيف بهادر (شاه)

Reverse.—

Similar to above.

Pl. 13

(108a) *Æ.* 52 grains. A.H. 945(5).

Obverse.—

محمد
شاه
ه
ب
محمد بهادر

Reverse.—

السلطان
ه
السلطان

Pl. 13

M M No 22.

(109) *Æ.* 153 grains. No date.

Obverse.—

Similar to No. 108
above.

Reverse.—

Similar to No 91
of Mr. Wright.

(110-116) The following seven round copper coins which can definitely be assigned neither to Gujarat nor Malwa, owing to their legend and dates are rather peculiar in type. The legend on all of them runs as follows :—

Obverse.—

الدنيا و الدين
قطب
ابو الفضل

and date.

Reverse.—

لطيف شاه
ه
محمد شاه

Pl. 13

On the first four or five coins the Malwa marks Nos. 20, 29 and 34 are found but on the last two no marks are visible. The dates 942 and 945 to 947 A.H. are found on them. They weigh 174, 150-153 and the smallest 51 grains.

Muhammad Ādil (Bāz Bahadur Governor).

(117) *Sq. Æ.* 49 grains. No date.

Similar to No. 96 of Mr. Wright, but much smaller.

Biz Bahalur

A H 963 968

(117a) R 106 grains No date

Obverse —

The Kalima

Reverse —

(با) ر بهادر شاه سلطان

حلد الله للملة

M M No 29 and 34

Pl 13

(118) Sq Æ 52 grains No date

Similar to No 98 of Mr Wright but half piece

(119) Sq Æ 103 grains A H 965

Obverse —بار بهادر شاه
حلد الله

M M No 22

Reverse —Similar to No 95
of Mr Wright

Pl 13

(120) Sq Æ 107 grains A H 965

Obverse —

(بار) بهادر شاه

ن

السلطان

M M No 22

Reverse —

انوالمظفر

حلد الله

۹۶ ×

سلطان

Pl 13

(121) Sq Æ 52 grains

Similar to above but half piece

(122) Sq Æ 52 grains A H (9)65

Obverse —بار بهادر
شاه
السلطان*Reverse* —

و ۶۴

M M No 73

Pl 13

Akbar.

(123) Sq. Æ. 103 grains. A.H. 969.

Obverse :—

اکبر
محمد
جلال الدین

Reverse :—

۹۶۹
نصده

Pl. 13

(124) Sq. Æ. 54 grains. Mint Māndu.

Obverse :

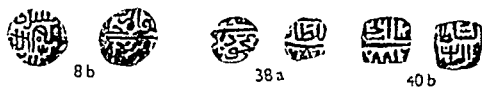
Similar to above.

Reverse :—

و
ضر
مند

Pl. 13

C. R. SINGHAL.



Albur

(123) Sq Æ 103 grains A H 969

Obverse —

Reverse

اکبر
محمد
حلال الدین

ر
==
و













(124) Sq Æ 54 grains Mint Mandu

Obverse

Reverse

Similar to above













A. TABLE OF NEW MARKS FOUND ON MALWA COINS.

1 	2 	3 	4 
5 	6 	7 	8 
9 	10 	11 	12 

B. NUMBER OF COINS ON WHICH THESE MARKS OCCUR.

Mark No.	Coin No.	Mark No.	Coin No.
1	22 and 47	7	81
2	37	8	83
3	38	9	85
4	65	10	98
5	66	11	102
6	79	12	105













A TABLE OF NEW MARKS FOUND ON MALWA COINS

1 	2 	3 	4 
5 	6 	7 	8 
9 	10 	11 	12 

B NUMBER OF COINS ON WHICH THESE MARKS OCCUR

Mark No	Coin No	Mark No	Coin No
1	22 and 47	7	81
2	37	8	83
3	38	9	85
4	65	10	98
5	66	11	102
6	79	12	105

A. TABLE OF NEW MARKS FOUND ON MALWA COINS.

1 	2 	3 	4 
5 	6 	7 	8 
9 	10 	11 	12 

B. NUMBER OF COINS ON WHICH THESE MARKS OCCUR.

Mark No.	Coin No.	Mark No.	Coin No.
1	22 and 47	7	81
2	37	8	83
3	38	9	85
4	65	10	98
5	66	11	102
6	79	12	105

The collections of Indian coins described here were made by Colonel C Seton Guthrie, R.E. Doctor J Gerson da Cunha of Bombay and Pandit Ratan Narain of Delhi and belong to the latter half of the nineteenth century. The first two are of outstanding character. I select the third from the minor collections of the period. Colonel Guthrie's activities cover the third quarter of the nineteenth century. After his death in 1871, his coins were purchased by the German Government in 1876 and are in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum Berlin. It was in the same year 1876 that Dr da Cunha began to collect. His coins were sold by auction in 1889 at Sotheby's Rooms in London and he died in 1900. Pandit Ratan Narain was an official of the District Court at Delhi and his cabinet shows what could be done in that ancient capital by a man of small means. The Pandit died in the year 1887 or 1888. Rodgers the author of the Lahore and Indian Museum Catalogues written in the eighteen nineties has noted that the Ratan Narain collection went to the United States of America as it was purchased by Durkee a citizen of Chicago (or New York). Durkee's Gauntlet Brand Select Spices and Mustard also Oriental Salad Dressing are advertised in Lippincott's Monthly Magazine Philadelphia 1900. I understand that the coins were left to the Metropolitan Museum New York. They are now in the Museum of the American Numismatic Society New York, where I had the pleasure of seeing them in the summer of 1921. Dr da Cunha was an active member of learned Societies and the author of noteworthy monographs and papers on history coins and kindred subjects. I have not found any publication by Colonel Guthrie or by Pandit Ratan Narain.

The background of this study is provided by the allusions in the writings of that fine numismatist Mr Charles J Rodgers of Amritsar whose catalogues I have already mentioned. He was an ardent collector in the Punjab from about the year 1870, and a regular contributor on numismatic and historical subjects to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and other periodicals from 1879 almost till his death in 1898 (1). These papers were beautifully illustrated by his own drawings (2). Mr Rodgers belonged to the numismatic tradition of Sir Alexander Cunningham with whom he was a regular correspondent. At first a worker in the same field that of the ancient coins of India he soon quitted it to specialize in the issues of the Delhi dynasties. His cabinet was purchased by the Punjab Government and catalogued by him self. I examined Treasure Trove on behalf of the Government of the Punjab for thirteen years from 1907

Rev J Dowie (4), Alexander Grant and W Theobald By 1884 Vincent Smith was writing about Gupta coins and J Gibbs on Ramatunkas A year later Rodgers mentions L White King 'a most indefatigable numismatist' In 1886 appears the name of J D Tremlett Judge of the Chief Court Lahore (5) also of Dr da Cunha as the owner of some fine coins of the Delhi Sultans On p 192 of *J A S B* 1886 there is an allusion to the cabinets of Sir E C Bayley Edward Thomas Alexander Grant and Cunningham all the coins of a Colonel Stacey are said to have gone to Berlin In the Preface to Part IV of the *Punjab Museum Catalogue* Calcutta 1895 Rodgers mentions the collections of Eugene Leggett of Karachi, of Dr Stulpnagel and Tom Higgins of Lahore of Pandit Ratan Narain of Delhi and of an Indian Army General whose name is not given (6) All had been dispersed and from them no Indian Museum had derived one single coin This was regrettable but the first part is not true of the Ratan Narain cabinet it has found an appreciative and permanent home in the New World

Rodgers was a constructive and unselfish lover of his art His criticisms were impelled by an abiding desire to create and improve facilities for the study of coins in India as historical documents and for the proper use of Indian Museums and of Provincial Com Cabinets He reaped some reward during his lifetime but nothing like the response he deserved

There is little to be gleaned about Colonel Charles Seton Guthrie R E, apart from his prominence as a coin collector I gather that he was of good Scotch stock possessed considerable means and lived at one time in Great Russell Street He was certainly in touch with the British Museum and with experts like Edward Thomas We are told in the obituary notice that his quiet and private life aided by an ample fortune enabled him in a remarkable manner to promote the study of Oriental Numismatics though he was not the author of any memoir on the subject (7) Colonel Guthrie was a keen collector for many years in India till the very day of his sudden and unexpected death It was understood that Colonel Guthrie's collection which amounted to 1340 *AV*, 7100 *AR* and 10 000 *Æ* had been offered to the German Government for the moderate sum of £5 000 There was no catalogue beyond that of the coins of the early Khalifas prepared by Stanley Lane Poole

This magnificent collection was actually purchased by the German Government in the year 1876 it is in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum Berlin Its importance had been foreshadowed by the numerous references to 'the choice Pathan series' in Edward Thomas's classic work *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi* London 1871 At the time of writing the collection was in England Three years later Stanley Lane Poole published a catalogue of the coins of the Amay Khalifas in the Guthrie cabinet (8) The series which it describes is scarcely, if at all

Stanley, Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court, I was Secretary and Treasurer for the first ten years of the Society's existence. At the end of the first year the total membership amounted to 46. The Society has continued to grow and flourish, and it happily celebrates its Silver Jubilee in the month of writing, December, 1935.

APPENDIX

- (1) There is an obituary notice on p. 26 of Proceedings of the London Numismatic Society, 1898-99.
- (2) Mr. Rodgers' only successor in this line has been the late Mr. W. H. Valentine, F.R.N.S.
- (3) For recent descriptions of all three pieces see *Num. Chron.* 1923 and 1926. Another coin of Shah Jahan with name Khurram is the unique couplet near, *Num. Chron.*, 1930.
- (4) The Rev. J. Doxie was a missionary in Kashmir. I saw his coins in the cabinet of the late Mr. R. Sutcliffe, Burnley, Lancashire.
- (5) The Tremlett collection, small and choice, is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
- (6) Attention is invited to the Coin Bibliography on pp. XVII to XIX of Mr. Rodgers' *Catalogue of the Coins in the Government Museum, Lahore* (Calcutta, 1891), also in the same author's *Coin collecting in Northern India* Allahabad 1894. I add these references—
Catalogue of Rare and Valuable Coins, the Property of Mr. Eugene Leggett, Karachi, Sind. Printed by the Sind Gazette Karachi No year, pp. 79.
List of Coins of the Late Dr. G. P. Stuljnapel. Prepared by Mr. Chas. J. Rodgers about 1895. Printed by Traill and Co. Calcutta. No year, pp. 39.
- (7) *Proceedings* of the Numismatic Society of London June, 1875.
- (8) *Col. Gullie's Cabinet*. Fasc. I. Stanley Lane Poole, Hertford 1874.
- (9) *Some Notable Coins of the Muslim Rulers of India*. *Num. Chron.*, 1923, 1926. *The Portrait Coins of Jalangur*. *Num. Chron.*, 1929. *The Zodiacal Coins*.—*Num. Chron.*, 1931.
- (10) *P. M. Cat.*, 1914, Vol. I pp. 4-87.
- (11) There are obituary notices in *Proceedings* of the B.B.R.A.S. 1900 and in *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, December, 1900.
- (12) *The Zodiacal Coins of Jalangur*. *Num. Chron.*, 1931 pp. 111-127.
- (13) *Catalogue of the Highly Important and Valuable Collection of Oriental Coins formed by J. Gerson da Cunha*. Sotheby's, 1889.
- (14) *Coin collecting in Northern India*. C. J. Rodgers, Allahabad 1894 p. 45.
- (15) *List of Indian Coins collected by the late Fanit Lal Narain Sheriff Adalat of Delhi*. Lahore printed at the New Imperial Press, by Sayyad Rajab Ali Shah, 1888.

R. B. WHITEHEAD

Stanley, Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court, I was Secretary and Treasurer for the first ten years of the Society's existence. At the end of the first year the total membership amounted to 46. The Society has continued to grow and flourish, and it happily celebrates its Silver Jubilee in the month of writing, December, 1935.

APPENDIX

- (1) There is an obituary notice on p. 26 of Proceedings of the London Numismatic Society, 1898-99.
- (2) Mr. Rodgers' only successor in this line has been the late Mr. W. H. Valentine, F.R.N.S.
- (3) For recent descriptions of all three pieces see *Num. Chron.* 1923 and 1926. Another coin of Shah Jahan with name Khurram is the unique couplet nisar, *Num. Chron.*, 1930.
- (4) The Rev. J. Doxie was a missionary in Kashmir. I saw his coins in the cabinet of the late Mr. R. Sutcliffe, Burnley, Lancashire.
- (5) The Tremlett collection, small and choice, is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
- (6) Attention is invited to the Coin Bibliography on pp. XVII to XIX of Mr. Rodgers' *Catalogue of the Coins in the Government Museum, Lahore* (Calcutta, 1891), also in the same author's *Coin collection in Northern India* Allahabad, 1894. I add these references —
Catalogue of Rare and Valuable Coins, the Property of Mr. Eugene La jell, Karachi, Sind. Printed by the Sind Gazette, Karachi. No year, pp. 79.
List of Coins of the Late Dr. C. P. Stuljnazel. Prepared by Mr. Chas. J. Rodgers about 1895. Printed by Traill and Co. Calcutta. No year, pp. 33.
- (7) *Proceedings of the Numismatic Society of London*, June, 1875.
- (8) *Col. Gullies Cabinet*. Fasc. I. Stanley Lane, Poole, Hertford. 1874.
- (9) *Some Notable Coins of the Mughal Emperors of India*. *Num. Chron.*, 1923, 1926. *The Portrait Coins of Jahangir*. *Num. Chron.*, 1929. *The Zodiacal Coins*. — *Num. Chron.*, 1931.
- (10) *P. M. Cat.* 1914 Vol. I, pp. 4-87.
- (11) There are obituary notices in Proceedings of the B.B.R.A.S., 1900 and in *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, December, 1900.
- (12) *The Zodiacal Coins of Jahangir*. *Num. Chron.* 1931 pp. 111, 127.
- (13) *Catalogue of the Highly Important and Valuable Collection of Oriental Coins formed by J. Gerson da Cunha*. Sotheby's, 1889.
- (14) *Coin collecting in Northern India*. C. J. Rodgers. Allahabad. 1894. p. 48.
- (15) *List of Indian Coins collected by the late Darul Uloom in Narayan Steriff, Adalat of Delhi*. Lahore, printed at the New Imperial Press by Sayyad Rajab Ali Shah. 1888.

R. B. WHITEHEAD

Stanley, Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court, I was Secretary and Treasurer for the first ten years of the Society's existence. At the end of the first year the total membership amounted to 46. The Society has continued to grow and flourish, and it happily celebrates its Silver Jubilee in the month of writing, December, 1935.

APPENDIX

- (1) There is an obituary notice on p. 26 of Proceedings of the London Numismatic Society, 1898-99.
- (2) Mr. Rodgers' only successor in this line has been the late Mr. W. H. Valentine, F.R.N.S.
- (3) For recent descriptions of all three pieces see *Num. Chron.* 1923 and 1926. Another coin of Shah Jahan with name Khurram is the unique couplet nisar, *Num. Chron.*, 1930.
- (4) The Rev. J. Doxie was a missionary in Kashmir. I saw his coins in the cabinet of the late Mr. R. Sutchfie, Burnley, Lancashire.
- (5) The Tremlett collection, small and choice, is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
- (6) Attention is invited to the Coin Bibliography on pp. XVII to XIX of Mr. Rodgers' *Catalogue of the Coins in the Government Museum, Lahore* (Calcutta, 1891), also in the same author's *Coin collecting in Northern India*, Allahabad 1894. I add these references —
Catalogue of Rare and Valuable Coins, the Property of Mr. Eugene Leppett, Karachi, Sind. Printed by the Sind Gazette, Karachi. No year, pp. 79.
List of Coins of the Late Dr. C. H. Stulpmuehl. Prepared by Mr. Chas. J. Rodgers about 1895. Printed by Traill and Co. Calcutta. No year, pp. 3.
- (7) *Proceedings of the Numismatic Society of London*. June 1875.
- (8) *Col. Gullie's Cabinet*. Fasc. I. Stanley Lane Poole, Hertford 1874.
- (9) *Some Notable Coins of the Muslim Emperors of India*. *Num. Chron.*, 1924, 1926. *The Portrait Coins of Jahangir*. *Num. Chron.*, 1929. *The Zodiacal Coins* — *Num. Chron.*, 1931.
- (10) *P. M. Cat.* 1914, Vol. I, pp. 4, 87.
- (11) There are obituary notices in Proceedings of the *B.B.R.N.S.* 1900 and in *Spink's Numismatic Circular*. December, 1900.
- (12) *The Zodiacal Coins of Jahangir*. *Num. Chron.*, 1931 pp. 111, 127.
- (13) *Catalogue of the Highly Important and Valuable Collection of Oriental Coins formed by J. Gerson da Cunha*. Sotheby's, 1889.
- (14) *Coin collecting in Northern India*. C. J. Rodgers. Allahabad 1894. p. 48.
- (15) *List of Indian Coins collected by the late Lallu Lal in Narain, Meerut Adalat of Delhi*. Lahore printed at the New Imperial Press by Sayyad Rajab Ali Shah, 1888.

R. B. WHITEHEAD